Liberty

protecting the **BRITISH CONSTITUTION** *against the*

Attacks *of* **Anarchy** *and* **Despotism.**

Published by H.D. Symonds Pater no. 1798.

Liberty

protecting the **BRITISH CONSTITUTION** *against the*

Attacks *of* **Anarchy** *and* **Despotism.**

Published by H.D. Symonds Pater no. 1798.

A NEW AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the moſt Early Period of Genuine Hiſtorical Evidence

TO THE

09506. k 18.

PRESENT IMPORTANT AND ALARMING CRISIS;

A PERIOD PREGNANT WITH THE FATE OF EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, AND STATES.

CONTAINING

Authentic, Candid, and Circumſtantial *Accounts* of all the Memorable *Tranſactions*, Intereſting *Events*, and Remarkable *Occurrences*, recorded in the

ANNALS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

WITH A

Comprehenſive Account of it's ORIGIN and PROGRESSIVE STATE, the many REVOLUTIONS it has undergone, it's DISCOVERIES, CONQUESTS, ACQUISITIONS, BATTLES, SIEGES, SEA FIGHTS, and other MEMORABLE EVENTS.

ALSO

A Conciſe View af the Antient and Modern Conſtitution and Political Eſtabliſhments of Britain, it's Laws, Inſtitutions, Parliaments, Charters, Grants, Commerce, Arts, Sciences, &c.

LIKEWISE

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF ALL THE KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND:

With an Impartial Diſplay of their reſpective Characters, whether diſtinguiſhed for their Wiſdom in the Cabinet, their Military Atchievements in the Field, their Private Crimes, or their Public Vices.

INCLUDING

AN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WAR AND REVOLUTION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HISTORIES *of the* FRENCH REVOLUTION, *and the* REVOLUTION *in* HOLLAND, *&c.*

Together with every Memorable Tranſaction reſpecting IRELAND and other Countries.

INTERSPERSED WITH

REMARKS, OBSERVATIONS, AND REFLECTIONS:

By which former Errors are corrected, Abſurdities pointed out, fabulous Narrations expunged, Party Prejudices removed, and what has hitherto appeared obſcure and doubtful authenticated from the moſt reſpectable Evidence.

BY JOHN BAXTER,

MEMBER of the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, and ONE of the TWELVE Indicted and Acquitted of HIGH TREASON at the OLD BAILEY.

ASSISTED BY SEVERAL GENTLEMEN, DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS TO LIBERTY AND A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

LIBERTY———

"'Tis a ſubſtantial thing, and not a word:

———Which if once taken from us,

All other bleſſings leave us—'tis a jewel

Worth purchaſing at the dear rate of life,

And ſo to be defended."

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

LONDON: Printed for the Proprietors; and Sold by H. D. SYMONDS, in PATERNOSTER-ROW:
And may be had of all the Bookſellers and Newſmen in Town and Country.

TO

THE PEOPLE AT LARGE,

TO

THE LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY IN PARTICULAR,

AND TO

The Political Societies of Great Britain in General,

ASSOCIATED FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, AND THE PROMOTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION,

THIS NEW AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

(A WORK PECULIARLY CALCULATED TO ACCELERATE THEIR EXERTIONS IN THE GLORIOUS CAUSE OF LIBERTY)

IS INSCRIBED, WITH DUE RESPECT,

BY THEIR FELLOW CITIZEN,

JOHN BAXTER.

ST. LEONARD'S, SHOREDITCH, LONDON.

TABLE

OF THE

KINGS AND QUEENS

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM EGBERT TO GEORGE III.

Names.	Began to Reign.	Reigned Years.
Saxon Line.		
EGBERT	829	9
Ethelwolf	838	19
Ethelbald	857	3
Ethelbert	860	6
Ethelred I.	866	6
Alfred	872	18
Edward *the Elder*	900	35
Athelſtan	925	16
Edmund I.	941	7
Edred	948	7
Edwy	955	4
Edgar	959	16
Edward *the Martyr*	975	4
Ethelred II.	979	34
Daniſh Line.		
Sweyn	1013	1
Saxon Line.		
Ethelred II. *recalled*	1014	1
Edmund II.	1015	2
Daniſh Line.		
Canute I.	1017	19
Harold I.	1036	3
Canute II.	1039	2
Saxon Line.		
Edward *the Confeſſor*	1041	25
Harold II.	1066	0
Norman Line.		
William I. *the Conqueror*	1066	20
William II.	1087	12
Henry I.	1100	35
Stephen	1135	18
Saxon Line reſtored.		
Henry II.	1154	34
Richard I.	1189	9
John	1199	17
Henry III.	1216	56
Edward I.	1272	34
Edward II.	1307	19
Edward III.	1327	50
Richard II.	1377	22
Lancaſter Line.		
Henry IV.	1399	13
Henry V.	1413	9
Henry VI.	1422	38
York Line.		
Edward IV.	1461	22
Edward V.	1483	0
Richard III.	1483	2
The Families united.		
Henry VII.	1485	23
Henry VIII.	1509	37
Edward VI.	1547	6
Mary I.	1553	5
Elizabeth	1558	44
Union of the two Crowns of England and Scotland.		
James I.	1603	22
Charles I.	1625	23
Charles II.	1649	36
James II.	1685	4
William III. and Mary II.	1689	13
Union of the two Kingdoms.		
Anne	1702	12
George I.	1714	12
George II.	1727	33
George III.	1760	

PREFACE.

PROMPTED by the love of our country, and animated with ſincere zeal for her honour and welfare, this New and Impartial Hiſtory of England is undertaken from the laudable motives of expoſing to public view the rapid ſtrides of CORRUPTION and DESPOTISM through the various periods of our hiſtory. Truth being the foundation of virtue in general, as well as the diſtinguiſhing ornament of hiſtory in particular, we ſhall, unbiaſſed by intereſt, give virtue, in all degrees, it's due; and, unawed by the great, fail not in marking the vices of even the moſt powerful, in every age or time.

We need not to be told that a number of hiſtories have been publiſhed; but it may be neceſſary for us to tell our readers, that few, very few indeed, have leaned to the ſide of candour and impartiality; and thoſe few, written in a ſtyle tolerably liberal, are, to the diſappointment of inquirers, limited only to a particular period; while others, we may in truth ſay the majority, indited by the pen of prejudice, are merely inſtruments of party writers, to *deceive*, not to *inform* their readers. Such authors, corrupted by influence, have caſt many parts which relate to the RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE in the ſhade, to draw concluſions, which the premiſes, fairly examined, could not allow, and, for private ends, throw undeſerved odium on ſome of the beſt friends of Liberty and their Country. For theſe, and many other reaſons, it has been repeatedly recommended to us, to write a New and Impartial Hiſtory of England, from a period prior to the Roman invaſion, down to the preſent important and alarming criſis——

"Nothing extenuate, nor aught ſet down in malice."

We are the more convinced of the propriety and abſolute neceſſity of ſuch an undertaking at this time, becauſe we have ſeen perſons in authority making conſiderable incroachments on the liberties of the people, and under falſe or frivolous accuſations ſhutting men up in priſon, and attempting their lives, becauſe they had virtue enough to oppoſe their arbitrary meaſures; among whom the author was one, having been indicted by the Crown the beginning of October, 1794, with eleven others, for High Treaſon, viz. HARDY, HORNE TOOKE, THELWALL, BONNEY, KIDD, JOYCE, HOLCROFT, RICHTER, WARDELL, MORE, and HODGSON, and acquitted Dec. 15, in conſequence of the Attorney General declining to bring evidence, whereupon the Judge directed the Jury to find a verdict of "Not Guilty;" and, after a long and rigorous impriſonment, he was diſcharged without an opportunity of vindicating his innocence: but as the innocence of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall, was proved on a TRIAL BY JURY, that great bleſſing of the Engliſh nation, which, ſwayed by the rules of equity, deals *equal* juſtice to PEER and PEASANT, it is to be hoped, in the words of Mr. Horne Tooke, that they will "teach attornies-general how to maintain, for the future, the doctrine of treaſon from con-"ſtruction." But obſerve the extenſion of thoſe treaſon-laws, under the idle pretence of the King having been aſſaulted!

"The laws, corrupted for their ends that make them,
"Serve but for inſtruments of ſome new tyranny,
"Which every day ſtarts up t'enſlave them deeper." OTWAY.

And obſerve the "inſolence of office," that dares to brand thoſe men, in whoſe behalf an Erſkine and a Gibbs ſtood up, and whom their Country have pronounced innocent, with the opprobrious name of ACQUITTED FELONS!

At ſuch a time, therefore, when virtuous characters are in danger of Spies from an overbearing Ariſtocracy, when it is impoſſible to know who may become Victims, or be called upon to ſit as Jurors on theſe important occaſions, it is highly neceſſary that every Briton ſhould be well acquainted with our Laws and Conſtitution, and the arts whereby ambitious men have attained power, and enriched themſelves, to the ruin and diſhonour of their Country; in order, according to Blackſtone, "to ſecure the ſubject from being ſacrificed "to fictitious conſpiracies, which have been the engines of profligate and crafty poli-"ticians in all ages." Vol. iv. p. 35.

No maxim is more unequivocal, than "that the object of every government ought to be "the happineſs of the perſons governed;" and wherever it is otherwiſe, it muſt be owing to ſome radical defect in the conſtitution, or elſe to a bad adminiſtration of the laws. It is in vain to tell a people they are happy, when they do not feel themſelves ſo; to inſult their ſufferings, inſtead of relieving them, is only to provoke to outrage. That the people of this country are either ſo free or ſo happy as the genuine principles of our conſtitution (if they were acted upon) are calculated to make them, we do not believe. It is ſaid, "that "our conſtitution has provided means for the redreſs of every grievance;" if ſo, it is the duty of every individual to promote, as much as in his power, the knowledge of that conſtitution; and we particularly admire the exertions of thoſe POLITICAL SOCIETIES, which, with ſo much labour, and at ſo much perſonal hazard, have endeavoured to diffuſe this knowledge among our fellow-citizens in general; for it has too frequently happened, that when men who are uninformed have felt themſelves oppreſſed, they have been hurried on to acts of violence at which an enlightened mind would revolt, inſtead of meeting, and peaceably deliberating on thoſe means which the conſtitution has provided for redreſs.

We think that originally the conſtitution muſt have been free; for no individual or body of men, exerciſing the power of the government, could become tyrants at once: the people can only be prevailed upon to part with their liberty by degrees, either by force, or on pretence of ſome ſtate neceſſity. By a knowledge of the Hiſtory of England we are able to contraſt the preſent with former times; to ſee where our liberties are invaded, or in danger; and learn, from example, how the evil is to be prevented.

The Britons having been ſubdued, firſt by the Romans, next by the Saxons, theſe again by the Danes, and, finally, all by the Normans, the laws and inhabitants of this country are a mixture of each. From hence it has become difficult to determine what is the conſtitution of this country, or from whence derived. At the Norman Conqueſt, the Saxon laws and conſtitution were laid proſtrate,* and no more liberty remained to the people than was dictated by policy or neceſſity; and the hiſtory of every ſucceeding reign, down to the Revolution, will prove, that the privileges we now enjoy were obtained at the expence of the beſt blood of our anceſtors.

After the Danes had been driven out of the kingdom for their arbitrary and oppreſſive conduct, and the Saxon line reſtored in the perſon of Edward the Confeſſor, the Saxon laws were collected and revived; and notwithſtanding the different attempts of the Norman tyrants to introduce an abſolute deſpotiſm, they were reſiſted by the firm ſpirit of Engliſhmen; and under the form of grants, charters, ſtatutes, &c. were obliged to confirm more or leſs of theſe laws, emphatically called the "Laws of Edward the Confeſſor."

The

* "The nation, at this period, ſeems to have groaned under as abſolute a ſlavery as was in the power of a warlike, "an ambitious, and a politic prince to create." BLACKSTONE, Vol. iv. p. 418.

The Revolution of 1688 did no more than expel a tyrant, and confirm the Saxon laws. By this event two political maxims, of conſiderable importance, were eſtabliſhed; the firſt was the right of the nation to caſhier their King, if, in breach of his coronation-oath, he violates the fundamental principles of the conſtitution; the ſecond, that no law can be made, nor taxes levied, but by conſent of the People, through their Repreſentatives in Parliament.

Having thus far treated of the Saxon laws and conſtitution, it may not be improper to take a ſummary view of them.

The Saxons having ſubdued or driven thoſe Britons whom they could not conquer to the mountains of Wales, eſtabliſhed their own laws and cuſtoms; the moſt remarkable of which were, that they had no ſtanding army, but every man was equally armed, the defence of the country being equally the buſineſs of the whole. They elected their own magiſtrates, and made their own laws; for which purpoſe they were occaſionally aſſembled, when the new law was propoſed to them, which if they approved, it was expreſſed by the claſhing of their arms, and if they diſapproved, by murmuring: theſe meetings were called the WITTENA-GEMOT.* But when the Saxon Heptarchy (as the ſeven kingdoms were called) became united into one, the individuals being at too great a diſtance from each other to meet in a general aſſembly, the repreſentative ſyſtem was adopted. Their magiſtrates were frequently their repreſentatives; and the firſt being elected by the free ſuffrages of the people, there can hardly be a doubt but the others were. It was not probable that men, who had been accuſtomed to make laws in their own perſons, and were remarkably tenacious of their liberty, would ever yield up that right to thoſe whom they did not appoint, and over whom they had no controul; neither does it appear that theſe repreſentatives continued their functions longer than the ſpecific meeting for which they were elected. However, as theſe points are diſputed by ſome, they will be more particularly exemplified in the following hiſtory. On this principle, thoſe who contend for Univerſal Suffrage maintain, it is a right founded in ancient preſcription, as well as that incontrovertible maxim, that "laws to bind all, ought to be aſſented to by all;" and of which they have been deprived only by ſubſequent uſurpation.

As we have already obſerved, it has become rather difficult to determine what is the conſtitution of this country, on account of it's various revolutions, it may not prove unſatisfactory to inveſtigate the ſubject a little in this place; more eſpecially as it will aſſiſt the reader in his progreſs through the work, by bringing ſome of the moſt important objects into one point of view.

Some have derived our conſtitution from no earlier a period than the Revolution; but as the perſons, who were concerned in that event, had not the authority of the nation to make a conſtitution for them; and as they did not even pretend to it, but only to correct abuſes, as will be ſhewn in the hiſtory of that event, we can have no reaſon for aſcribing it to them.

Others have derived our conſtitution from the Norman Conqueſt. Blackſtone has ſaid, that *the nation at this period groaned under the moſt abſolute ſlavery.* "Abſolute power "conſiders the people as a herd of cattle; it takes care of them, to eat them up; it "feeds them for itſelf; it ſucks even the blood and marrow; it treats them as beings of "another ſpecies, made only for it's pleaſure; it does not look on their impoveriſhment as "a loſs, if it fattens by their decreaſe.†" Arbitrary power is always the ſame, whether in the

* When Alfred made a collection of old laws, he conſulted the *wittena getheate* or *heate*, i. e. wiſe men amongſt the high. But for new ones the *gereſa byrg*, or repreſentatives of the borough, alſo attended; and this conſtituted a *wittena-mote*, or the wiſe men among the low. *Mote* ſignifies a ditch in the Saxon, and the word *mob* is derived from *mot*, changing *t* into *b*, which was common with the Saxons.

† A ſtate deſcribed in very forcible language by the Abbé de Guet, in his *Inſt. à un Prince*; and who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality to the other ſide of the queſtion.

the hands of the King, the Nobles, or a great body of Landlords; with this difference. that the broader the baſis, the ſtronger is the combination, and the worſe the oppreſſion. This is not a conſtitution to boaſt of as the work of ages, and the wonder of the world; it was founded in conqueſt, and has been maintained by power; and the various changes it underwent, from the Conqueſt down to the Revolution, prove that there was no fixed principle of government. It is not from this period, therefore, that Engliſhmen can date their conſtitution.

When the Saxons conquered the country, the Britons retired to the Welch mountains, and preſerved their independence for ſeven hundred years after; and as the two nations were not blended together, but had ſtrong antipathies, it is not probable they would aſſimilate much in their manners or form of government. Almoſt the only thing which the Saxons appear to have derived from the Britons, was a kind of hereditary monarchy; the ſon, if adult, or the brother, being generally choſen to ſucceed. Another was vaſſalage or ſlavery, a ſtate very common among the Britons before the Saxons came over; ſuch of the Britons, therefore, as did not chooſe to retire with their countrymen, or being kept as priſoners of war, were made vaſſals to the Saxon chiefs, and employed to cultivate the ground, a buſineſs which the Saxons rather diſdained, and did not well underſtand. But as their numbers were comparatively few, and they had no ſhare in the legiſlation, it is clear the laws muſt have been wholly Saxon, and there was no reaſon why it ſhould be otherwiſe; for their conſtitution was calculated to give much more freedom than the Britiſh, it was more congenial to their diſpoſitions, and they had no prejudices to conciliate.

But it was otherwiſe with the Normans; William founded his claim to the crown of England on the pretence, that Edward who died without iſſue had left it to him; and accordingly, after procuring a bull from the Pope, and promiſing to hold the crown as a fee of the church, he invaded England with a large body of Normans, and was met by Harold II. when the famous battle of Haſtings was fought, in which Harold and his brother were killed, and the Engliſh defeated with prodigious ſlaughter. The Norman purſued his victory, and ſeveral places yielded to him. In the mean time, an aſſembly of the ſtates was convened at London, at which Morcar and Edwin propoſed that Edgar Atheling, grandſon of Edmund Ironſide, ſhould be placed on the throne: this was warmly ſeconded by the citizens of London, but the clergy favoured the deſign of the Norman, and though they could not prevent Edgar's being proclaimed, they had intereſt enough to impede his levying an army to ſupport his election. William had affected a great veneration for the church, which gave the clergy reaſon to hope for a reſtoration of their power: he had moreover the Pope's bull in his favour, and they could not but dread the anathemas of their pontiff. As William approached the capital, the fears of the people increaſed, and the clergy employed their influence to diſſuade them from making any reſiſtance, which would only tend to exaſperate the conqueror; whereas, by an accommodation, they might effectually ſecure their liberties and privileges.

Theſe remonſtrances and the defeat of Edgar's forces had the deſired effect; and the nobles and prelates, aſſembled in the capital, could no longer defer the opportunity for pleading the merit of a voluntary ſubmiſſion. They accordingly, attended by the magiſtrates of London, met the duke at the head of his troops, and made him a ſolemn tender of the crown; which he accepted, aſſuring them they ſhould have no occaſion to repent of their choice. Edgar likewiſe renounced his pretenſions, and was cordially received.

The Conqueror, having accepted the ſubmiſſion, and acknowledging the power of election to be in the people, was proclaimed king. At his coronation, the archbiſhop of York aſked the Engliſh if they choſe William duke of Normandy for their king: he

was

was anſwered in the affirmative with loud acclamations. The biſhop of Conſtance put the ſame queſtion to the Normans, and received the ſame anſwer. Aldred, archbiſhop of York, then placed the crown upon his head, and he took the uſual oath, binding himſelf to protect the church and the clergy, *to maintain the laws*, and to reign with juſtice and equity.

The oath which he had taken was that adminiſtered to the Saxon kings, and the laws which he ſwore to maintain, were the Saxon laws. It was impoſſible they could be the Norman, as they were not then introduced into England, nor for ſome time after. William conducted himſelf with conſiderable policy till he had eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne.

By the Saxon laws, the inhabitants were obliged to appear annually in arms: this he diſpenſed with under pretence of eaſing them of a burden, and thereby prevented their meeting in numerous bodies armed. He filled all places of power and confidence with Normans; he then threw off the maſk, and introduced that ſyſtem of tyranny, under which the nation groaned through a long ſucceſſion of reigns; during which, many attempts were made by the people to obtain a reſtoration of the Saxon laws, by which their condition was a little ameliorated, but they never obtained the accompliſhment of their juſt claims.

From theſe premiſes it will appear, our conſtitution is no more derived from the Norman Conqueſt, than from the Revolution, but from our Saxon* anceſtors, who had an active and an equal ſhare in the making and adminiſtering of the laws; firſt, in their *Wittena-gemot*, where they appeared perſonally or by repreſentatives; ſecondly, in the election of their magiſtrates.

Much as we reſpect the opinions of Mr. Thomas Paine in many particulars, we cannot agree with him, that we have no conſtitution; his miſtake ſeems to ariſe from having carried his views no farther than the Norman Conqueſt. Neither can we agree with thoſe who ſay, the conſtitution, as it exiſts at preſent, is the height of human perfection, improved by time, and ſanctioned by experience; for we have pointed out a time when it exiſted in much greater perfection, and had the univerſal ſuffrage of the people. We have likewiſe pointed out the time when this fair fabric was laid proſtrate by uſurpation; and though it has received many corrections and improvements ſince that period, it yet remains far ſhort of it's original beauty and perfection; for "ſeats in parliament are "bought and ſold like the ſtandings of cattle at a fair." JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

As the preſent period ſeems big with events, and political parties run very high in this country, each of them founding their reſpective claims on the laws and conſtitution; we have thought we could not render the public a better ſervice, than by furniſhing them with a New and Impartial Hiſtory of England, in the courſe of which, we ſhall point out the excellencies and defects of our conſtitution, the incroachments which have been made at various periods on the liberties of the people, and their efforts to recover their violated rights; in the words of a noble Earl, "We have put our "feet upon THE ROCK of Liberty, and from that rock we will never depart." *Vide* EARL STANHOPE'S *Letter to the Correſponding Society.*

That this work may be rendered as perfect as poſſible, we have ſolicited aſſiſtance, and received the promiſes of ſeveral men eminent for their public virtue and literary abilities; beſides, all publications, ancient and modern, have been occaſionally referred to, in order to illuſtrate and aſcertain every intereſting ſubject: the authenticity of events has been minutely explored; the valuable ore of truth purified from the filthy droſs of falſehood,

* The Britons having retired to the mountains, left the Saxons in poſſeſſion of the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland, who made laws for their own government: from them therefore we claim our deſcent.

and the idle ſuggeſtions of fancy, or what are worſe, *the infamous falſities of* PARTY PREJUDICE, rejected with becoming indignation.

Hiſtories have been in general ſo voluminous, as frequently to exhauſt the patience of readers, beſides being unattainable by ordinary purchaſers, while thoſe on the ſmall ſcale can by no means ſatisfy the curious politician. Hoping to avoid the extremes of dull prolixity, as well as unſatisfactory brevity, we offer the preſent work in a moderate quantity of numbers, and in the moſt convenient ſize, which, we truſt, will not be found defective in any intereſting branch of memorable occurrence, or ſtriking inſtance of addreſs, tending to expoſe a vicious, or applaud a virtuous character. The Revolutions of AMERICA, FRANCE, HOLLAND, &c. ſo far as they relate to this country, ſhall be faithfully and minutely inveſtigated; particular attention paid throughout to the chronology of the work, and the hiſtory of Scotland and Ireland, our ſiſter kingdoms, incorporated with our own. We now muſt add, which, we preſume, will be ſufficient to inſure the encouragement and patronage of all who wiſh well to their country, that this *New* HISTORY OF ENGLAND ſhall be uniformly juſt, and truly impartial; in hopes, that the fruits of our labour and zeal may be an inſtructive leſſon not only to the preſent age, but their poſterity. By holding up the crimes of KINGS and MINISTERS to public view—the calamities, diſturbances, violences, and convulſions of nations—the luxury, oſtentation, and corruption of courtiers and placemen; by ſhewing hiſtorical facts and patriotic virtues in true colours; by ſtanding up for the public cauſe, in defence of the Liberty of the Preſs, and the ſupport of the Britiſh Character; and by diffuſing enlightened reaſon for the ſatisfaction of political inquiry, this work will, we truſt, be to the nation of Great Britain at large, a perpetual memento of their rights and liberties.

The privileges of Engliſhmen are no more than what every free country ſhould enjoy; yet the many incroachments on thoſe privileges by arbitrary governments, render a ſurvey of hiſtory abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of our freedom. At a time when ſtanding armies, baſtiles, and barracks, take place of the wooden walls of old England; when meaſures are taken to prevent public diſcuſſions, and diſſolve popular ſocieties, ſhould we not ſeek a redreſs of grievances?—but how? the right of petitioning is not enjoyed by the great maſs of the people, for they are denied the power of aſſembling for that purpoſe; and yet this privilege, which is now no more, was once the great boaſt of Britons; and formerly petitions were equally attended to, whether they iſſued from St. Stephen's Chapel, or the fields around Copenhagen Houſe. It has, indeed, been aſſerted by Mr. Fox, that, "not only the Houſe of Lords, the Houſe of Commons, and his Majeſty's Miniſtry, but "the whole legiſlative power may act ſo as to render reſiſtance on the part of the people "perfectly juſtifiable:" which ſentiment was likewiſe maintained by the great Lord CHATHAM, and ſince him, by many other eminent politicians. This, however, is a queſtion which we do not mean to enter into at preſent.

Advocates for the rights of humanity, fraternity, and morality; advocates for the freedom of ſpeech, the liberty of the preſs, and all the bleſſings of MAGNA CHARTA, we wiſh to communicate to our dear countrymen that light and information, without which, no community can reap the benefits of civilization, or enjoy the bleſſings of the ſocial union.

It is the duty of every true born Engliſhman, to read and imbibe the principles of his moſt worthy anceſtors; it is likewiſe his duty, according to the beſt of his abilities, to diſcuſs and propagate thoſe principles, and impreſs poſterity with the lovelineſs of liberty.

"For O what mind of gen'rous frame can brook
"To ſee his country to the galling yoke
"Of baſe corruption bow?

JOHN THELWALL.

What renders hiſtory the moſt intereſting of all literature is, that every age, even the moſt remote, affords inſtruction to the preſent; but this can only be ſaid of *faithful* hiſtory.

Too

Too long have writers, to gratify unworthy patrons, impoſed upon the public: but we ſhall draw aſide the curtain. "Already do the united energies of truth and reaſon prevail "over the artful deluſions of ſophiſtry and falſehood; already does influence ſeek for ſhel-"ter among it's own ſervile dependents, and corruption retire to it's inmoſt citadel."

JOHN GALE JONES.

Readers, take then a retroſpect of all the great atchievements, the glorious ſtruggles and prevailing meaſures of your forefathers; let their patriotiſm inſpire you with an equal love of your country, and remember, "Our freedom depends entirely upon ourſelves, "which once loſt, may not be ſo ſoon recovered." THOMAS HARDY.

Vide his Letter to SKIRVING, *Edinburgh.*

We feel ourſelves not a little ſtimulated to undertake this taſk, for the ſake of paying due homage not only to the patriots of yore, SIDNEY, RUSSEL, HAMPDEN, &c. but for handing down to poſterity, the friends of their country now in both Houſes of Parliament, Lords LAUDERDALE and STANHOPE, the Duke of BEDFORD, FOX, SHERIDAN, GREY, ERSKINE, GIBBS, &c. who, on a late occaſion, have proved themſelves honeſt Whigs, and the true ſupporters of their country's cauſe.

All characters in the LAW or CHURCH, either in remote times or in the preſent enlightened age, ſhall be faithfully pourtrayed; in ſhort, the work, we preſume, will be of infinite utility to perſons of all deſcriptions, from the *peer* to the *peaſant*.

In order that our work may want no ornaments to delight the eye, as well as no ſubſtance of truth to improve the mind, the firſt artiſts are employed to furniſh us with embelliſhments on the moſt intereſting ſubjects—Portraits of our moſt able patriots, and repreſentative ſcenes of their great exertions. Such engravings, we truſt, will bring to the "mind's eye" the great buſineſs of ages paſt, and ſerve to illuſtrate the ſeveral relations in this undertaking now preſented to the public, by the united efforts, and moſt indefatigable exertions, of patriotic citizens, and friends of their country.

In the cloſe of every remarkable reign, we mean to take a ſummary view of the great FAVOURITES and renowned PERSONAGES of the times; to mark carefully every ſtriking innovation, and the diviſions and reſiſtances which became unavoidable conſequences. LOCKE (on *Civil Government*, B. ii. Chap. xix. A. D. 1698,) obſerves, "Whenever the legiſlators "endeavour to reduce the people to ſlavery under arbitrary power, they put themſelves in "a ſtate of war with the people, who are thereupon abſolved from any farther obedience, "and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men againſt force and "violence. Whenſoever, therefore, the legiſlative ſhall, either by ambition, fear, folly, or "corruption, endeavour to graſp to themſelves, or put into the hands of another, an abſolute "power over the lives, liberties, and eſtates of the people, by this breach of truſt they "forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it "devolves to the people, who have a right to reſume their original liberty, and, by the "eſtabliſhment of a new legiſlative, (ſuch as they ſhall think fit,) provide for their own "ſafety and ſecurity, which is the end for which they are in ſociety."

Theſe ſentiments we find in the works of another celebrated writer, and a friend to Government, who ſays, "When the affairs of a nation are diſtracted, private people are "juſtified in ſtepping a little out of their ordinary ſphere. They enjoy a privilege of "ſomewhat more dignity than idle lamentation over the calamities of their country. "They may look into them narrowly, they may reaſon upon them liberally."

EDMUND BURKE. *Vide his* THOUGHTS ON DISCONTENTS, *p.* 2.

Such alſo was the opinion of men, whoſe ſentiments ſeem *now* to be changed. Mr. PITT, before he came into office, ſaid, (*Vide his* SPEECH *on a* PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, 1782,) "that beautiful frame of Government, which had made us the envy and admiration of "mankind,

" mankind, in which the People were entitled to hold ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſhare, was ſo far " dwindled and departed from it's original purity, that the Repreſentatives ceaſed, in a " great degree, to be connected with the People. It was the eſſence of the conſtitution, " that the People had a ſhare in the Government by the means of Repreſentation; and it's " excellency and permanency muſt reſult from this Repreſentation being equal, eaſy, prac- " ticable, and complete. When it ceaſed to be ſo—when the Repreſentative ceaſed to have " connection with the Conſtituent, and was either dependent on the Crown or the " Ariſtocracy, there was then a defect in the frame of Repreſentation, and it was not inno- " vation, but recovery of conſtitution to repair it."

" Let us then but determine to act on this broad principle of *giving to every man his own*, " and we ſhall immediately get rid of all the perplexities to which the narrow notions of " partiality and excluſion muſt ever be ſubject."

Vide DUKE OF RICHMOND'S *Letter to* LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SHARMAN.

Such having been the ſentiments of characters like theſe, is it not ſtrange that Mr. Sampſon Perry, author of the *Argus*, Mr. Thomas Holt, &c. ſhould ſuffer impriſonment for having expreſſed in the ſame language the *inequality* of Repreſentation!

From the firſt dawn of literature, the theme ſeems to have been LIBERTY! It was the ſong of poets; it was the aim of patriots! Man cannot have a true ſenſe of his own dignity, if he degrades the image of his Maker, by bowing, meanly and ſubmiſſively, to tyrants and monopoliſts.——

" What is life?——
" 'Tis to be FREE.—When LIBERTY is gone,
" Life grows inſipid, and has loſt it's reliſh.——
" A day, an hour of virtuous LIBERTY
" Is worth a whole eternity of bondage!"

Aſſured that the turbulence of party too often hurries men into error, we ſhall coolly and deliberately examine the merits and demerits of ALL ſides; and knowing the preſent to be an age of political ſpeculation, we ſhall labour aſſiduouſly to bring into view thoſe ſeveral parts of hiſtory which other writers have overlooked, and point out the neceſſity and duty of the people to guard againſt violent meaſures, even under the moſt heavy grievances; we ſhall likewiſe be careful not to advance any circumſtances which are not founded on good authority. All the remarkable trials, which have taken place in this or any neighbouring country, at different periods, ſhall be noticed with attention. Our juſt cenſure ſhall not be ſpared whenever a *Judge Jefferies* riſes to view; nor our utmoſt indignation and reproach, whenever it appears that the life or liberty of an individual has been at the mercy of a *packed Jury*.

We ſhall now ſubmit this undertaking,—which we beg leave to ſay is the reſult of diligent labour and reſearch—to ſpeak for itſelf: ſhould it prove uſeful to SOCIETIES, FAMILIES, and the PUBLIC AT LARGE, the views of all thoſe concerned therein will be accompliſhed,—we deſire no more; and hoping, for the ſake of our country, that we may not be diſappointed in our higheſt expectations, we ſhall conclude theſe prefatory remarks with the following memorable lines from the great ADDISON:

" Remember, O my friends! the Laws, the Rights,
" The gen'rous Plan of Power, deliver'd down
" From age to age by your Renown'd Forefathers,
" So dearly bought, the price of ſo much Blood!
" O! let them never periſh in your hands,
" But piouſly tranſmit them to your Children!"

JOHN BAXTER.

A NEW AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

From the Moſt Early Period of Genuine Hiſtorical Evidence, to the END OF THE PRESENT YEAR.

WRITTEN ON A PLAN ENTIRELY NEW, AGREEABLE TO THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY AND THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

ÆRA I.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE BRITONS TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

CHAPTER I.

Firſt Inhabitants of Britain—Their Manners, Arms, Religion, &c.

FEW hiſtorians have pretended to trace the origin of the Britiſh nation, (now known by the appellation of GREAT BRITAIN,) and fewer indeed have executed it with any degree of authenticity; yet though ambiguous and conjectural the accounts of the firſt inhabitants of our nation, it is agreed, by almoſt every writer, that the ſpirit of liberty had made an early impreſſion. Nature ſeemed to have inſpired our forefathers with the love of freedom; an indication, one might think, that freedom ſhould be the peculiar bleſſing and great characteriſtic of this country.

The majority of ancient writers agree, that the deſcendents of Japhet, (one of the ſons of Noah,) upon the diſperſion of the tribes, after the deluge, bent their courſe towards the north-weſt, and firſt peopled thoſe climes. Indeed that the whole earth was inhabited previous to the univerſal deluge, and to the utmoſt extent of habitable ground, may be more than conjectured from the ſacred writings. Hence may be inferred, without the leaſt deviation from reaſon, that this iſland had her dwellers even in the world which exiſted ſo many years ago.

It is beyond a doubt evident, that Britain was anciently termed Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans; a name probably derived from the whiteneſs of the chalky cliffs at Dover, and elſewhere; though ſome impute it to a giant of that name, who ruled the iſland forty-four years, and, according to Mela, the geographer, was ſlain in a battle near a flinty ſhore in Languedoc. Other ancient writers ſay, that Hepheſtion, who deſcended from the loins of Japhet, had four ſons, namely, Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, and Brito; each of whom preſiding over a different people in this quarter of the globe, called their reſpective territories after their own names; and hence it has been inferred,

not without ſome ſhadow of reaſon, that the Britons derived their name from the latter, as the three former are ſaid to have given the titles of French, Romans, and Almans, or Germans, to thoſe nations. Others think the appellation Britain originated from the word Brith, ſignifying blue, as it was with a compoſition of that colour the natives were accuſtomed to paint their bodies; but Geofrey of Monmouth, who has given an account, rather romantic, of the ancient affairs of Britain, derives it's name from Brutus, the grandſon of the Trojan Æneas, who at the burning of his city arrived with a collected number in Italy, where in proceſs of time Brutus was born, and afterwards baniſhed by his kindred for having unfortunately killed his father with an arrow in hunting. In Greece, the place of his exile, he acquired great reſpect, and was preferred in acts of courage and dexterity to all the youth of that country. The Trojans, admiring his intrepidity, began to indicate a warm deſire of recovering their liberty, and that he would lead them on to the glorious enterpriſe. Brutus conſented, carried his point, and delivered the Trojans from the yoke of the Greeks; but determined, at the counſel of ſome wiſe men amongſt his party, not to ſtay long in their country, leſt they might be deluded into meaſures which would deſtroy the good effects of their late ſucceſs. Having therefore ſet out from thence, Brutus, with his people, made towards the weſt, paſſed from place to place, and experienced various fortunes, till he came to Aquitain; which country not approving, as a fixed reſidence, he quitted, and arrived at Totneſs in Devonſhire by an eaſy paſſage.

Albion, as then called, was inhabited only by a remnant of giants, as ſome term them from their bulk; who, through ſuperior ſtrength, and exceſſive cruelty, had deſtroyed the reſt. Theſe Brutus extirpated, and divided the land amongſt his own people.

Soon after he built Troja-nova, ſince called Trinovantum, now London, and began to enact laws; till having preſided over the iſland twenty-four years, he died, and was interred in his new city of Troy. A regular ſucceſſion now took place from father to ſon, till Leir, who build Caer-Leir, now Leiceſter, having no male iſſue, determined to divide his kingdom amongſt thoſe who ſhould marry his three daughters; by two of whom he was rejected, after he had put them in poſſeſſion of his power; but was at length reſtored to his dominion by Aganippus, at the inſtance of Cordeilla, who buried her aged father in the town of Leiceſter.

We are told by the elder Ninnius, reputed to have lived above a thouſand years ago, that Lud, who deſcended from the race of Brutus, enlarged and built a wall about Trinovant, where he kept his court, calling it from his own name, Caer-Lud, or Lud's Town, now London. Gildas alledges, that his calling the capital after his name occaſioned much diſpute between him and his younger brother; who was greatly diſpleaſed that the name of Troy ſhould be aboliſhed, and a new one ſubſtituted in it's place. This Lud, according to Huntingdon, was buried in London, near the gate which from thence was called Ludgate.

Such are the accounts handed down by ancient writers; which, it muſt be acknowledged, are greatly enveloped in the maze of conjecture: they are, however, received by ſome, though exploded by others.

Great Britain, an iſland renowned for the fertility of it's ſoil, the extent of it's commerce, the opulence of it's ſubjects; but, above all, for that patriotiſm and love of liberty which have diſtinguiſhed many of even it's pooreſt inhabitants, is one thouſand eight hundred and thirty miles in circumference; of triangular form; bounded on the eaſt and weſt by the Atlantic and German oceans, on the ſouth by the Britiſh channel, and on the north by the Deucaledonian ſea.

Some have imagined, from it's vicinity to the coaſt of France, that it originally formed a part of the continent, and might have been ſevered from thence by ſome violent ſhock of nature: but this ſurmiſe aroſe merely from

from the reſemblance of ſome cliffs, at particular parts of the two coaſts, and has long been refuted by the ſurvey of many judicious navigators.

This iſland, according to the moſt authentic writers of antiquity, was peopled by a party of the Celtæ, or Gauls; who, increaſing prodigiouſly, were under a neceſſity of ſending out colonies, one of which ſettled upon the coaſt of Britain.* This colony aſſiduouſly applied to their commercial intereſts, to which they were warmly excited by the example and encouragement of Teutat, their leader; who, from his juſt adminiſtration, and vigorous promotion of traffic, acquired the title of Mercur, which, in the Celtic tongue, ſignifies a trading man, or merchant. It is the general opinion of hiſtorians, that this iſland was firſt inhabited by the adventurous people under this Teutat; ſome of whom, while the reſt were immerſed in the cares of commerce, led a more recluſe life in the inland parts, where they occupied themſelves in agriculture and paſturage, devoted themſelves to the rites of their religion, and in proceſs of time imbibed principles and practices peculiar to themſelves, inſomuch that they appeared a different kind of people from the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt, with whom however they were obliged to correſpond for many valuable commodities which their ſpot could not afford. In this manner they lived ſome time unmoleſted; till the Belgæ, actuated by the ſame motive with them, likewiſe ſent out a colony, which alſo arriving at the Britiſh ſhore, were kindly received by them, as deriving their extraction from the ſame ſtock, and encouraged to ſettle in divers parts of the ſea coaſt.

The inhabitants of the maritime parts of Britain greatly increaſed; towns and villages were founded by degrees; and the people lately tranſported from the continent, being too numerous to mix with the iſlanders, formed a diſtinct people, and ſettled in that part of Britain called Kent. In like manner the Celtæ, who inhabited the inland parts, diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt by the appellation of Cumri; alluding to their ſuppoſed deſcent from Gomer, the ſon of Japhet.

The natives who originally inhabited this iſland, and termed ancient Britons, are repreſented as conſiſting of three orders or claſſes; the Druids, the Equites, and the Plebeians. The firſt claſs derived their title from Dryw, a word that in the old Britiſh language ſignifies an oak, which they held in the profoundeſt veneration. This order was divided into three ranks; the firſt preſided over public affairs, both civil and eccleſiaſtical; the ſecond were diſtinguiſhed by the title of Bards, who compoſed verſes on public occaſions, ſuperintended the education of perſons of rank, and were probationers for admittance into the firſt order; the third were called Eubates, and, according to modern writers, Vaids, or Vates, who profeſſed divination and augury, for which they were revered by the multitude as oracles.

The

* The ancient Britons are generally allowed to have been a colony from Gaul, on account of the ſimilarity of their language, cuſtoms, &c.: but Mr. Guthrie, in the preface to his Hiſtory of Scotland, informs us, the ancient Scots were very different from the South Britons; they had neither Druids, temples, nor bloody ſacrifices, and their government was purely patriarchal. There is no probable evidence of their having come from the continent; and their language bears no affinity (except ſuch as might happen from a very ſlender intercourſe) either to the Welch, or any of the continental languages; which may be ſeen in the example of four primitive words, taken from Chamberlain's *Orationes Dominicæ*. The Gothic and Runic are ſelected to avoid prolixity; the others being more unlike, if poſſible.

ENGLISH,	*Father.*	*Heaven.*	*Earth.*	*Bread.*
GOTHIC, *or* CELTIC,	*Atta.*	*Himina.*	*Airthai.*	*Hlaif.*
RUNIC, *or* TEUTONIC,	*Fader.*	*Himlum.*	*Jordaune.*	*Brodh.*
WELCH, *or* BRITISH,	*Tad.*	*Nef.*	*Ddaiair.*	*Bara.*
SCOTCH, *or* IRISH,	*Nathairne.*	*Neamh.*	*Dtalmhuin.*	*Naran.*

Some philoſophers are of opinion, that there have been different creations of men, at various periods. If this can be admitted, we may infer, that the aborigines of this iſland are a diſtinct race; that being in the firſt and moſt ſimple ſtate of ſociety, and unacquainted with the arts of war, they yielded an eaſy poſſeſſion of the ſouthern parts to the Britons, or Gauls, and retired to Scotland and Ireland; where they remained unmixed, and continue a diſtinct people to this day.

The ſecond claſs conſiſted of the nobles; and the third, called the plebeians, was the common people. The whole body of Druids acted in ſubordination to a chief, or Arch-druid, who excelled all the reſt in dignity, and ultimately preſided in all caſes, whether civil or religious. On the demiſe of the Arch-druid, the next in learning and dignity was generally nominated to ſucceed him; but as the office was highly reſpectable, it was often ſtrenuouſly contended for.

From an extreme tenaciouſneſs of their rites and myſteries, they never committed their civil and religious ſecrets to writing, but taught in verſes of ſo intricate and elaborate a nature, that ſome of them, prompted by the hope of obtaining the dignified office of Arch-druid, have ſpent twenty years in acquiring a perfect knowledge of them.

Their religion was a compound of reaſon and ſuperſtition; they profeſſed the doctrine of the immortality and tranſmigration of the ſoul, which they are ſaid to have communicated to the Pythagoreans. They worſhipped one God; but confined their ſacred rites to no particular temple or place erected for that purpoſe, eſteeming ſuch reſtriction incompatible with omnipreſence. Notwithſtanding theſe clear and rational ſentiments of the Deity, they were addicted to idolatry; and, according to Cæſar, Lactantius, and Lucan, paid homage to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Mercury, under the titles of Tarenus, Belenus, Heſus, and Teutates; and to ſeveral others, under various appellations.

The object of their greateſt veneration was the miſletoe, which grows on ſome oak trees; this was deemed the moſt ſacred of religious myſteries. In the ſpring of the year different crowds went in queſt of this precious rite; on the joyful diſcovery of which, the Arch-druid was immediately informed; and aſcending the tree, arrayed in a white ſurplice, cut it with a pruning-knife, and received in his garments this invaluable gift of heaven, which they deemed effectually remedial in all diſeaſes. Our readers, we preſume, will be better able to judge of their genius, by the following ſummary of their religious and political maxims:

"There is but one ſupreme God.

"The origin of all things is from above.

"If the world is deſtroyed, it will be by fire.

"There is another world; and thoſe who kill themſelves, to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.

"Great care is to be taken of the education of children, who are not to be admitted into the company of their parents till the age of fourteen.

"Upon extraordinary emergencies, a man may be ſacrificed for the good of his country.

"The diſobedient or diſloyal muſt be excommunicated, deprived of the benefit of the law, ſecluded from ſociety, and rendered incapable of public employ.

"He that comes laſt to the aſſembly of ſtates deſerves death.

"Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.

"Letters given to dying perſons, or thrown on the funeral piles of the dead, will be faithfully delivered in the other world.

"All maſters of families have abſolute power over the lives of their wives, children, and ſlaves.

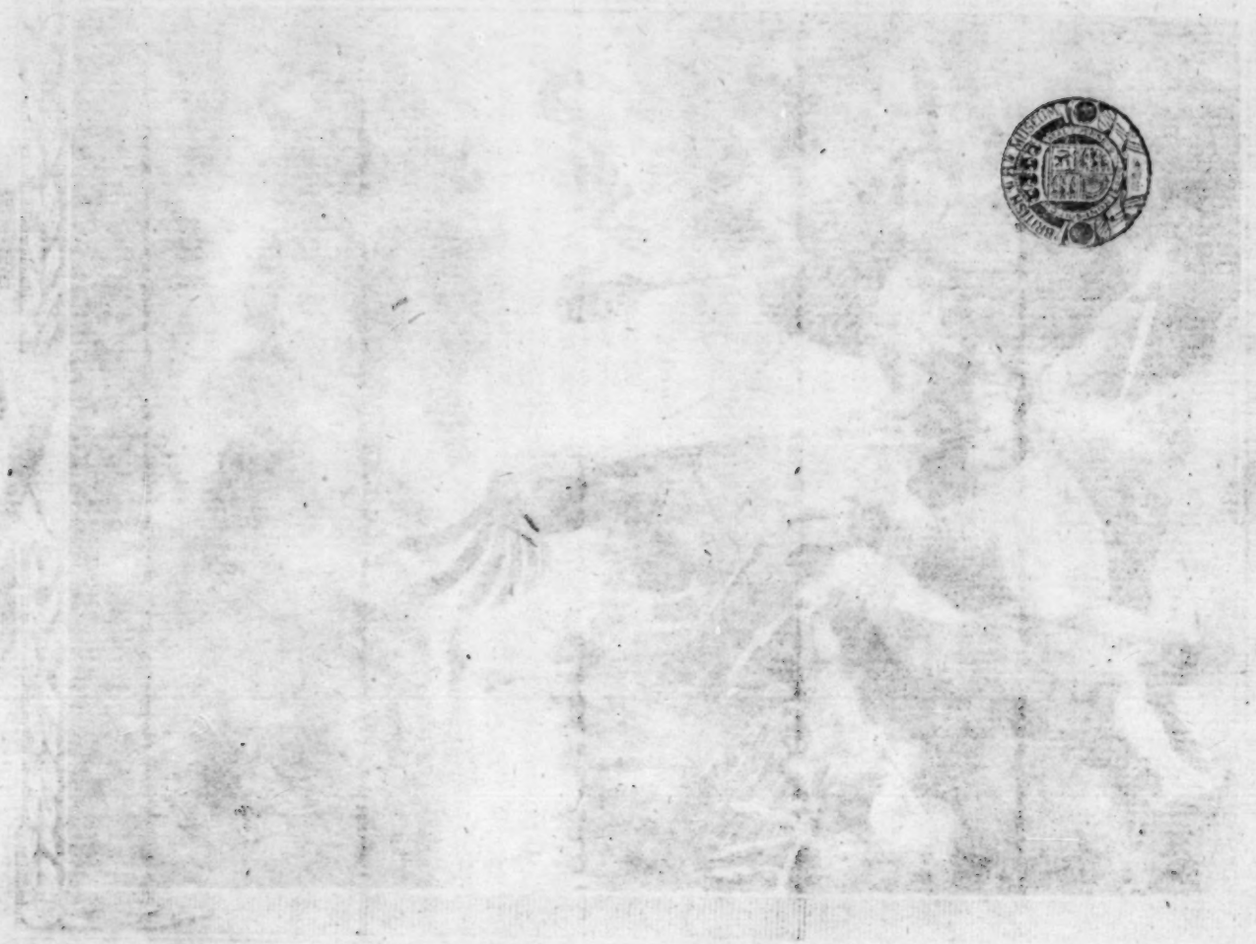
"Malefactors, priſoners, and innocent perſons when the former are wanting, are to be ſlain upon the altar, or burnt alive, in honour of the gods.

"The arcana of the ſciences muſt not be committed to writing, but to the memory.

"The powder of miſletoe renders women fruitful, and produces various aſtoniſhing effects."

Authors have differed ſo much in opinion reſpecting the dreſs and perſons of the Druids, that it is impoſſible to advance any arguments for aſcertaining them. We ſhall therefore leave them, and conſider the old inhabitants of Britain, who in their tempers ſomewhat reſembled the ancient Celtæ, or Germans. They are deſcribed by Julius Cæſar as very numerous, living in huts, ſituated commonly in woods, and irregularly placed, at a ſmall diſtance from each other.

Theſe



LANDING of JULIUS CÆSAR.

Theſe habitations were fortified with the trees which they cut down in clearing and forming their towns. Their chief diet was milk, apples, and the fleſh of ſuch animals as they killed in hunting, which was their favourite diverſion. Water was their common drink; but they ſometimes indulged themſelves with a fermented liquor, made of barley, apples, and honey. From the Belgæ they procured the knowledge of making bread.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that they uſed exactly the ſame expedient to render themſelves agreeable and terrible; for by ſtaining their bodies with a weed called woad, they thought themſelves more acceptable to their friends, and at the ſame time more alarming to their enemies. Before the application of this weed, they pricked their ſkin, which rendered the colour more durable. According to Plutarch's account, they did not feel the infirmities of age till about an hundred and twenty years old; which longevity can only be aſcribed to the temperance of their living, and hardineſs of their nature.

They had neither helmets nor coats of mail, but defended themſelves with a light round target, made of wood or twigs, interwoven and covered with ſkins, and ſtudded with nails. The arms of the better ſort were a broad ſword without a point, a ſhort dagger, a javelin, and arrows; but thoſe of the lower claſs were ſticks, burnt and ſharpened at each end, for javelins; and long ſtaves, edged with flint, or headed with copper, at the end of which was a bell of braſs, in order to terrify their enemies in battle with the noiſe which thence iſſued.

They learned from the Phœnicians the uſe of the military chariot, at the time of the Roman invaſion. This they ornamented very magnificently, and with moſt ſurprizing dexterity turned on the declivity of hills. It was common for theſe chariots to be drawn by only two horſes; which, though ſmall, were remarkable for rapidity. In each appeared a ſingle warrior, with the driver, who ruſhed into the middle of the enemy, and having diſcharged his javelins, cut down all before him with the ſharp ſcythes fixed to the axle of the wheels. This done, the warriors left their chariots, and, returning to the action, fought on foot, till unable longer to endure the fatigue, they returned, and continued the engagement in their chariots again.

Uncommon the valour and perſeverance of the ancient Britons: both ſexes were equally brave. The men were accompanied by the women to the field, and the huſbands frequently animated by the heroic example of their wives. The diſadvantages, however, under which they laboured, particularly a deficiency in military knowledge, expoſed them to the Roman yoke; but the conquerors of the world found it no eaſy taſk to reduce to ſlavery a people BORN TO BE FREE!

CHAPTER II.

The Invaſion of Britain by the Romans—Cæſar's Motive for an Invaſion—Reſiſtance of the Britons—Their Struggles to retain Liberty—Speech of the gallant Caractacus—Various Skirmiſhes—Miſcellaneous Obſervations.

THE Romans, having no idea of any countries lying beyond the ocean, which in their opinion ſurrounded the globe, had little or no knowledge of this iſland, till Julius Cæſar entertained the aſpiring deſign of adding the conqueſt of Britain to the renown he had already acquired.

A. C. 53.] When Pompey had ſignalized his name by extending his victorious arms throughout the greateſt part of the eaſtern world, Cæſar, prompted by the ſame ambitious motive, determined to efface all the great and diſtinguiſhed ſervices of his rival, by ſome memorable exploit of his own.

Accordingly, not content with the conqueſt of Gaul, (though a country renowned for martial abilities, which were late the terror of all around them,) he reſolved to explore other regions, hitherto unknown, and extend the power of the Roman name all over the world. Some writers inſinuate that avarice was the motive of this arduous undertaking, but the whole conduct of Cæſar proved a quite contrary diſpoſition; therefore the grand ſole incentive muſt have been ambition. Cæſar would not be outdone by Pompey!

It being too late in the ſeaſon to undertake an enterprize of this nature, the time was artfully employed in gaining information. Diligent inquiry was made of the ſeveral merchants who traded upon the coaſts, relative to the extent of the iſland, the ſituation of it's harbours, the nature of it's fortifications, and the genius, laws, cuſtoms, and military diſpoſition of it's inhabitants; but theſe merchants being reſerved, Voluſenus was ſent in a ſingle veſſel to reconnoitre the coaſts, with orders, when he had gained all poſſible intelligence, to make the beſt of his way to the country of Morini, or Picardi, whither he would repair in the mean time with all his forces.

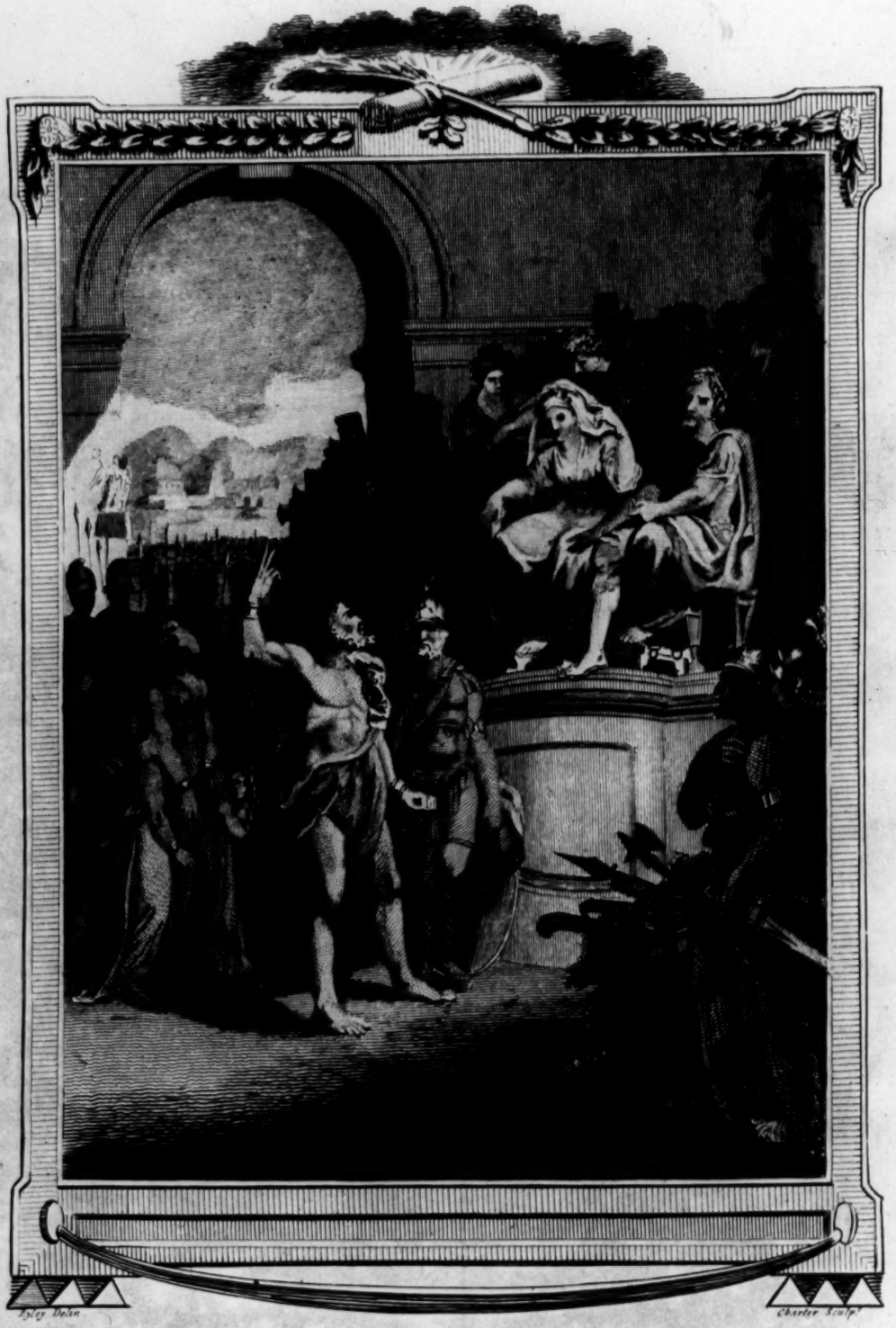
The Britons, informed of Cæſar's deſign by the merchants, diſpatched ambaſſadors with pacific terms. Theſe Cæſar deceived, and ſet ſail from Gaul about midnight, though all the intelligence that Voluſenus could collect was very unſatisfactory.

A. C. 52.] Having arrived at the Britiſh coaſt, he landed at Deal, (according to the generality of authors;) where the Britons, impreſſed with the love of liberty, made a vigorous reſiſtance. Some, not waiting for an attack, boldly rode into the water, and encountered the Romans, under their very ſhips, with ſuch undaunted bravery, as ſtruck even Cæſar's experienced army with conſternation. This oppoſition had ſuch an effect on them, that in all probability their attempt would have been fruſtrated, had not Cæſar, obſerving the ſituation of his party, commanded the gallies to advance with their broadſides towards the ſhore, and attack the Britons with ſlings, engines, darts, and other miſſile weapons. This ſtratagem ſucceeded according to his deſire; for the Britons, alarmed at the ſtrange form of the gallies, and the motion of the oars, as well as galled by a rapid diſcharge from the enemy, were, without much credit to their conqueror overcome.

Cæſar, conſtrained by the neceſſity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul, now obliged the Britons to promiſe hoſtages for their future obedience; but no ſooner had he departed, than the Britons, animated with the ſanguine hopes of recovering their liberty, diſregarded their ſtipulations, and ſeemed to bid defiance to the bold invader. Hereupon Cæſar landed, the ſucceeding ſummer, with a greater force; while the ſpirited iſlanders, ſtill advocates for their freedom, unanimouſly reſolved to veſt Ceſſivellaunus, who was originally the chief of the Caſri, and had acquired great military renown from his valiant behaviour in ſeveral continental engagements, with an abſolute command of their forces, and the ſole conduct of the war. Cæſar, however, by the ſuperiority of arms, was ſtill conqueror: advancing into the country, he took and burned Ceſſivellaunus's capital, eſtabliſhed his ally, Mandubratius, in the ſovereignty of the Trinovantes; and having agreed with the Britons that they ſhould pay an annual tribute to the Roman ſtate, and give hoſtages as ſecurity, he returned with his army into Gaul, leaving the authority of the Romans in this iſland more nominal than real.

A. C. 1.] As the Romans were continually involved in civil broils, the Britons continued free from their devaſtations; and during the reign of Auguſtus, Cæſar's ſucceſſor, they enjoyed an uninterrupted freedom, paying only a trifling duty on divers commodities they imported to the continent. Nor was this tranquillity diſturbed by Tiberius, Auguſtus's immediate ſucceſſor, who indeed was bound in honour and gratitude to the kindeſt treatment of the Britons; for when their troops, under Germanicus, were

wrecked



The Brave British Chief, **CARACTACUS,** *Addressing the Emperor,* **CLAUDIUS,** *at* **ROME.**

Published by H.D. Symonds. May 11. 1796

wrecked on the Engliſh coaſt, they were not only treated with every token of hoſpitality, but ſent back in ſafety to their general.

Cymbeline, or Cunobeline, who ſucceeded in lineal right to the government of Britain, and reigned during the time of Auguſtus and Tiberius, by his wiſe and gentle adminiſtration had rendered himſelf and the nation happy; but unfortunately found the cloſe of his reign ſullied with a misfortune that diſturbed his own peace, and the tranquillity of his country. This prince had ſeveral ſons, among which was Adminius, (called by Britiſh writers Guiderius,) who had been baniſhed from Britain for exciting an unnatural rebellion againſt his father.

A. D. 16.] On Caligula's acceſſion to the empire, Adminius repreſented to him the cruel treatment he had received from his father; whereupon Caligula menaced Britain with an invaſion, but his folly and arrogance met with univerſal contempt.

For ſome time the Britons retained their liberty unmoleſted; but in the reign of Claudius the Romans began to entertain hopes of reducing them under their dominion; and Aulus Plautius, a citizen as eminent in the field as the ſenate, was appointed to undertake the ambitious deſign.

A. D. 43.] Plautius accordingly marched his forces to the ſea ſide; but when he gave orders for embarkation, the ſoldiers mutinied, expreſſing the ſtrongeſt averſion to engage in a war beyond the limits of the world. This circumſtance eventually facilitated the conqueſt of the Britons; who, hearing of the mutiny, thence inferred that the Romans were afraid to attack them, and therefore neglected the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe their landing. But the Romans, rouſed at laſt into compliance, by the ſpirited remonſtrances of their general, Plautius, made conſiderable progreſs againſt the Britons, though his victory remained for ſome time doubtful.

Claudius, ſoon after, came over himſelf, and received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral Britiſh ſtates; but the other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and withſtood the Romans till Oſtorius Scapula was ſent over, to command their armies. Hereupon Caractacus drew up his, according to their different clans, and placed at the head of each their native chief; then riding up and down, and viſiting each rank in perſon, he animated them in a glowing ſpeech; wherein he proved, that the deciſion of the approaching event would fix irrevocably their doom, as freemen or ſlaves, and that therefore he doubted not their exertion in the glorious cauſe; recounting at the ſame time the valour of their anceſtors, who drove the ambitious Cæſar from Britain, and had hitherto diſivered their wives and children from diſhonour, and themſelves from bondage.

This ſpirited exhortation was received with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, to the great aſtoniſhment of Oſtorius; who, determining to ſurmount all difficulties, gave the ſignal for the attack; when the Romans ſallied forth with amazing reſolution, but ſuſtained great ſlaughter from the enemy's javelins, in attempting to force the ramparts; which having effected, the conteſt, though for ſome time doubtful, terminated in their favour.

The wife and daughter of the Britiſh general were now taken priſoners, and his brothers compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; while Caractacus fled to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, who treacherouſly ſeized his perſon, loaded him with chains, and ſent him, with the reſt of his family, to the Roman general. The emperor, to gratify the curioſity of the people, and enhance the merit of his exploits in Britain, reſolved to make a public ſpectacle of the illuſtrious captive. The day being appointed, the emperor was ſeated on a magnificent throne, and the empreſs Agrippina on another. An innumerable concourſe had aſſembled, to behold the man who had bravely oppoſed the conquerors of the world for a term of years. The vanquiſhed hero was preceded by his retinue, while the ſpoils taken from the Britons were diſplayed in triumph. Caractacus, approaching the throne of his conqueror, with

with a manly and compoſed countenance, thus addreſſed the emperor:

"Had my moderation in proſperity been "proportionate to the dignity of my birth and "fortune, I ſhould have publicly appeared "in Rome this day a friend and ally, not a "foe and captive; nor wouldſt thou, O "Cæſar, have diſdained to rank with a prince "of illuſtrious deſcent and extenſive domi-"nion. Thus ſituated, I am as much de-"baſed by captivity and vile ſubjection, as "thou art aggrandized by conqueſt and "ſplendid triumph. I once poſſeſſed arms, "horſes, wealth, and magnificence; is it "then a wonder that I ſtrove to preſerve "them at the hazard of my life? Though, "as Romans, you aſpire at univerſal ſway, "doth it thence follow, that the reſt of man-"kind muſt tamely yield to your uſurpation? "Had I meanly reſigned my right without "conteſt of arms, neither my fate, nor thy "glory, would excite the attention of the "world. Puniſh me with death, and we are "both conſigned to oblivion; permit me to "live, and thy clemency ſhall be immor-"talized."

So affected were Cæſar and the empreſs at theſe words, that, to the great delight of all the audience, this noble Briton and his whole family were ordered to be releaſed.

The Britons, animated by the indignities which they ſuffered, now waged war with more judgment, and conſequently greater ſucceſs; while the Romans, fluſhed with their late conqueſts, grew ſo ſupine and indifferent, as to give the former many advantages. Innumerable ſkirmiſhes enſued, which convinced the ambitious Romans that this iſland was a field productive of much military honour.

A. D. 59.] Under the reign of Nero, Suetonius Paulinus being inveſted with the ſupreme command, the Romans formed great expectations from his exploits in Britain. This able commander projected a plan for reducing the iſle of Mona, now called Angleſea, which was the chief ſeat of the Druids, and had hitherto afforded protection to their baffled forces. All the terrors of arms and religion were now made uſe of to prevent the Romans from entering this ſacred iſland. The women ran up and down, with hair diſhevelled, and lighted torches in their hands, uttering horrid imprecations, and ſupplicating the vengeance of heaven on their adverſaries. At firſt the Romans were diſmayed; but being exhorted by their leaders to deſpiſe the menaces of ſuperſtition, they charged the natives ſword in hand, and ſoon drove them off the field.

Determined to root out the whole druidical ſect, Suetonius commanded the prieſts to be caſt into thoſe fires which they had prepared for their captive enemies, and their conſecrated groves, altars, &c. to be totally demoliſhed. By theſe means Suetonius hoped to reduce the people to ſlavery with greater facility, but he was miſtaken; for Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, having been uſed in a moſt cruel and ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, ſtimulated the Britons, during the abſence of Suetonius, to reſent her injuries, and already had they attacked ſeveral of the conquerors' ſettlements with ſucceſs. Alarmed at this, Suetonius haſted to the protection of London, (now a flouriſhing city,) but found it neceſſary, on his arrival, to abandon it to the fury of the enraged enemy, who reduced it to aſhes, and maſſacred about ſeventy thouſand inhabitants, Romans and ſtrangers, without diſtinction. Determined on a retaliation, Suetonius collected, by the aſſiſtance of the Belgic Britons, who retained their allegiance to the Romans, an army of ten thouſand men; and, advancing with theſe, diſpoſed of them in ſuch order, as to enable them to bear the impetuoſity of the firſt attack in the beſt manner. Previous to which Boadicea rode through the ranks of her army in an open chariot, accompanied by her two daughters; and, addreſſing herſelf to the chief of every tribe, recited the indignation offered to her perſon, and the violation committed on the chaſtity of her daughters, as injuries calling for implacable revenge; animating them at the ſame time with the remembrance of their former ſucceſs, the importance of the event

of

BOADICEA, QUEEN of the ICENI,

Animating the BRITONS to Recover their LIBERTY.

Published by N.D. Symonds, Feb.ry 1, 1796.

of the preſent engagement, and, above all, the preſervation of their rights and liberties.

The Britons, having brought their women into the field, and blocked up the rear of the army with carriages, which obviated all poſſibility of a retreat, loſt this day no leſs than eighty thouſand men; notwithſtanding which they prepared for a ſecond engagement, but were prevented from their deſign by the ſudden death of Boadicea, who deſtroyed herſelf by poiſon, to prevent her falling into the hands of an enraged conqueror.

A. D. 62.] Suetonius, from the great ſlaughter he had made, being judged improper to continue his command, was ſucceeded by Petronius Tarpelianus, whoſe mild adminiſtration had procured him the quiet ſurrender of their former conqueſts; for which the ſenate, on his return, decreed him a triumph.

A. D. 68.] After ſome interval, Cerealis, and then Julius Frontinus, received the command from Veſpaſian, who ſucceſſively propagated the terror of the Roman arms; and towards the cloſe of this emperor's reign, (*A. D.* 78,) the renowned Julius Agricola was appointed to the government of Britain, which he held during the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, and finally eſtabliſhed the dominion of the Romans in this iſland. This able general carried his victorious arms northward, pierced into the foreſts and mountains of Caledonia, reduced every ſtate in the ſouthern parts of the iſland to ſubjection, and having formed a chain of garriſons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, ſecured the Roman province from the incurſions of thoſe of the ruder and more barren parts of the iſland.

A. D. 80.] Agricola took every neceſſary ſtep not only to reconcile the Britons to the laws and power of the Roman empire, but to the Roman cuſtoms, manners, and arts. To this end he erected courts of judicature, and other public buildings; and, by encouraging induſtry and diſcountenancing ſloth, excited a generous rivalry in the exertion of every faculty that diſtinguiſhes rational and intelligent beings. He alſo cauſed them to educate the ſons of perſons of power and property in the liberal arts; by which means many of the Britiſh youth diſplayed an extraordinary genius for the ſciences; and thoſe who lately deſpiſed the Roman tongue, and the ornamental branch of oratory, now ſtrove to excel in reading the beſt authors with propriety and elegance. In ſhort, by preferring the riſing genius of the Britons to the confirmed abilities of the Romans, he prompted the former to ſuch vigorous efforts in equalling the latter, that at length the Roman language, habit, cuſtoms, and manners, univerſally prevailed.

A. D. 121.] The Caledonians, defended by barren mountains, ſometimes made incurſions into the more cultivated parts of the iſland. The emperor Adrian, who viſited this iſland, built a rampart between the river Tyne and the frith of Solway.

A. D. 140.] Hitherto all hoſtilities had ſubſided in Britain, till the reign of Antoninus Pius; when the Brigantes, thinking the time of peace moſt opportune for incroaching upon the Roman territories, paſſed the wall of Agricola, but were interrupted in their proceſs by Lolius Urbicus; who, having driven them more to the northward, raiſed another rampart between the frith of Dunbriton and that of Edinburgh. This wiſe conduct of his general procured Antoninus the title of Britannicus, though he never had ſo much as ſeen the iſland himſelf.

A. D. 180.] On Commodus ſucceeding his father Aurelius, the inhabitants of the North, anxious to throw off the Roman yoke, made one glorious effort to recover their liberty. Theſe vigorous exertions being, however, defeated by Ulpius Marcellus, a treaty was afterwards made with Lupus, (*A. D.* 196,) and all commotions ſubſided.

A. D. 207.] The North Britons, ſtill animated with a wiſh to be free, now invaded the Roman territories, regardleſs of their treaty with Lupus; whereupon the Roman general, alarmed at their daring ſpirit, wrote to the emperor, informing him of the abſolute neceſſity of his preſence, or of a

very formidable reinforcement, to quell the inſurgents. The emperor, eſteeming Britain the moſt conſiderable province appertaining to his empire, immediately ſet out in a litter, accompanied by his two ſons; on whoſe arrival the inhabitants deemed it expedient to lay down their arms, and terms of alliance were ratified; but the emperor's ſon having ſuffered his ſoldiers to make lawleſs excurſions, and commit unwarrantable outrages, the inhabitants were again exaſperated to revolt, deeming it highly neceſſary to repreſs the rapid ſtrides of power, when incroaching on the feelings of nature. The emperor's death now prevented a terrible ſlaughter, while tranquillity prevailed in Britain during the reigns of his ſucceſſors. The only incidents which occur, are ſome ſeditions or rebellions of the Roman legions quartered there, and ſome uſurpations of the imperial dignity by the Roman governors; among whom Maximus, governor of Britain, having tranſported his army, conſiſting of Romans and the flower of the Britiſh youth, to Gaul, was ſaluted Imperator, *A. D.* 387. Theodoſius marched againſt him, routed, took him priſoner at Aquileia, and put him to death. The Britons, having loſt their leader, diſbanded, and ſettled in Armorica, ſince called Britanny, on the coaſt of France.

A. D. 399.] In the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, the northern barbarians aſſailed at once all the frontiers of that empire, and having ſatiated their avidity by plunder, reſolved to ſettle in the waſted provinces. The emperors now recalled the diſtant legions for the defence of the capital and center of the empire, and thoſe in Britanny were carried over for the protection of Italy and Gaul. That iſland, though ſecured by the ſea againſt the inroads of the greater tribes of barbarians, found enemies on it's frontiers, who took advantage of it's preſent defenceleſs ſtate: the Picts and Scots, who dwelt in the northern parts, beyond the wall of Antoninus, made incurſions on their peaceable and now effeminate neighbours, and threatened to bring the whole ſouthern part of the iſland into ſubjection, or, what was ſtill more dreaded, to plunder and lay it waſte. To ſuppreſs theſe invaders, Stilicho diſpatched Victorinus with ſome legionary troops; which effectually executed his deſign, by expelling the invaders from the Britiſh territories, and compelling them to quit their country.

A. D. 403.] For ſome years this iſland enjoyed a profound peace, till Alaric the Goth threatened the very capital of the Roman empire, and thereby obliged Stilicho to recall the troops from Britain, and expoſe the Roman territories to the incurſions of northern ravagers.

The Britons now applied to Rome for aſſiſtance; but Honorius, unable to comply with their requeſt, exhorted them in a letter to take up arms, and, animating each other, make the beſt defence they could. This refuſal drove them to deſpair, and determined them to diſclaim all connection with the Roman ſtate, erect themſelves into an independent community, and immediately proceed to the choice of an emperor. Accordingly, in the ſpace of ſix months, they elected and depoſed two emperors, Marcus and Gratian. After this they ſet up one Conſtantine, a perſon of mean rank, but towering ambition; who vainly aſpired to the whole weſtern empire, paſſed over to Gaul, where his enterprize, after a ſeries of different fortunes, proved deſtructive to his family and ſelf.

A. D. 423.] In the reign of Valentinian the Third, the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of Britain made application to the Roman emperor for aſſiſtance againſt the lawleſs depredations of the northern ſavages; and a legion being diſpatched for their ſuccour, the pillagers were ſurprized and routed.

The Romans granted another ſupply under the direction of Gallio; who, having repelled the invaders, and protected them, while they repaired the wall of Severus, and fortified their coaſts and maritime towns againſt future invaſions, aſſured them, from ſenatorial authority, that the Romans, conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the more important parts of the empire, could afford them no farther aſſiſtance: he therefore adviſed

viſed them to contract themſelves within the limits of the ſouthern parts; and convinced them of the neceſſity of repairing their fortreſſes, and practiſing the art of war, to become their own defenders in caſes of all emergencies; then inſpiring them with ſentiments truly patriotic, he aſſured them, if they would become a people free and happy, they muſt, whenever preſſed by the incroachments of preſumptuous invaders, arrogant tyrants, or greedy monopoliſts, ſtand up like men who love their country more than life, nor deem the latter too great a price when liberty is the purchaſe!

Having thus far ſerved the inhabitants, the Romans now bade a final adieu to Britain, about the year 448; though the time they were in poſſeſſion of this iſland is variouſly computed: Selden makes it 480, the Saxon Chronicle 470, Camden 476, and Speed 490 years.

Having conducted the Romans out of Britain, we ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome general remarks on the progreſsof arts, and other improvements, which the inhabitants made during that period.

The chriſtian religion made a conſiderable progreſs in this iſland. We have already given an account of the principal tenets held by the Druids, previous to the Roman invaſion, which are partly Egyptian, and partly Jewiſh, or deiſtical; probably ariſing from their commercial intercourſe with theſe people, whoſe religious ceremonies might by degrees be interwoven with their own, through policy or caprice. Much learning has been beſtowed, and a great deal of time loſt, in aſcertaining the firſt planting of chriſtianity in Britain, and the exact period of this event remains at preſent undetermined; the beſt accounts being grounded on fabulous traditions, and ſupported by monkiſh legends; it is ſufficient to know, that the goſpel was revealed to our unhappy anceſtors while groaning beneath the yoke of foreign tyranny, and at the moſt ſuitable period for adminiſtering it's celeſtial comforts to a people who had been inhumanly deprived of temporal felicity, through the unbounded ambition of a rapacious empire. From a paſſage in Clemens Romanus, in which mention is made that St. Paul preached the goſpel as far as the boundaries of the weſtern empire, it has been maintained, that the apoſtle perſonally viſited this iſland: but this opinion merits not the leaſt credit, for the Romans ever conſidered Britain as a colony, which, it is true, fell under the government of the weſtern diviſion when the empire was divided, though, being an iſland ſeparated from the continent, was never conſidered as part of the empire itſelf; and therefore was ſubject to the præfect of France, which kingdom was the utmoſt boundary of the weſtern empire. Rejecting therefore the honour of St. Paul's miniſtry, with the fable of Joſeph of Arimathea, which has employed the pens of divines as well as hiſtorians, we ſhall next examine the hiſtory of Pomponia Græcina, a Britiſh lady of diſtinction, and wife of Plautius, who was ſent to Britain, in the character of legate, by the emperor Claudius, *A. D.* 48. The words of Tacitus are, that this lady was accuſed by the Britons of embracing a foreign ſuperſtition; from which authority Dr. Smollett, and others, have honoured this lady with the title of the firſt Britiſh convert to chriſtianity; not conſidering that, at this æra, a defection from the druidical maxims, in a lady of Pomponia's quality, in favour of the pagan rites of Rome, was ſufficient to eſtabliſh the charge of her embracing a foreign ſuperſtition. Beſides, chriſtianity, at this early period, was taught as it is written in the goſpel, totally free of all that ſuperſtition which has ſince been introduced to ſerve the purpoſes of bad men; and therefore it is highly probable, that ſhe was converted by her huſband, not to chriſtianity, but to the idolatry of ancient Rome, which might be juſtly ſtiled a foreign ſuperſtition. Some time after this event, we find Boadicea, *A. D.* 61, addreſſing herſelf to Anderte, the Britiſh goddeſs of war, before ſhe engages the Romans; and letting looſe a hare, as an omen of victory; which plainly ſhew, that very few, if any, of her confederate forces

were

were chriſtians; for if they had, ſuch a proceeding would have been highly impolitic. In ſhort, it is impoſſible to fix the date of chriſtianity in this iſland with any certainty, till the general perſecution under Dioclefian and Maximinius, about the year 303, in which the chriſtians in Britain are ſaid to have been included by all the writers of that time; for upon this occaſion the Britiſh church is mentioned, and the names of ſeveral perſons who ſuffered martyrdom for the chriſtian faith, the chief of whom was St. Alban. A few years after, (*A. D.* 314,) the council of Arles in France was held, at which council it is certain three biſhops aſſiſted; as alſo at the council of Nice, in 325; at the council of Sardis, convened on account of Athanaſius; and, laſtly, at the council of Ariminum, (*A. D.* 359,) when the three biſhops were maintained, during their reſidence at Ariminum, at the emperor's expence, on account of their extreme poverty. The decrees of theſe councils have afforded ample matter for eccleſiaſtical controverſy, which has been carried on, as uſual, with great partiality, prejudice, and animoſity. The grand diſpute is the origin of the pretended ſuperiority of the Roman church; a matter of no moment to the preſent generation. The only information worth tranſmitting to poſterity is the undoubted independency of the Britiſh church on the ſee of Rome at it's firſt eſtabliſhment; though, through the weakneſs and ſuperſtition of our monarchs in after times, that dependency was avowed and confirmed, to the diſhonour of Britain, for many ages.

The face of the country made a very different appearance, when it was firſt invaded by the Romans, from what it did when they left it. The whole country was in a manner over-run with woods; the Romans made cuts through them ſo broad, as to prevent their being in danger from the ſallies of the Britons, and afterwards cleared away much greater quantities of them for the ſake of agriculture. Several parts of the country were filled with bogs and marſhes, many of which the Romans drained, made ſolid roads through the whole kingdom, and built bridges where they were neceſſary. By theſe ſalutary works they not only made an agreeable alteration in the face of the country, and gained great quantities of land for paſturage and agriculture, but rendered the air more ſerene and dry, and more pleaſant and healthy, than it had been in it's natural uncultivated ſtate.

The Britons in this period changed their appearance, and, inſtead of ſkins, wore a ſquare piece of thick cloth, not unlike the rugs for beds, which covered the body both before and behind, and was faſtened upon the breaſt, or one ſhoulder, with a claſp or ſkewer. Theſe being inconvenient in hot weather, the Britiſh weavers, on becoming more expert, made a finer ſort for ſummer; and on their learning the art of dying, had them in ſtripes chequer-wiſe, (*Diod. Sicul.* lib. v. c. xxx. p. 353.) ſomewhat like the tartan plaids of Scotland. This continued long their only dreſs, till at length they wore a cloſe tunic, and a garment which covered both their legs and thighs; and in time of war the Britiſh chieftains wore on their heads a kind of helmet, adorned with plumes of eagles feathers.

The Britons were greatly improved in agriculture, in building, and in a variety of arts. From the year 80 to the fourth century, architecture, and all the arts connected with it, flouriſhed in this iſland. Every Roman colony and free city in Britain was adorned with temples, palaces, courts, halls, obeliſks, baths, aqueducts, and other fine buildings, for uſe and ornament; and the country every where abounded with well-built villages, towns, forts, and ſtations.

In this period commerce alſo made great progreſs among the Romans and Britons: it was known indeed to the latter, while they were free and unconquered, and had been long carried on by way of barter; but now money was coined not only by the Romans but the Britons, and many coins of both have been found in England, and are ſtill preſerved in the cabinets of the curious.

Reſpecting the laws by which our anceſtors

ceſtors were now governed, we have only to obſerve, that after the deſtruction of the Druids, the military government of the Romans, by degrees, was eſtabliſhed in South Britain, and the whole adminiſtration entirely conducted by military officers of different ranks. The eſtabliſhment, at this time, was a ſyſtem of ſlavery; every office in the government being filled by the army, from the viceroy of Britain to the keepers of the priſon; all likewiſe the creatures of the emperors, from the duke of Britain down to the very regiſter of the court, and holding their commiſſion under the emperor or his vicegerents in Britain.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Saxons—Their Invitation by Vortigern—Ambitious Deſigns—The Heptarchy.

THE Saxons inhabited that part of Germany which lies between Jutland and the Rhine. They were compoſed of a number of independent tribes, and lived chiefly by hunting; but war was their principal ſtudy and purſuit, their education and religious prejudices being directed to that end. According to their notions of paradiſe, whoever died in the field of battle, or killed himſelf to accompany his chieftain in the other world, was admitted to the hall of Odin. Thoſe who died of diſeaſe had no claim to this privilege; neither had the women, without they mounted the funeral piles, and were conſumed with the bodies of their huſbands. If a celebrated hero had fallen in battle, or put himſelf to death in the gaiety and exultation of his ſpirit, his friends often ſlew themſelves, from an ambition to attend him; it being accounted moſt glorious to go to Odin in a company. Odin himſelf came forth to meet thoſe who died nobly, or deputed his virgins for that purpoſe. In proportion to the dignity and number of thoſe ſlain by a hero, was the honour of his reception and treatment. Swines fleſh was their food; to drink ale or mead from the ſkulls of their enemies was their delicious beverage; and a total oblivion of paſt misfortunes allowed them the fulleſt enjoyment of pleaſure.

The Valhalla, or hall of Odin, had five hundred and fifty gates, out of which eight hundred heroes might ſally to the place of action, where they ambitiouſly emulated the exploits of their paſt lives; and the ſlain in theſe encounters being immediately reanimated, battles fought without injury were renewed without number. Such they imagined were the pleaſures of the happy! So natural it is for a rude people to fancy that the joys which they loved when alive ſhould be their reward after death.

Having theſe pre-ſentiments, and hardened in their bodies, bold and magnanimous in their tempers, they were conducted, at the military age, to the public aſſemblies of their country; and there having dedicated their lives to military glory, were adorned with the ſhield and the lance, and admitted to a level with all the warriors of the tribe.

While the military virtues commanded reſpect and eſteem, cowardice was branded with infamy; and the timorous and unwarlike, being arraigned before their civil tribunal, by the public magiſtrate, and glowing with ſhame and confuſion in the midſt of ſo many illuſtrious warriors, were doomed to the moſt inglorious death.

Neither was it a ſmall incitement to their valour, that their armies conſiſted of families and relations, who confederated into particular bodies. Their wives and children followed them to the camp; ſo that the loſs of a battle involved in it the loſs of every thing they valued. Impelled by the moſt power-

ful motives, no courage was more impetuous than that of the Germans, no enemy more terrible. Some German nations told Cæsar, "that they were inferior only to the Suevi, to whom the immortal gods were not equal;" and a Saxon warrior ſcruples not to challenge his god Odin to combat.

The Germans were not leſs remarkable for their moral character and inſtitutions. They were courteous to each other, ſincere in their dealings, faithful to their word, and firm in their attachments. They were hoſpitable beyond all nations; and not only eſteemed it diſhonourable to deny admittance to a gueſt, but made it an object of puniſhment. Nor was their care limited to their own nation; they extended it to the travellers who might paſs through their country, ſetting aſide a portion of the public grain and treaſure for their entertainment. Mild in the treatment of criminals, they forgot not the moderation and equity which attend on liberty. Their fierceneſs was corrected by humanity, and their generoſity unfettered by the narrow boundary of an exact juſtice. They neither indulged a plurality of wives, nor prohibited their women to attend them to the field, to aſſiſt in their councils, and to be uſeful and active in the different occupations which employed them. Gallantry had not turned the ſex from buſineſs, or made it the object of a criminal voluptuouſneſs. Vice, in thoſe ſimple and virtuous times, had not lifted her head in triumph over innocence. Ambition had not intruded into the place of modeſty, nor were the poor cruſhed under the proud oppreſſion of the rich. A precarious juſtice was not to be bought from the corrupted tribunals of judges. The ignorance of crime was a firmer preſervative to their manners, than to other nations the ſtrictneſs of law, and the knowledge of virtue.

A German tribe, having fixed on a tract of country where to ſettle, conſidered the whole as belonging to it; nor could individuals appropriate any particular part. A portion of territory was marked out, and given to one half of the people to be cultivated; the other half ſpread the glory of the nation, enlarged it's dominion, or repelled the attacks of an enemy; and, as they relieved each other, the tribe became expert both in war and agriculture. To prevent an attachment to territory, the preference of tillage to arms, the introduction of luxury, or a diſtinction of rank, which might have been the conſequence of a more ſettled reſidence, they annually removed to a new ſituation, always allotting a new territory for cultivation.

When the fruits of their fields had come to maturity, the magiſtrates divided them among the members of the tribe; and every ſhare was proportioned to the dignity and virtue of the receiver.

The ſupreme power was veſted in the community. The council of the nation conſiſted of thoſe who had been preſented with the *lance*, for all ſuch had a right to be preſent. They were aſſembled at ſtated times, (as at the new and full moon,) and always came armed; an evidence of their independence. The extreme liberty of the people made them two or three days in aſſembling, on ordinary occaſions; but it was a law, that the perſon who came laſt, when matters of importance were under deliberation, ſhould be put to death with the moſt excruciating torture, as one who was regardleſs of the honour and intereſt of his tribe. Thoſe to whom age, eloquence, or valour, had given reputation, were allowed to ſpeak firſt; in other reſpects there ſubſiſted the moſt perfect equality: for no artificial differences of place or rank being known, the only diſtinctions among them were their perſonal qualities. In this *national aſſembly* the general and princes were elected; here they deliberated on peace and war, determined againſt what nation they ſhould turn their arms; what number of auxiliary troops they ſhould hire out to the neighbouring tribes, who might aſk their aid; and concerted the general plan of operations for the year. New cuſtoms were eſtabliſhed, old ones aboliſhed; embaſſies to foreign powers were ordered, the diviſion of the land directed, and all concerns whatever of moment tranſacted. All queſtions were decided

by

by the majority of voices; their meaſures were therefore undertaken with ſpirit, and executed with alacrity, every man being equally intereſted in them.

The regal dignity was very rare among the Germans; and when the ſuffrages of the community had elevated a diſtinguiſhed citizen to this rank, he diveſted himſelf of every attachment of nature and friendſhip, and ſtudied to diſtribute juſtice with impartiality. He was generally choſen for life; but did he at any time relax his martial ardour, did he employ his abilities to the prejudice of his nation, or fancy himſelf ſuperior to the laws, the ſame power which raiſed him to honour humbled and degraded him. The cuſtoms and councils of his country pointed out to him his duty; and if he infringed the one, or diſobeyed the other, a fierce people ſet aſide his authority, and made him expiate his offences by his death; ſo tenacious were the Germans of their liberty.

When the ſtates found it neceſſary to go to war, they elected a general, who ſunk into his former character at the end of it; and every citizen was eligible to the chief command in his turn.

The more illuſtrious citizens, or princes, as the Roman hiſtorian affects to call them, were intruſted by the people with the management of particular diſtricts, and one was choſen to preſide over the ſtate. The office and juriſdiction of theſe magiſtrates expired with the year, as the tribe annually changed their reſidence; and when they went to war, all power was lodged with the general.

Juſtice was adminiſtered in each diſtrict. This eſtabliſhment was formed by the inhabitants, who extended their juriſdiction over the territory they occupied. They bound themſelves to aſſemble at ſtated times; and having elected the wiſeſt to preſide over them, they as jurors judged not only of civil and criminal matters, but thoſe alſo which related to religion and the prieſthood. The judicial power, thus veſted in the people, was extenſive; they were able to preſerve their rights, and attended this court in arms.

The prieſts likewiſe exerciſed a juriſdiction in theſe aſſemblies. They inſtructed the people in religious duties, and matters regarding the prieſthood; and the princes related to them the laws and cuſtoms of the community.

In conſequence of the innovations which were introduced by conqueſt, land was given to individuals who were conſidered as the repreſentatives of the community; this was again parcelled out among the conquerors, who held it on the condition of attending their chief in his wars. Hence the origin of the feudal ſyſtem: lands held by this tenure were called feuds, or fiefs; from *fee*, a reward, and *odd*, a poſſeſſion. But no mean ſubmiſſions were claimed or acknowledged: the purpoſes of ſociety and government required ſubordination, and the offices of command and obedience. To other times we muſt look for that ſyſtem of oppreſſion which was founded on it; ſo much the diſgrace and ſcourge of mankind.

We have already obſerved, that every man who was preſented with a ſpear and a ſhield had a right to attend the great council, or parliament, of the nation: it is therefore natural to imagine, that in the ſmaller communities the people aſſembled in a *collective body*; but in the richer and more populous they appeared by *repreſentatives*.

But a queſtion may ariſe, Who were the repreſentatives? and how were they choſen? Each tribe was divided into ſo many pagi, or diſtricts, each of which elected their own magiſtrate annually. There could not, therefore, be any want of perſons qualified with repreſentative powers, and having the univerſal ſuffrage of the people, if they had not choſen any expreſsly for that purpoſe.

In thoſe tribes which were too numerous, or their territory too widely extended, to meet in a body, according to their *general cuſtom*, the individuals might meet in their particular diſtricts; but, for general concerns, the repreſentative ſyſtem could not fail to ſuggeſt itſelf.

This mode of government, ſo free and limited,

limited, among our Saxon anceſtors, hsa excited the admiration of modern times; and every thing that is valuable in our conſtitution will be found to be derived from them.

In the language of Monteſquieu, "If you will read the admirable work of Tacitus, on the manners of the Germans, you will ſee that it is from them that the Engliſh have taken the idea of their political government. This fine ſyſtem was formed in the woods."

The ſituation of Britain was truly deplorable. The Romans, having reduced them to a defenceleſs ſtate, left them to the mercy of their enemies. They found the Britons a free independent people, at war with no foreign power, ſubject to no invaſion of their property, having never given the leaſt umbrage to any of their neighbours: they invaded them, debauched the ſimplicity of their manners, diſciplined and carried off moſt of the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, and then abandoned them, leaving one part of the iſland a prey to the invaſions of the German pirates, and the reſt to the incurſions of the Picts and Scots, who were juſtly enraged againſt them for deſerting the common cauſe of liberty, and tamely ſubmitting to the Roman yoke.

For three years after the departure of the Romans, Britain was in a ſtate of anarchy; and it is totally impoſſible to ſay they had any form of government, a famine and peſtilence having ſpread a general deſolation, and carried off the greateſt part of the inhabitants; the remainder retreating to foreſts, woods, and mountains, and ſubmitting only to the petty tyrants who ruled over particular counties in which they reſided. About this period, the Picts and Scots united with the deſign of ſubduing Britain, and proceeded ſo far as to break down the wall of Severus, which fixed their boundaries beyond the friths.

A. D. 450.] Finding it now neceſſary to recur to their ancient form of government, they choſe Vortigern, a chieftain of the Silures in Radnorſhire, as a man fit to be veſted with the command of their perſons, and the guardianſhip of their liberties and properties.

Vortigern, having convened a general aſſembly of the principal inhabitants of the country, over which he preſided, was by them elected governor of Britain, but ſubject to render an account of his conduct to the inferior princes and magiſtrates.

A. D. 454.] After this election, Vortigern contrived to procure a general conſent to ſend ſpecial meſſengers to invite the Saxons in Germany to their aid, who readily accepted an invitation to a country from which they had often carried off conſiderable booty; and about fifteen hundred of their beſt troops being aſſembled with all expedition, they embarked under the conduct of two brothers, Hengiſt and Horſa, and ſoon after arrived at the Iſle of Thanet, which was aſſigned them for their preſent reſidence, where they were joyfully received by the deluded people, and greatly careſſed by Vortigern, who entered into a treaty with them, by which they ſtipulated to defend Britain, he engaging to reward them liberally for their ſervices. But the views of Hengiſt and Horſa extended far beyond a mere ſettlement, or a ſtipulated pecuniary reward for their ſervices; and Horſa, the more ſubtle of the two brothers, obſerving the fertility of the ſoil, the inexperience of the inhabitants, and the weakneſs of the governor, determined to avail himſelf of theſe circumſtances, in the proſecution of his ambitious plan. Hence we may ſee the iniquitous policy of any government whatever, in hiring foreign troops to overawe the people, on fallacious pretences.

Vortigern, perceiving that the arrival of the Saxons made no impreſſion on the invaders, who had now extended their ravages as far as Lincolnſhire, determined to come to action; and therefore, accompanied by his new allies, he took the field, engaged the enemy, put them to flight, and recovered great part of the ſpoil from the vanquiſhed barbarians;

barbarians; who, finding themſelves unable to cope with this united force, precipitately retreated to their northern boundaries.

Now Hengiſt and his followers having relieved Britain, as the moſt effectual method to increaſe their influence in the iſland, and ſecure and extend their poſſeſſions, perſuaded Vortigern to conſent to a more general invitation, under pretence that the Britons being diſſatisfied with his government and attachment to the Saxons, it was neceſſary to his ſecurity. Having gained this important point, ſeventeen veſſels were ſent for freſh ſupplies, and among thoſe families which embarked was Rowena, Hengiſt's daughter, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, whoſe perſonal charms greatly aſſiſted the Saxons in their political deſigns; for being introduced to Vortigern ſoon after her arrival, at an entertainment given by her father for that purpoſe, he inſtantly became enamoured of the royal maid, and demanded her in marriage, though he had another wife. Hengiſt, on this occaſion, made uſe of all that low diſſimulation which political craft alone can inſtil into the mind of man: he ſeemed to be abaſhed at the propoſal, and modeſtly to decline the acceptance of ſuch an honour; pleading the great inequality of the union, and pretending to receive a great obligation, he reluctantly conſents; and then, as a further obligation, (ſtrange inconſiſtency! but confirmed by all hiſtorians,) he receives the county of Kent as a reward for giving his daughter to Hengiſt. Thus we ſee how eaſily governors may be impoſed upon, and how ill beſtowed the majority of places and penſions! And yet Vortigern himſelf was not without *his* views; for the true motive of his invitation to the Saxons was no doubt to ſecure to himſelf the ſupreme government. To judge fairly, from his character, we may naturally infer that this grand ſcene of his marriage with Rowena, was no more than the diſcovery of the political plot that had been carrying on in ſecret between him and Hengiſt; inſtead, therefore, of honouring him, as ſome writers have done, with the title of Britiſh king, we ſhould rather brand him, from the firſt correſpondence he held with the Saxons, as an infamous traitor. Hengiſt and his followers having ſtrengthened their intereſt by this alliance with the Britiſh governor, and alſo by the arrival of a very conſiderable reinforcement from the continent, determining no longer to conceal their ambitious deſigns, ſought a quarrel; and complaining that their proviſions were withdrawn, and their ſubſidies ill paid, threw off the maſk, formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceeded to open hoſtilities with thoſe who had claimed their protection.

The Britons now aſſembling all their forces, held a council of war; and having complained of the inactivity and timidity of Vortigern, of which the Saxons had ſo importantly availed themſelves to their general diſadvantage, they inſiſted on transferring the command from him to Vortimer, his ſon by a former marriage, and a prince remarkable for wiſdom and valour.

The accounts of the engagements in different places, and on different occaſions, between Vortimer and Hengiſt, are ſo various, and hiſtorians differ ſo much in their relations, that little or no credit can be paid to any. Their battles, however, were fought with various ſucceſs; and in one at Egleſford, now Ailsford, Horſa, the Saxon general, was ſlain, by which means Hengiſt obtained the ſole command.

It is by ſome writers aſſerted, that Vortigern, on the death of Vortimer, was reſtored to the throne; when being at a banquet given by Hengiſt, at Stonehenge, three hundred of his nobility were treacherouſly ſlaughtered, and himſelf made a priſoner: but it is ſuſpected, with ſome reaſon, that theſe ſtories are the mere inventions of Welſh authors, and that Vortimer was ſucceeded by Ambroſius, a Briton deſcended from the Romans; who made ſome honourable, though in general unſucceſsful attempts, to rout the Saxons. By theſe combats both nations became implacable enemies, and the ancient inhabitants reſumed all their

military ſpirit; but Hengiſt ſtill prevailing, in order to divide the forces and attention of the natives, called over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and of Ebiſſa the ſon of Octa, and ſettled them in Northumberland. He himſelf remained in the ſouthern parts of the iſland, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name, Middleſex, Eſſex, and part of Surry. His royal ſeat he fixed at Canterbury, and died about the year 488; leaving his new-acquired dominions to his poſterity, after a reign of near forty years.

Other northern Germans, induced by the ſucceſs of Hengiſt, at different times, and under different leaders, flocked over in multitudes to the invaſion of this iſland. Theſe chiefly conſiſted of three tribes, viz. the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes,* who all paſſed under the common appellation, ſometimes of Saxons, ſometimes of Angles; and being accuſtomed to the ſame language, and the ſame inſtitutions, were naturally led to unite themſelves againſt the ancient inhabitants. The Britons, however, though unequal to the taſk, made an honourable reſiſtance; but, for want of unanimity, they were obliged to ſeek protection from the remote ſituation and inacceſſible mountains of Cornwall and Wales.

After that of Kent, the firſt Saxon ſtate eſtabliſhed in Britain, was the kingdom of South Saxony, or Suſſex. Ælla, a Saxon chief, brought over an army from Germany, (*A. D.* 477;) and landing on the ſouthern coaſt, took poſſeſſion of the neighbouring country. The Britons, now armed, bravely defended their poſſeſſions; but Ælla, reinforced by freſh numbers of his countrymen, laid ſiege to Andred-Ceaſter, and put all his enemies, without diſtinction, to the ſword. Hereupon he aſſumed the title of king, and extended his dominion over Suſſex and a great part of Surry. He was ſtopped in his progreſs to the eaſt by the kingdom of Kent; in that to the weſt by another tribe of Saxons, who had taken poſſeſſion of that territory, under the command of Cerdic, and his ſon Kenric, *A. D.* 495; and, from the ſituation of the country, were called the Weſt Saxons. The Britons gave battle to Cerdic the very day of his landing; and, though vanquiſhed, defended their liberties againſt the invaders for a conſiderable time. None of the other tribes of Saxons met with ſuch vigorous reſiſtance. Cerdic was even obliged to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of his countrymen from the kingdoms of Kent and Suſſex, as well as from Germany, and was thence joined by a freſh army, under the command of Porte, and of his ſons Bleda and Megla.

Thus aided, he fought (*A. D.* 508,) a deſperate battle with the Britons, commanded by Nazan-Leod; who, in the beginning of the action, routed the wing commanded by Cerdic; but Kenric, having prevailed in the other wing, came to the aſſiſtance of his father, and the Saxons gained the victory; while Nazan-Leod, with five thouſand of his army, periſhed, leaving the Britons more weakened than diſcouraged by their loſs.

The war ſtill continued; but the Saxons having the advantage, were ſtill victorious. Cerdic, in order to extend his conqueſts, laid ſiege to Mount Badon, or Baneſdowne, near Bath, to which the moſt reſolute of the vanquiſhed Britons had retired. In this extremity, the ſouthern Britons applied for aſſiſtance to Arthur, prince of the Silures; who ſupported the declining ſtate of his country by his heroic valour, raiſed the ſiege, *A. D.* 520, and defeated the Saxons in a moſt obſtinate engagement.

Still Cerdic retained the late fruits of his conqueſts. He and his ſon Kenric, who ſucceeded him, eſtabliſhed the kingdoms of the Weſt Saxons, or of Weſſex, over the counties of Hants, Dorſet, Wilts, Berks, and the Iſle of

* The Saxons inhabited Eſſex, Middleſex, Surry, Suſſex, and all the ſouthern country, to Cornwall; the Angles Mercia, and other parts of the kingdom; and the Jutes peopled Kent and the Iſle of Wight.

of Wight. Cerdic died *A. D.* 534, Kenric 560, leaving their newly acquired dominions to their poſterity.

The reſt of their countrymen were equally active in other quarters; for (*A. D.* 527) a great tribe of adventurers, under ſeveral leaders, landed on the eaſt coaſt of Britain, and, after fighting many battles, eſtabliſhed three new kingdoms in this iſland.

A. D. 575, Uffa aſſumed the title of king of the Eaſt Angles; *A. D.* 585, Crida that of Mercia; and Erkenwin, about the ſame time, that of Eaſt Saxony, or Eſſex. The kingdom of the Eaſt Angles comprehended the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk; Mercia extended over all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of theſe two kingdoms; and Eaſt Saxony, which was diſmembered from the kingdom of Kent, contained Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire.

Soon after the landing of Hengiſt, the Saxons had been planted in Northumberland; but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, and making but ſmall progreſs in ſubduing the inhabitants, the appellation of king was not as yet aſſumed. But, *A. D.* 547, Ida, a Saxon prince, who claimed a deſcent, according to the other princes of that nation, from Woden, brought over a reinforcement from Germany, and entirely ſubdued the county now called Northumberland, the biſhopric of Durham, and ſome of the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland; and he hereupon aſſumed the title of king of Bernicia. Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancaſhire, and the greater part of Yorkſhire, about the ſame time, received the appellation of king of the Deïri. Theſe two kingdoms were united under Ethilfred, grandſon of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and expelling her brother Edwin, eſtabliſhed one of the moſt powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, by the title of Northumberland.

After theſe violent conteſts between the natives and invaders, which continued near an hundred and fifty years, the ſeven Saxon kingdoms, entitled the Heptarchy, were eſtabliſhed. An entire change now took place, not only in the inhabitants, but in the manners, religion, and form of government in England, Wales and Cornwall excepted.

In order to convey a better idea of the Saxon Heptarchy, we ſhall preſent our readers with a particular account of each kingdom; beginning with the firſt eſtabliſhed, that of

KENT.

A. D. 457.] Founded by Hengiſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Eſcus. This prince being, unlike his father, of a peaceable diſpoſition, was deſerted by all thoſe Saxons who deſired military fame, and who for that purpoſe went over to Olla, king of Suſſex, who was then carrying on a ſucceſsful war againſt the inhabitants.

A. D. 512.] Octa having ſucceeded his father Eſcus, the Eaſt Saxons diſmembered the provinces of Eſſex and Middleſex from that of Kent, and eſtabliſhed their monarchy. This prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Hermenric, who aſſociated his ſon Ethelbert with him in the government.

Ethelbert was the firſt chriſtian king of Kent, who alſo extended it's dominions. Finding, on his acceſſion, that Ceaulin, king of the Weſt Saxons, had arrogated the title of principal monarch, on the decline of the kingdom of Kent, which had maintained the aſcendancy during the life of Hengiſt, determined to diſpute his claim to ſuperiority by force of arms; and intimating to the reſt of the kings that Ceaulin had acted inconſiſtently with the true ſtate of the heptarchy, by ſeizing part of the territories conſtitutionally appertaining to the South Saxons, he was conſequently provided with an additional force, when he overcame Ceaulin, who died ſoon after his defeat. From that time the former evinced a conduct more aſpiring than that which he had chaſtiſed in the latter; for having diſcovered means to obtain the kingdoms ſouth of the river Humber, (that of Northumberland excepted,) he there maintained a deſpotic ſway, the inhabitants

bitants being awed into ſubmiſſion by the report of his military abilities.

This reign was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for the introduction of chriſtianity. Ethelbert having, during the life of his father, eſpouſed Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, who was a chriſtian, and demanded on marriage the free exerciſe of her religion; which being granted, ſhe brought over a French biſhop to the court of Canterbury, which gave pope Gregory an opportunity of ſending Auguſtine, a Roman monk, with forty aſſociates, to preach the goſpel in this iſland. The papal hierarchy neither had, nor aſſumed, any influence over the chriſtian church in Britain until the miſſion of Auguſtine.

A. D. 597.] On the arrival of theſe miſſionaries, an habitation was granted them in the iſle of Thanet; and having made many proſelytes, Auguſtine was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury, and inveſted with authority over all the Britiſh churches.

Ethelbert having had a conference with theſe miſſionaries in the open air,* after ſome conſideration embraced chriſtianity; which produced a happy connection of his ſubjects with the French and Italians. Some hiſtorians inform us, that after the death of Bertha he married another French princeſs.

Auguſtine, encouraged by the favourable reception he met with, and the great proſpect of ſucceſs which was before him, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the goſpel to the Kentiſh Saxons. He attracted their attention by the auſterity of his manners, the ſevere penances to which he ſubjected himſelf, and the abſtinence and ſelf-denial which he practiſed. Having alſo excited their wonder, by a courſe of life which appeared ſo contrary to nature, he procured more eaſily their belief of miracles, which, it was pretended, he wrought for their converſion. Influenced by theſe motives, and by the declared favour of the court, numbers of the Kentiſh men were baptized. Auguſtine thought proper, in the commencement of his miſſion, to aſſume the appearance of the greateſt lenity.

A. D. 616.] After a reign of fifty years, Ethelbert was ſucceeded by his ſon Eadbald; who, ſeduced by a paſſion for his mother-in-law, for ſome time deſerted chriſtianity, on account of it's not permitting ſuch inceſtuous marriages, and all his people returned with him to idolatry. However, Laurentius, the ſucceſſor of Auguſtine, convinced him of his error; on which, divorcing his mother-in-law, he and his people returned to the chriſtian religion. He died after a reign of twenty-five years, leaving two ſons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

A. D. 640.] Ercombert, though the younger ſon, aſcended the throne, and utterly extirpated idolatry. He reigned twenty-four years, and was ſucceeded by Egbert, his eldeſt ſon.

This prince, though diſtinguiſhed by his encouragement of learning, fearing the ſons of his father's brother (who had been illegally ſet aſide) would lay claim to the crown, cauſed the infant orphans to be murdered, and their bodies thrown into a river; where they were found by the country people, and interred in the abbey of Ramſay: then, according to the abſurd notions of thoſe dark ages of ſuperſtition and ignorance, Egbert, in order to expiate his enormous crime, preſented Dommona, ſiſter of the murdered children, with ſome lands in the Iſle of Thanet, directing her to found a monaſtery thereon, and preſide in it as prioreſs. The latter part of his adminiſtration was mild and peaceable, during the ſpace of nine years; leaving behind him two ſons, Edred and Widred.

A. D. 673.] Lothaire, in imitation of his brother, ſeized on the ſovereignty; which having maintained without moleſtation ten years, he thought the beſt method of ſecuring

* Which ſituation he choſe leſt ſpells and inchantments might be employed againſt him, apprehenſive that the chriſtians dealt in magic.

curing the ſucceſſion to his poſterity, would be to aſſociate with himſelf his ſon Richard in the government; which ſo incenſed his diſpoſſeſſed nephew Edric, that he withdrew from court in great diſguſt, and implored the aſſiſtance of Adelwalch, king of the South Saxons; by whoſe aid he marched at the head of an army into Kent; where having vanquiſhed and ſlain Lothaire, he was reſtored to his right without oppoſition. Richard, the ſon of the uſurper, fled into Germany.

A. D. 678.] Widred, the brother of Edric, who ſucceeded him, obſerving that the kingdom was already in a very defenceleſs condition, as well as threatened with an invaſion from Cedwalla, king of the Weſt Saxons, with admirable policy prevented much tumult, and great effuſion of blood, that would inevitably have attended the attempt, by offering their general, Swabert, (who was highly reſpected,) an aſſociation with him in the government. This invitation being accepted, Swabert reigned with Widred four years; and Widred, on his death, reſumed the ſole poſſeſſion for twelve years.

A. D. 728.] Eadbert ſucceeded his father Widred, enjoying a peaceable reign for twenty-three years; when, dying without iſſue, his brother Ethelbert received the crown, which he divided with his ſon Ardulph; but having ſurvived him, bequeathed his ſceptre to his brother Alric, the laſt lineal deſcendant of Hengiſt, the founder of the kingdom.

Alric's reign was continually diſturbed by the reſtleſs ambition of his neighbours, each of whom was willing to add this kingdom to his own dominion; but the moſt formidable candidate was Offa, king of the Mercians; to whom, after the death of Alric, (*A. D.* 794,) this kingdom became tributary.

Acmund, ſon of the reigning king, dying before his father, the royal family became extinct, and the government was engroſſed by thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of wealth and power; among whom was one Prin, who, according to ſome writers, preſixed the regal name of Eadbert to his own ſurname; while others intimate that it was conferred on Eadbert, whoſe ſurname was Prin: it is however agreed, that this uſurper reigned but two years; when Cenulph, king of Mercia, who had already over-run all Kent, carried him away captive.

A. D. 794.] Cenulph placed Cudred on the vacant throne, who died after a nominal reign of eight years; and with permiſſion of the victor, was ſucceeded (*A. D.* 805) by his ſon Baldred, an illegitimate branch of the royal family; who was (*A. D.* 723) expelled by Egbert, king of Weſſex.

During Baldred's reign, the diſſolution of the heptarchy began with the conqueſt of his dominions by Egbert. The defeated prince fled to the other ſide of the Thames, and there he lived in obſcurity. Egbert, the conqueror, now joined the kingdom of Kent to that of the Weſt Saxons, *A. D.* 805. It had been three hundred and forty years a ſeparate ſtate in the heptarchy.

SUSSEX.

A. D. 491.] Founded by Olla, whom the Saxons appointed to ſucceed Hengiſt, and who maintained his ground for ſome time againſt prince Arthur, in 476.

This kingdom was the moſt inconſiderable in the whole heptarchy, as it only contained the county of Suſſex and part of Surrey, being little more than fifty miles in extent, and the chief part of that uncultivated.

Olla enjoyed the ſovereign power twenty-three years, and left the crown to his only ſon Ciſſa; remarkable for his long reign of ſeventy-ſix years, and the building of Chicheſter. Matthew of Weſtminſter poſitively aſſerts, that he came to England with his father at the above period, when he oppoſed prince Arthur.

During the reign of Ciſſa, the South Saxons fell into an almoſt total dependence upon the kingdom of Weſſex; and Ciſſa having died without iſſue, Ceaulin king of the Weſt Saxons ſeized the kingdom, which cauſed a league to be formed againſt him,

when he was diſpoſſeſſed by his nephew Ceolric. During the abſence of Ceaulin, the South Saxons (who made previous attempts to regain their liberty) found an opportunity of placing Adelwalch on the throne.

A. D. 645.] This prince was taken priſoner by Wulfhere king of Mercia, who made himſelf maſter of the iſle of Wight; but afterwards reſtored it, with the other dominions, to Adelwalch, who became a chriſtian during his captivity. Having reſumed his ſceptre, Adelwalch reigned awhile in peace, till at laſt invaded and ſlain in battle by Cedwalla, prince of the Weſt Saxons; who likewiſe put to death his two infant ſons.

A. D. 686.] Berethun and Audhun, two noblemen, for ſome time reſiſted the violence committed by the Weſt Saxons. The former was ſlain in battle, and Audhun permitted to retain the kingdom (*A. D.* 722) in dependence on the conqueror Cedwalla; who when he died reſerved the regal power to himſelf. This kingdom was at length totally ſubdued, and united to that of the Weſt Saxons, *A. D.* 754.

ESSEX.

A. D. 527.] Founded by Erkinwin, who reigned upwards of ſixty years: he was ſucceeded by his ſon Sleda, who reigned almoſt ten years.

A. D. 596-7.] Sebert ſucceeded his father Sleda; and being nephew to Ethelbert, king of Kent, was prevailed on to embrace the chriſtian religion. He reigned about ſeventeen years; when the crown became the joint property of his three ſons, Sexted, Seward, and Sigebert; who relapſed into idolatry, and were afterwards ſlain in battle againſt the Weſt Saxons, whereupon Sigebert the Little, Sigebert the Good, (who reſtored chriſtianity,) Swithelm, Sigheri, and Offa, aſcended the throne ſucceſſively.

Offa, remarkable for his beauty, made a vow of chaſtity, and ended his days in a convent, notwithſtanding his marriage with Keneſwitha, a Mercian princeſs.

A. D. 709.] Selred, ſon of Sigebert the Good, ſucceeded, and reigned thirty-eight years. He died without iſſue; ſome think he was murdered. After him reigned Switherd, by the conſent of the Mercian princes. Next Sigeric, who, being unable to defend his kingdom, diſſolved it by a ſurrender to Egbert. Sigeric died in a pilgrimage to Rome.

EAST-ANGLIA.

A. D. 575.] Founded by Uffa, who enjoyed his ſovereignty but three years; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Titel, who reigned one and twenty years. His ſucceſſor was Redwald, one of the moſt virtuous kings of the heptarchy, of whom mention ſhall be made when treating of the kingdom of Northumberland.

A. D. 624.] Earpwold, the fourth king, and great-grandſon of Uffa, was obliged by Edwin, king of Northumberland, on whom he entirely depended, to embrace the chriſtian religion; yet was afterwards perſuaded by his wife to relapſe into idolatry. He was aſſaſſinated by one Richbert, a pagan, who, without aſſuming the title of king, exerciſed the ſupreme authority for three years, when Sigebert, the half-brother of Earpwold, was recalled from exile, and raiſed to the throne.

A. D. 636.] This prince reſtored chriſtianity, introduced learning among the East-Angles, and is ſaid to have founded the univerſity of Cambridge. He at length retired into a monaſtery, leaving his crown to his kinſman Egric, who had not long been ſeated on the throne when his dominions were attacked by Penda, king of Mercia, whereupon Sigebert was intreated to leave his retirement, and give his aſſiſtance: however, both he and Egric were defeated and ſlain.

A. D. 644.] Annas, of the royal family, now received the crown, and having reſtored Kenwalch to the throne of Weſſex, of which Penda had deprived him, gave ſuch offence

to

to that monarch as to be threatened with immediate ruin. Annas therefore made preparations for the defence of his kingdom, but death prevented the completion of his measures.

A. D. 654.] His brother, Ethelric, now poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, thinking himſelf unable to cope with Penda, moſt ſhamefully deſerted the cauſe of his country; and, baſely violating all the ties of honour and blood, formed an alliance with the uſurper, and even joined him in his invaſion of the kingdom of Northumberland, where they were both vanquiſhed and ſlain by king Oſwy. His throne was filled by his brother Ethelwald, the tranſactions of whoſe reign are involved in obſcurity.

A. D. 644.] Ardulph, the next king, after a reign of nineteen years, left his crown to his brother Alphwald, at whoſe death it paſſed to Beorna, who aſſociated Ethelred with him in the government. This union continued nine years, when Ethelred dying, Beorna retained the ſole poſſeſſion of the crown; and, on his demiſe, was ſucceeded by Ethelbert, who was treacherouſly murdered by Offa (*A. D.* 749); who, thereupon, united East-Anglia to his own dominions.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

A. D. 547.] Founded by Ina. This kingdom extended acroſs England, from the German Ocean to the Iriſh Sea, and from the Humber far into Lothian in Scotland. It was at firſt divided into two kingdoms; that to the ſouth called Deïri, and that to the north Bernicia. Ina was ſucceeded by his ſons Adda and Olla; concerning whom, and their five ſucceſſors, nothing is recorded but that their names were Clappa, who reigned ſeven years; Theodulph, who reigned one year; Freothulph, Theodric, who reigned ſeven years each; Edelric, who, being very old when he received the crown, aſſociated with him his ſon Adelfrid, who, on his father's demiſe, married Acca, the daughter of Ulla, king of Deïra, and expelling Edwin, her infant brother, united all the countries north of the Humber under one monarchy, ſpreading the terror of the Saxon arms by his victories over the Scots, Picts, and Welſh.

A. D. 613.] On his beſieging Cheſter, the Britons marched out to engage him, attended by 1250 monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle. Adelfrid, inquiring the reaſon of that unuſual appearance, was told, thoſe prieſts had come to pray againſt him: "Then," ſaid he, "they are as much our "enemies as thoſe who intend to fight againſt "us:" and immediately ſent a detachment againſt them, which fell upon them with ſuch fury, that only fifty eſcaped with their lives. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at this event, received a total defeat. Cheſter was obliged to ſurrender; and Adelfrid, purſuing his victory, took Bangor, and entirely demoliſhed the monaſtery; which was ſo extenſive, that there was the diſtance of a mile from one gate to another; and it contained 2100 monks, ſuppoſed to have maintained themſelves by labour.

The baniſhed Edwin, now grown to man's eſtate, applied for refuge to Redwald, king of the Eaſt-Angles, who, compaſſionating his misfortunes, received him with much hoſpitality. The king of Northumberland now earneſtly ſolicited Redwald to deſtroy or deliver up his gueſt, promiſing him magnificent preſents in caſe of compliance, and threatening him with war, if he refuſed. But the king of the Eaſt-Angles, prompted by motives of honour, and thereto encouraged by the queen, determined to protect the unfortunate wanderer, and accordingly prepared for a reſiſtance, leſt Adelfrid ſhould proceed to the execution of his menaces. Dividing his army into three ſeparate bodies, he marched towards Northumberland, having given the command of the firſt to Reyner his ſon, with orders to advance and ſecure a paſs, while he himſelf followed with the ſecond, and Edwin brought up the rear. Reyner, deſirous of ſignalizing his courage, left his father too far behind to ſuſtain him in caſe of an attack; ſo that Adelfrid, who had already taken the field, meeting him near the river

Idel,

Idel, upon the borders of Mercia, and furiouſly charging his diviſion, a total defeat, and the loſs of his own life, paid the forfeit of his temerity.

Redwald, incenſed by the loſs of his ſon, advanced, and attacked the Northumbrians with ſuch fury, that he obtained an entire victory over the uſurper, who being ſlain, his three ſons, yet infants, were carried into Scotland, and Edwin placed on the throne of Northumberland, who began his reign by civilizing the people, and enacting wholeſome laws for aboliſhing rapine and violence.

Edwin's acceſſion ſeems to have affected none of the princes, except Cuichelme, king of the Weſt Saxons, who ſought occaſion to wage war againſt him; but fortune not ſucceeding his endeavours, he was after ſome conteſt obliged to ſue for peace; and Edwin at the ſame time, by threatening an invaſion, obtained an annual tribute from the Britons. Cuichelme, ſtill jealous of the power of Edwin, who poſſeſſed part of his dominions, and filled with reſentment againſt him for his ſuperior ſway, ſought means of retaliating the injuries he imagined he had ſuſtained; and, according to ſome ancient hiſtorians, employed an aſſaſſin, who, having obtained admiſſion by pretending that he had a meſſage to deliver from Cuichelme, drew his dagger, and ruſhed upon the king; when Lilla, an officer of the army, having no other means of defence, ruſhed between the king and the dagger, which was ſtruck with ſuch violence that it pierced through Lilla's body, and wounded Edwin: but before the aſſaſſin could repeat the blow he was killed by the king's attendants.

The Eaſt-Angles having conſpired againſt Redwald, ſlew him, and then offered the crown to Edwin, of whoſe valour and experience he had given them proofs while he reſided among them; but Edwin, from a ſenſe of gratitude, obliged them to chooſe Earpwold, the ſon of Redwald, his benefactor.

Edwin's firſt wife having died during his exile, he married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who, emulating the glory of her mother, had previouſly demanded the free exerciſe of her religion, which being granted, ſhe was accompanied by Paulinus, a learned biſhop, who ſettled with the queen at York.

A. D. 627.] Edwin, ſoon after the celebration of his nuptials, at the inſtigation of the queen, and as ſome ſay of his chief miniſter Coiſi, embraced the chriſtian religion, and was baptized at York by the hands of Paulinus, whom he afterwards appointed biſhop of that ſee. The king's example was followed by ſeveral of his ſubjects.

The remarkable power and influence of Edwin at length awakened the jealouſy of all the Saxon princes, and eſpecially of Penda, king of Mercia, who, being of a reſtleſs, ambitious diſpoſition, had long deſired to exempt himſelf from paying tribute to Edwin, and now found means to form an alliance with Cadwalla, king of the Britons, who had been reſtored by his aſſiſtance, and was an inveterate enemy to Edwin. Edwin, with an inferior number of troops, met his antagoniſts at Hatfield in Yorkſhire, but periſhed in the engagement, with his ſon Oſfrid, in the 48th year of his age, and 17th of his reign. His queen, Ethelburga, fled with Paulinus into Kent, where they met a moſt hoſpitable reception; but Eadfrid, the ſecond ſon of Edwin, was treacherouſly put to death by the conqueror Penda.

The Northumbrians, aggrieved by the cruelties and injuſtice of the tyrannical Penda, nobly reſolved to make a vigorous effort towards the recovery of their former independency; preferring a glorious death to a life of ignoble ſubjection. Accordingly they placed Oſric, a relation of Edwin, on the throne of Deïra; and Eanfrid, ſon of Adelfrid, on that of Bernicia. But theſe two princes ſurvived their elevation but a very ſhort time; for Oſric, having raſhly beſieged Cadwalla at York, the Britiſh king made a furious ſally, routed the beſiegers with great ſlaughter, and with his own hand ſlew the young, but enterpriſing prince. After this ſucceſs, Cadwalla advanced againſt Eanfrid, who ſoon ſhared the unhappy fate of his colleague.

Oſwald,

A. D. 634. Oſwald, who had been an exile in Scotland, bravely undertook to relieve his oppreſſed countrymen; and attacked Cadwalla with a very inferior number of troops, defeated, and killed him.

The ſudden fall of the king of the Britons animated the Northumbrians to ſuch a degree that they obtained a complete victory. Oſwald now became abſolute maſter of the kingdom of Deïra and Bernicia; to which he had a double claim, as heir to his father Adelfrid, and his mother Acca, Edwin's ſiſter. Oſwald enacted ſeveral ſalutary laws, and endeavoured, by the mildeſt adminiſtration, to make his people happy; but Penda, the Mercian king, jealous of his fame, entered his kingdom with a powerful army, in an engagement with whom Oſwald was ſlain, (*A. D.* 642,) and his brother Oſwy choſen for his ſucceſſor, his ſon, whom he left behind, being deemed too young to reign; and Oſwin, ſon of Oſric, and couſin-german to Edwin, was aſſociated with him by the Deïrians.

During the attacks of Penda, theſe princes were amicably united; but when thoſe hoſtilities ſubſided, Oſwy, taking advantage of his brother Oſwin's inactive diſpoſition, formed a deſign of invading his territories. Oſwin, finding he had not force ſufficient to encounter with his kinſman, took refuge at a nobleman's houſe, who, regardleſs of the laws of hoſpitality, baſely delivered him up to be murdered at Gelling near Richmond.

A. D. 651.] Ethelwald, ſon of Oſwald, was now choſen by the people for his ſucceſſor on the throne of Deïra, out of reſentment to Oſwy's cruelty; for, even in thoſe days of uſurpation and treachery, the people frequently claimed the privilege of electing their kings.

Ethelwald, aware of the jealouſy and power of Oſwy, entered into a league with Penda, who ſtill retained his averſion to the Northumbrians, though on the verge of eighty; and reſiſted all the proffers of Oſwy, who wiſhed if poſſible to break the alliance.

The army of the confederates, and that of Oſwy, met at Leeds in Yorkſhire; but, chiefly owing to the inactivity of Ethelwald (who apprehended his own fall inevitable, whoever ſhould be conqueror), Penda, and the king of the Eaſt Angles, who likewiſe aſſiſted, were put to the rout, and the commanders ſlain while in the act of animating their troops.

A. D. 655.] This important victory gave Oſwy a clear paſſage into Mercia, which he ſubdued without oppoſition, the ſons of Penda having fled for ſecurity to another kingdom.

In conſequence of the reduction of Mercia, which he kept in ſubjection three years, Oſwy was now elected chief of the Saxon confederacy, which ſtation had not been filled ſince the death of Oſwald; but ſo rigorous was his adminiſtration, that the oppreſſed Mercians, weary of the yoke, entered into a confederacy, by means of which Wolfhere, the eldeſt ſon of Penda, was raiſed to the throne, and the Northumbrians were compelled to abandon the kingdom.

A. D. 660.] On the demiſe of Ethelwald, Oſwy obtained the kingdom of Deïra, which he ſoon conſigned to his ſon Alfred, and died in peace, after a reign of twenty-eight years; many of which, through his reſtleſs ambition, he had ſpent in war.

A. D. 670.] The throne of Bernicia was now filled by his ſon Egfrid; who, inheriting the ambition of his father, compelled Alfred to reſign the kingdom of Deïra, and retire to Ireland. Egfrid, being a prince of a bold and active genius, ſoon after his acceſſion found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking up arms againſt Wolfhere, king of Mercia; whom he defeated with conſiderable loſs, and forced into his own kingdom.

Egfrid's reign was diſtinguiſhed for his oppoſition to the incroachments of eccleſiaſtical power, and particularly the expulſion of Wilfred, the arrogant biſhop of Canterbury, from his ſee; nor could he be prevailed on to reſtore him by a declaration of the pope in full ſynod.

This enterprizing prince attempted the conqueſt of Ireland; but failing in this, to compenſate for the diſappointment, turned his arms againſt the Scots, in violation of a treaty concluded with Eugenius, their king, and waſted great part of the country with fire and ſword.

A. D. 685.] Eugenius at length having brought over the Picts to his alliance, attacked Egfrid ſo furiouſly, that his army was routed, and he eſcaped with great difficulty into his dominions. Incenſed at the revolt of the Picts, he advanced next year into their country, in order to chaſtiſe their treachery; but being drawn into an ambuſh, he was ſlain, together with great part of his army.

The Picts, improving their victory, recovered part of the country they had formerly loſt, threw off the Engliſh yoke, nor yielded any longer to pay tribute.

Adelthrid, wife of Egfrid, having refuſed to violate her vow of chaſtity, he died accordingly without iſſue; by which means Alfred, his baſtard brother, was recalled from exile, and placed upon the throne. He reigned nineteen years, and left it to Oſred, his eldeſt ſon, who was but eight years old, and under the care of Berectfrid, a nobleman.

A. D. 705.] The minority of Oſred gave occaſion to the uſurpation of Eathwulf, a nobleman whoſe ambition terminated in his ruin, being driven from the throne to which he had aſpired in leſs than two months, and beheaded as a traitor.

Oſred, when arrived to manhood, became ſuch an abandoned character, that he was very juſtly depoſed by his ſubjects, after a reign of eleven years, and murdered in his reſiſtance by Kenred, who ſucceeded, (*A. D.* 716,) and who, after a reign of upwards of one year, left his crown to Oſric; who enjoyed it eleven years, and left the ſucceſſion to Celwulph, ſon, or (as ſome ſay) brother, of his predeceſſor Kenred.

A. D. 737.] Celwulph having retired into a monaſtery, Eadbert, his couſin-german, ſucceeded; but who, infected with the ſame ridiculous enthuſiaſm, abdicated the crown for a monaſtic habit.

A. D. 757.] Oſwolf, who ſucceeded his father, before he had reigned one year was aſſaſſinated by his domeſtics; upon which the government devolved on Mollo-Athelwald, though not related to the royal family.

A. D. 774.] Oſwin, a powerful nobleman, excited a rebellion againſt this Mollo, and defeated him in an engagement near Melroſs, but was ſoon taken off by the treacherous art of Ailred, whom the people raiſed to the regal dignity, being a prince of the blood; but his weakneſs and inability at laſt provoked his ſubjects, who put the crown upon his head, now to dethrone him, and force him to obſcure retirement; for which nature, notwithſtanding his birth, ſeemed to have deſigned him. Ethelred, his ſucceſſor, the ſon of Mollo, underwent a ſimilar fate. The next king, Celwald, was ſlain by the people. He was ſucceeded by Oſred, his nephew, who made way for Ethelbert, another ſon of Mollo. Ailred had taken refuge in the iſle of Man; from whence this cruel tyrant decoyed him by the moſt flattering promiſes, and, as ſoon as he had him in his power, inhumanly cauſed him to be murdered at Aynburg, in the year 792.

A. D. 794.] In this reign the Danes, who ſubſiſted by piracies, made a deſcent upon Northumberland; and having plundered and burnt the monaſtery of Lindisfarne, retired to their own country; but the next year returned, and plundered the monaſtery at Tinmouth: being, however, oppoſed by Ethelbert, they fled to their ſhips, and were afterwards overtaken by a tempeſt, in which they periſhed on the Engliſh coaſt.

A. D. 796.] Ethelbert at length fell a victim to the ſame bloody treachery he had exerciſed towards others, being ſlain in a rebellion raiſed by his oppreſſed ſubjects after a reign of about ſeven years.

He was ſucceeded by Oſbald, who was expelled within a month after his elevation, and retiring into Scotland, there died in a convent. Whereupon Ardulph aſcended the throne, but his reign was as much diſturbed as thoſe of his predeceſſors; and frequent rebellions being raiſed, he repaired to the court of Charlemagne, where he ended his days.

So dangerous, as well as precarious, was the crown of Northumberland, that no prince deemed it worthy his acceptance; conſequently an interregnum of about thirty years enſued,

enſued, during which inteſtine broils prevailed, which confuſion at laſt ceaſed, *A. D.* 827; when Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons reduced the inhabitants to ſubjection.

MERCIA.

A. D. 582.] Founded by Crida, a deſcendant of Wathelda, ſecond ſon of Wada, was by far the moſt conſiderable of the heptarchy.

A. D. 594.] On the death of Crida, Ethelbert king of Kent laid claim to the monarchy, being the lineal deſcendant of Hengiſt; but as diſcontent was the reſult of this uſurpation, he reſigned the crown to Wibba, ſon of Crida, who, after a reign of nineteen years, left it to his ſon Penda.

A. D. 614.] Ethelbert, aware of the reſtleſs ambition and turbulent temper of Penda, kept him from the ſucceſſion by ſetting his kinſman Ceorl on the throne, who reigned ten years, but was at laſt ſucceeded by Penda, though in the fiftieth year of his age. The violence and injuſtice of this monarch have been already remarked.

A. D. 655.] Peada, his ſon, ſucceeded to the crown of Mercia, and married the daughter of Oſwy; who, being educated in the chriſtian faith, ſucceſsfully employed her influence in bringing her huſband and his ſubjects to embrace that religion.

A. D. 657.] Peada dying by poiſon, his ſon Wolfhere aſcended the throne, and, after having reduced to dependence the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Eſſex, left the crown to his ſon Kendred, an infant, who was ſupplanted by his uncle Ethelred, who made a ſucceſsful expedition into Kent, repulſed Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who had invaded his dominions, and ſlew in battle Elfwin, that prince's brother; but being deſirous of compoſing all animoſities, he paid Egfrid a ſum of money, as a compenſation for the loſs of his brother, and, after a proſperous reign of thirty years, reſigned the throne to his nephew, and retired into a monaſtery. Kendred, after a reign of four years, reſigned in like manner the government to Ceolred, the ſon of Etheldred.

A. D. 716.] He was ſucceeded by Ethelbald; whoſe perſonal accompliſhments and heroic ſpirit had rendered him ſo formidable to Ceolred, that he cauſed him to go into exile during his reign. On his acceſſion to the crown, his firſt ſtep was to invade Northumberland, in which he manifeſtly acted againſt all the ties of honour and juſtice; but while he was proſecuting this iniquitous deſign, his own dominions were invaded by the Weſt Saxons, under Ethelhard; whom he quickly obliged to retreat with loſs into his own country.

He was engaged in ſeveral other wars with the neighbouring ſtates of the heptarchy, but at length defeated, by Cuthred, king of Weſſex, and loſt his life in a rebellion of his ſubjects, headed by one Beornred, whom the mutineers afterwards choſe for their king, but who, governing in a manner ſuitable to the means by which he acquired his dignity, was by the Mercian nobles expelled from the throne, and Offa, nephew to the late king, choſen in his ſtead.

This prince, whoſe character is very differently drawn by different hiſtorians, ſeems to have been principally actuated by an inſatiable thirſt for glory, and unconquerable deſire of fame. His firſt military expedition was againſt the kingdom of Kent, the king of which he ſlew with his own hand near Otford upon the Darent. He likewiſe defeated Kenwulph, king of the Weſt Saxons, near Bleſſington, or Benſon, in Oxfordſhire, and made himſelf maſter of that place.

A. D. 771.] Thirſting for further conqueſts, he marched to the northward, and invaded Northumberland; which, being rent with civil diſcord, fell an eaſy prey to his victorious arms.

A. D. 779.] The Britons, taking the advantage of theſe wars amongſt the Saxon princes, made ſudden inroads on their dominions, which, becauſe unexpected, proved generally ſucceſsful. Offa making preparations

rations againſt them, their king, Marmodius, entered into a treaty with him, in order to gain time; but the Mercian, by way of ſecurity from any further incurſions, threw up a ſtrong intrenchment, from the mouth of the river Dee, in Flintſhire, to the fall of the Wye, near Briſtol.

Rouſed by their king to attempt it's demolition, the Britons aſſembled their ſcattered forces, under pretence of celebrating the feſtival of Chriſtmas; and, in violation of the truce, threw down the banks in ſeveral places, filled up the ditch, and penetrated into the territories of Offa, committing flagrant acts of hoſtility wherever they went: but Offa ſoon retaliated theſe injuries, by ſeizing on the hoſtages, entering Wales with a formidable army, and driving the vanquiſhed Britons farther up the country. The rapid ſucceſs of his arms, and the luſtre of his exploits, acquired him great renown, and caſt a temporary veil over his vices; ſo formidable indeed did he appear to the neighbouring ſtates of the heptarchy, that they applied to Charlemagne to interpoſe his good offices in their behalf.

A. D. 776.] The French monarch exerted himſelf ſo effectually on the occaſion, that Offa, who had conceived a ſingular eſteem for a prince whoſe proweſs reſembled his own, conſented to an accommodation of affairs with the Saxon princes. But the very powers for whom Charlemagne had interpoſed, ſoon broke the peace which he had effected; however Offa repelled their invaſions, and, on their appeal to their former interceſſor, made ſuch preparations, naval and military, as convinced him that it was more for his intereſt to remain neuter, than any farther remonſtrate on the conduct of ſo powerful a prince as the king of Mercia.

A. D. 786.] He now admitted his ſon Egfrith to a ſhare in the government, and married his natural daughter Eadburga to Brithric, king of the Weſt Saxons; in conjunction with whom he repulſed the Danes, who had made a deſcent upon his coaſts. But his boundleſs ambition prompted him to an action which ſullied all his glories; for, aſpiring to the territories of Ethelbert, king of Eaſt Anglia, he with great ſeeming cordiality invited that prince to his court, (*A. D.* 792,) under pretence of concluding a marriage between him and his daughter Elfrida, and there procured his aſſaſſination, amidſt a ſcene of joy and feſtivity. Though Elfrida, ſhocked at her father's treachery, had time to give warning to the Eaſt Anglian nobility, who eſcaped into their own country, ſtill Offa, having extinguiſhed the royal family, ſucceeded in his deſign of ſubduing that kingdom.

This perfidious prince, affecting remorſe for his late inhumanity, to ſettle accounts of conſcience with the pope, Adrian I. undertook a journey to Rome, where he obtained a pardon, in conſideration of impoſing on his ſubjects a tax originally called Romeſcot, or Peter-pence, becauſe it amounted to a penny each family, and was levied on the firſt of Auguſt, on which is celebrated the feaſt of "St. Peter ad Vincula." This tax, to the eternal infamy of this nation, was levied by the pope's agents for upwards of ſeven hundred years; till it was aboliſhed, together with the papal ſupremacy, in the reign of Henry VIII.

A. D. 794.] Having purchaſed by his liberality a plenary abſolution from his ſins, Offa returned to England; and, pretending to be directed by a viſion from heaven, diſcovered at Verulam the relics of St. Alban the martyr, and built a magnificent monaſtery there. He juſt lived to finiſh this monument of his pride and hypocriſy, and died, after a reign of thirty-nine years, at Offly.

Egfrith, his ſon, of whom great expectations were formed, lived to enjoy his crown only five months; when he was ſucceeded by Kenulph, a prince deſcended in a collateral branch from Penda, and an inheritor of the virtues and ambition of his family. He advanced with a powerful army into Kent, in order to chaſtiſe the arrogance of Egbert, ſurnamed, Pren; whom having taken priſoner, and treated very cruelly, he left Cuthred, his brother, in poſſeſſion of the crown of that kingdom.

Kenulph

A. D. 819.] Kenulph, after a reign of twenty-four years, was ſlain in an inſurrection of the Eaſt Angles, leaving his ſon Kenelm, an infant of ſeven years of age, to ſucceed him, under the tuition of his ſiſter Quendrade; who, ſuffering ambition to get the better of honour, procured the murder of her younger brother. This unnatural ſiſter, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of her wickedneſs, being depoſed by Ceolulph, brother to Kenulph, and uncle to the late king; whoſe reign, however, was but of a year's duration, being driven from the throne by a powerful nobleman, named Beornulf, who reigned two years, and in *A. D.* 823, was defeated and ſlain in a great battle, by Egbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, whoſe dominions he had invaded. Ludican ſucceeded him on the throne, but underwent the ſame fate in the ſame ſpace of time; after which Wiglaff mounted this precarious throne, but was defeated two years afterwards by Egbert; whereupon it ſhared the fate of the other rival kingdoms.

WESSEX.

A. D. 519.] Founded by Cerdic, who, after the death of prince Arthur, enjoyed a peaceable reign, and was ſucceeded (*A. D.* 534) by Kenric, his ſon, who reigned only four years, and left his crown to Ceaulin, his eldeſt ſon; who exerted himſelf in maintaining and extending the original ſuperiority of Weſſex, by reducing the power of the neighbouring princes, and at length by ſeizing the petty kingdom of the South Saxons, which raſh meaſure proved fatal to his affairs; for the reſt of the kings of the heptarchy, being apprehenſive that he aimed at univerſal monarchy, united their forces; and having totally defeated him, drove him to ſome unknown retreat. His ſons Cuichelme and Cuthwin jointly governed the kingdom till the expulſion of the latter in 591; and the death of the former, in 593, made way for Cealric, to whom ſucceeded Ceobald; by whoſe death, in 611, Kynegils obtained the crown. This prince embraced the chriſtian religion through the perſuaſion of Oſwald, king of Northumberland, who had married his daughter. In the ſecond year of his reign he admitted his brother Quincelm to a ſhare of the government; which union was ſignalized by a victory over the Britons, *A. D.* 614. Quincelm died in 635.

A. D. 643.] On the demiſe of Kynegils, the crown came to Kenwalch, a puſillanimous, unſtable prince, who reigned twenty-nine years.

A. D. 672.] Kenwalch's widow, Sexburga, a woman of ſpirit, now kept poſſeſſion of the government, though her ſucceſſion was diſputed. After this princeſs, who, ſome hiſtorians think, was expelled by her ſubjects, the kingdom ſuffered a revolution for ten years, being diſmembered, and governed by three monarchs at a time, Kenſus, Eſcwin, and Kentwin; who aſſumed the ſovereignty by no other claim than that of being the firſt nobles of the court: Kenſus, indeed, pretended to be a deſcendant of Cerdic. Theſe princes were engaged in a war with Wolfhere, who gained the advantage; the two former kings then dying, the government of Weſſex devolved on Kentwin alone.

A. D. 686.] Kentwin, who reigned nine years, was ſucceeded by Ceodwalla, whoſe acceſſion to the throne met with ſome oppoſition. Being enterprizing, warlike, and ſucceſsful, he entirely ſubdued the kingdom of Suſſex, and annexed it to his own dominions. He alſo made inroads into Kent, but was oppoſed by king Widred, who ſlew his brother Mollo in a ſkirmiſh. Ceodwalla, at laſt, tired with war and bloodſhed, beſtowed ſeveral endowments on the church, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received baptiſm, and died.

A. D. 689.] Ina, his ſucceſſor, inherited his military virtues; to which he added the more valuable ones of juſtice, prudence, and policy. He made war on the Britons in Somerſetſhire, and having at length ſubdued it, treated the vanquiſhed with an humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors;

for he allowed the proprietors to retain the poſſeſſion of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his ancient ſubjects, and granted them the privilege of being governed by the ſame laws. Theſe laws he augmented and aſcertained; and though he was diſturbed by ſome inſurrections at home, his long reign of thirty-ſeven years was one of the moſt glorious in the heptarchy. In the decline of life he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and at his return ſhut himſelf up in a cloiſter, where he died.

A. D. 727.] Notwithſtanding the kings of Weſſex had always been princes of the blood, deſcended from Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, the order of ſucceſſion had been far from exact; and a more remote prince had often found means to mount the throne, in preference to one deſcended from a nearer branch of the royal family. Ina, therefore, having no children of his own, and lying much under the influence of Ethelburga, his queen, left by will the ſucceſſion to Adelard, her brother, who was his remote kinſman. But this deſtination did not take place without ſome difficulty: Oſwald, a prince more nearly allied to the crown, took arms againſt Adelard; but he being ſuppreſſed, and dying ſoon after, the title of Adelard was no longer diſputed.

A. D. 741.] Cudred now aſſumed the reins of government, and ſeems to have reigned amidſt a continued ſcene of warfare and bloodſhed. During the time he ſat on the throne, he was inceſſantly embroiled with the Mercians; over whom, at length, he obtained a complete victory, through the proweſs and fidelity of his general Eheldul; whom he afterwards experienced as a man of uncommon valour, and confirmed military ſkill.

Cudred then, under the command of the ſame general, ſent his victorious arms againſt the Britons of Cornwall, whom he conquered, and afterwards united part of their country to his dominions.

A. D. 744.] Sigebert, his kinſman, ſucceeded; who governed ſo ill, that his people roſe in an inſurrection, and dethroned him, crowning Kenulph in his ſtead. The exiled prince found a refuge with duke Cumbran, governor of Hampſhire; who, that he might add new obligations to Sigebert, gave him many ſalutary counſels for his future conduct, accompanied with ſome reprehenſions for the paſt: but theſe were ſo much reſented by the ungrateful prince, that he conſpired againſt the life of his protector, and treacherouſly murdered him. After this infamous action, he was forſaken by all the world, and at laſt diſcovered in the foreſt of Andred, by a ſervant of Cumbran's, who inſtantly took revenge upon him for the murder of his maſter.

Kenulph, who had obtained the crown on the expulſion of Sigebert, was fortunate in many expeditions againſt the Britons of Cornwall; but afterwards loſt ſome reputation by his ill ſucceſs againſt Offa, king of Mercia. Kynehard alſo, brother to the depoſed Sigebert, gave him ſome diſturbance; and though expelled the kingdom, he hovered on the frontiers, and watched an opportunity of attacking his rival. Accordingly having received intelligence that the king frequently viſited a lady in private at Merton in Surrey, he ſelected a party of adherents, went to the houſe, and fell upon the unſuſpecting Kenulph; who, after making a brave reſiſtance, was murdered, with all his attendants. The next day, however, the nobility and people of the neighbourhood riſing in arms, took revenge on Kynehard for this ſlaughter, by putting every one to the ſword who had been engaged in that cruel enterprize.

A. D. 784.] The murder of Kenulph thus revenged, his funeral obſequies were performed at Wincheſter, and his ſon Brithric was placed on the throne.

This prince, being of a meek pacific diſpoſition, employed himſelf in the cultivation of the arts of peace; preferring the reputation of a politician to the fame of a warrior. Yet beneath this meekneſs and moderation, he concealed thoſe ſentiments of jealouſy which ſeemed conſtitutionally rooted in

in the breaſts of the Weſſexian princes againſt their kinſmen, on account of the unſtable ſtate of the ſucceſſion, and which he could not forbear ſhewing to Egbert, a deſcendant of Ina, whoſe name began now to acquire that credit which afterwards raiſed him to the ſupreme rule. Egbert aware of the danger which threatened him from Brithric's ſuſpicions, took refuge at the court of Offa, king of the Mercians; but, not approving the reception he met with there, he retired into France, where Charlemagne received him with great cordiality, and conferred on him every mark of the higheſt eſteem. At this court he remained twelve years; and here he firſt conceived that famous project which he afterwards carried into execution, and by which he united the different kingdoms of the heptarchy under one head.

A. D. 787.] About this period the Danes began to make frequent incurſions, and render themſelves as formidable by their depredations as the Saxons had done before. They made a deſcent, for the firſt time, at Portland with three ſhips, but were ſoon routed by the inhabitants with great ſlaughter, and obliged to retire with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving their booty behind them.

Brithric being now freed from his fears, by the voluntary exile of prince Egbert, evinced ſuch candour, moderation, and juſtice, as recommended him to the general eſteem of his people.

A. D. 799.] Eadburga, the natural daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, who was equally infamous for her cruelty and incontinence, and having great influence over her huſband Brithric, often inſtigated him to deſtroy thoſe of the nobility whom ſhe hated, and, when ſhe failed of ſucceſs, made no ſcruple of being active in the moſt treacherous attempts. She had mixed a cup of poiſon for a young nobleman who had obtained the friendſhip of her huſband, and was therefore the object of her jealouſy; but, unfortunately for her, the king drank of the fatal cup as well as the nobleman, and ſhared the ſame unhappy fate.

The Weſt Saxons, ſtruck with deteſtation at her crime, enacted a law whereby the wives of their future kings were prohibited from aſſuming the title of queen, on pain of their huſband's abdication, and their ſubjects' abſolution from their oath of allegiance. To avoid their juſt reſentment, this wicked queen fled to France; and Egbert, then with Charlemagne at Rome, being invited to accept the crown of this kingdom, returned to his native country, accompanied by the monarch who had ſo honourably entertained him during his exile.

A. D. 827.] Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, he turned his arms againſt the Britons, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles. He was recalled by an invaſion of his country by Bernulf king of Mercia, whom he completely defeated; and as the Mercians had attained the ſovereignty of Eaſt Anglia, Eſſex, and Kent, this victory afforded Egbert an opportunity of uniting theſe kingdoms and Mercia to Weſſex. The anarchy which prevailed in Northumberland tempted him to carry his victorious arms there; and the inhabitants, unable to reſiſt his power, ſent deputies, who ſubmitted to his authority, and ſwore allegiance to him as their ſovereign.

A. D. 827.] Thus were united all the kingdoms of the heptarchy in one great ſtate, near four hundred years after the firſt arrival of the Saxons in Britain; and the ambition, the bravery, and ſkill of Egbert, at laſt accompliſhed what ſo many princes had in vain attempted. The three kingdoms of Kent, Northumberland, and Mercia, which had ſucceſſively aſpired to general dominion, were now incorporated into his empire, and the other ſmaller kingdoms ſeemed willingly to ſhare the ſame fate. His territories were nearly of the ſame extent as what is now properly termed England; and the Anglo-Saxons had the pleaſing proſpect of forming a great and civilized kingdom, poſſeſſed of internal tranquillity, and ſecured againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Particulars of the ſeveral Kings of England to the Norman Invaſion, with curſory Obſervations.

EGBERT.

THE firſt king of England, under whom, as before obſerved, the kingdoms of the heptarchy were united, and firmly eſtabliſhed in one; and who, being acknowledged the independent ſovereign of England, reſolved to give his title the ſanction of a coronation; accordingly ſummoned all the great men of the kingdom to meet in a general council at Wincheſter; where, by the unanimous conſent of the clergy and laity, he was crowned king of Britain, and a proclamation or edict was publiſhed, commanding that no diſtinctions ſhould, for the future, be kept up among the Saxon kingdoms, but that they ſhould all paſs under the name of England.

A. D. 829.]

Being now poſſeſſed of more power and glory than any king that had preſided in this iſland, he had nothing to fear from the attempts of neighbouring monarchs; and no doubt would have equally diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the milder arts of peace, had not the piratical Danes interrupted his tranquillity by continual invaſions.

Theſe people were compoſed of different nations, inhabiting the countries of Jutland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; they were likewiſe a mixture of the Saxons, though they were termed Danes in general. Piracy amongſt theſe nations was deemed an honourable profeſſion, nor did their very kings think it beneath their dignity. They went on their expeditions in veſſels which they worked with ſails and oars, and which contained about five hundred men, with neceſſary proviſions for a cruize.

A. D. 832.] The naval force of the Saxons being for ſome time at a low ebb, theſe Danes landed in the iſland of Sheppey in Kent, and ſoon laid it waſte with fire and ſword. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, next year they made a deſcent at Tinmouth; where having received a ſmall check, they re-embarked, and landed a formidable body at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire.

Egbert, on the firſt news of this invaſion, marched at the head of a new-raiſed body of forces, and attacked his enemies with great fury; but the Danes preſſed him ſo cloſe, that he was obliged to retreat; nor could any thing, but the approach of night have prevented the total rout of his army; at the ſame time his antagoniſts were ſo roughly handled, that they immediately retreated to their ſhips.

Egbert now ſaw his error, in attacking the enemy at the head of raw and undiſciplined forces. He found the Danes to be a brave, determined, hardy race; prompted by neceſſity, and therefore tenacious of their enterprizes; but, above all, maſters of that element, which gave the ſole ſecurity and ſafety to his own dominion. On the other hand, the Danes were convinced, from experience, that they muſt expect to meet with the moſt vigorous reſiſtance from this experienced prince, and therefore entered into an alliance with the Britons in Cornwall.

A. D. 835.] Animated by this acquiſition, they returned to the Engliſh coaſts, and landed in Cornwall, where they were joined by the Britons, and both together formed a conſiderable army. But Egbert was not to be intimidated; he advanced againſt them as they were marching to invade his dominions. The two armies met at Hengſton-hill, in Cornwall, where the fortune of Egbert reſumed her former aſcendancy; the Danes were totally defeated, and

the

EGBERT.

ALFRED.

CANUTE.

WILLIAM I.

WILLIAM II.

Published by H. D. Symonds. March 1 1796.

the few who had the good fortune to eſcape fled back to their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation.

A. D. 838.] While England continued in this ſtate of inquietude, Egbert, who alone was able to put a ſtop to this new evil, unfortunately died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

ETHELWOLF,

Who is repreſented by hiſtorians as wholly incapable of governing a kingdom, being indolent to the greateſt degree.

A. D. 839.] In the firſt year of his reign, a fleet of Daniſh pirates, conſiſting of thirty ſail, appeared off Southampton; Ethelwolf therefore ſent Wolfhere, an eminent commander, to chaſtiſe them for their inſolence. The Engliſh general gave them battle, routed their army, and drove them back to their ſhips; but death deprived him of the reward of his victory, and gave the brutal invaders freſh ſpirits, inſomuch that, before the army had retired to their quarters, they made a ſecond deſcent upon Portland.

An army was then ſent to oppoſe them, under the command of Æthelhelm, who charged them at firſt with ſuch fury, that he obtained the advantage; but, receiving freſh ſupplies, they rallied, and the Engliſh ſuſtained an overthrow, with the loſs of their gallant commander.

The next year the Danes made ſeveral inroads into England, in Eaſt Anglia, Lindſey, and Kent; without coming to a general engagement, which was not ſuitable to their plan, they had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; and though they were ſometimes repulſed, obtained their end of ravaging the country, and carrying off the booty.

A. D. 840.] Soon after, London, Canterbury, and Rocheſter, felt the dire effects of their barbarity. The variety of deſcents they had made in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, had diſcovered it's fertility; determining, therefore, to make a ſettlement in it, they arrived in a fleet of thirty ſail at Charmouth, where they had formerly defeated the Engliſh under Egbert. This formidable invaſion rouſed the indolence of Ethelwolf from his monkiſh lethargy; he aſſembled his forces, advanced at their head againſt the ravagers, gave them battle, but experienced the ſame ill fortune with his valiant father, being obliged to leave the Danes maſters of the field: however they did not chuſe to maintain their ground, but once more departed from the iſland.

A. D. 843.] In a ſhort time, theſe plunderers returned, in order to aſſiſt the Britons againſt Wiglaff, tributary king of Mercia, whoſe cauſe was eſpouſed by Ethelwolf; harraſſed, therefore, with continual broils, and deſirous of repoſe, he beſtowed the provinces of the Eaſt and South Saxons, together with that of Kent, upon his ſon Athelſtan.

A. D. 845.] This expedient did not free the kingdom from invaſions, though it tended in a great meaſure to the ſecurity of the ſouthern coaſts. The Danes landed at the mouth of the Parret, in Somerſetſhire, and committed great ravages in the adjacent parts of the country. They were, however, ſoon attacked by the united forces of the counties of Dorſet and Somerſet, under the command of the governors Earnulf and Oſric, who obtained a complete victory.

A. D. 851-3.] Notwithſtanding theſe checks, the Danes aſſembled in greater bodies, and more numerous fleets; but the event was not equal to their expectations. One party of them was routed at Wenbury, by Ceorle, governor of Devonſhire; another defeated by Alcher, governor of Kent; and nine of their ſhips taken in a ſea-fight by king Athelſtan: yet, in ſpite of theſe misfortunes, another of their fleets, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty veſſels, ſailed up the river Thames, took Canterbury and London, and routed Brichtric, king of Mercia; but on their penetrating into Surrey, they were attacked by Ethelwolf and his ſon Ethelbald, who obtained a deſperate victory. A party of the Danes, however, ventured, for the firſt time, to take up their winter quarters in the iſle of Thanet, where they were attacked by Ealher

and Huda, governors of Kent and Surrey. The beginning of the action was favourable to the Engliſh; but at laſt victory declared for the Danes, and both the governors fell in the conflict. Hereupon the enemy removed to the iſle of Sheppey, where they took up their winter quarters, in order to extend farther their ravages and devaſtations the enſuing ſpring.

Ethelwolf's ſucceſs at Okely furniſhed him with an opportunity of indulging his darling paſſions, indolence and ſuperſtition; and though his country was ſtill involved in dangers and diſtreſs, he left it, to make a pilgrimage to Rome with his fourth ſon, Alfred, then but ſix years old, and without even appointing a regency to adminiſter in his abſence. Here he ſpent twelve months in exerciſes of devotion. His favours and confidence were ſhared between two prelates of oppoſite characters, Swithin, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Alſton, biſhop of Sherburn. After ſtaying ſome time in France, on his return home, he was captivated with Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, then a widow, whom he married; but, on his arrival in England, met with an unexpected oppoſition.

Athelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, being dead, Ethelbald, his ſecond, who had aſſumed the government, reſolved, in conjunction with many of the nobles, to exclude his father from the throne, which his weakneſs and ſuperſtition rendered him unfit to fill. A bloody war, added to all the other calamities in which England was involved, now ſeemed inevitable: but this Ethelwolf himſelf prevented, by complying with the greateſt part of his ſon's pretenſions; for reſerving to himſelf the eaſtern part of the kingdom, which was eſteemed the leaſt conſiderable, and the moſt expoſed, he delivered to Ethelbald the ſovereignty of the weſtern; and immediately ſummoning the ſtates of the whole kingdom, conferred an important perpetual donation on the church.

A. D. 857.] The old king now employed the reſidue of his life in acts of charity and devotion. The territories over which he ruled he bequeathed to his ſon Ethelbert; and on his death, without male iſſue, they were entailed on Alfred. Ethelbert died this year at Wincheſter.

ETHELBALD, AND ETHELBERT.

The firſt of theſe princes diſgraced the crown by the inceſtuous act of marrying his father's widow, Judith, and his general character, by an abſolute devotion to vice and luxury; but at length, at the remonſtrance of ſome of his nobles, he put away Judith, and during the remainder of his life behaved with regularity and decorum.

A. D. 860.] On his death, the crown devolved to his brother Ethelbert: he bravely defended his country againſt the invaſion of the Danes, who having for ſome time intermitted their depredations, were again become troubleſome.

This prince died after a ſhort reign of ſix years, and was interred at Sherburn in Dorſetſhire, near the remains of his brother. He left two ſons, but was ſucceeded on the throne by his younger brother Ethelred, purſuant to the will of his father Ethelwolf.

ETHELRED I.

A. D. 861.] This prince's reign began with an act of injuſtice, and flagrant violation of the will of his father, in withholding the conquered provinces from his brother Alfred, on whom they had been beſtowed by previous agreement. But Alfred having demanded his legal right in the preſence of thoſe noblemen who had ſigned the deed, a convention was made between the two brothers, who thereby acted in concert againſt the Danes, now grown ſo formidable that nothing but the ſtrongeſt union could withſtand them; and who, ſoon after the acceſſion of Ethelred, landed in the country of the Eaſt Angles, under the command of Ivar, a bold and warlike chieftain, who had been invited over by a diſcontented nobleman, named

named Bruen Brocard. The deſigns of this noble perſon aroſe from the baſe behaviour of Oſbricht, at that time raiſed to the throne of Northumberland; who, having called at his houſe, was captivated with the beauty of his wife, and raviſhed her in a chamber, to which he retired under pretence of private buſineſs.

A. D. 868.] At the beginning of the enſuing ſpring, the Danes, who had wintered at Eaſt Anglia, marched into Yorkſhire, defeated the Northumbrian princes Ælla and Oſbricht, (who periſhed in the aſſault,) and then advanced as far as Nottingham, where, having penetrated into Mercia, they took up their winter quarters.

Burrhed, king of that province, alarmed at the progreſs of Ivar, applied for ſuccour to Ethelred, who, having experienced the conſequences of Daniſh invaſions, readily ſent an army of Weſt Saxons to his aſſiſtance. Joining their forces, they laid ſiege to Nottingham, in which city the Danes had fortified themſelves, fearful of being overpowered by numbers, if they ſhould hazard a battle.

Both parties, after a few ſkirmiſhes, conſented to a truce, which ended in a peace with the Mercians, and the Danes marched back to their quarters in Northumberland, where they remained a whole year. During their ſtay in theſe parts they deſtroyed the city of Arcluid; and taking their rout through Lincolnſhire, they waſted Bardney, Peterborough, Ely, and all the monaſteries that lay in their way, ſparing neither age, ſex, nor quality.

Ebba, abbeſs of Coldingham in Yorkſhire, expecting a viſit from the Danes, aſſembled her nuns, informed them of their cruel and libidinous diſpoſition, and declared ſhe was ready to ſacrifice her beauty to her chaſtity; accordingly, in the preſence of them all, ſhe cut off her noſe and upper lip: her example was followed by the whole ſiſterhood. The next day the pagans forced the monaſtery; and finding their libidinous deſires diſappointed by the virtuous reſolutions of the nuns, they ſhut them up in a cloiſter, and burnt them together with the ſtructure.

A. D. 870.] The Danes ſtill continuing their horrid devaſtations, made a deſcent into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles; but Edmund, their king, apprized of their deſign, was preparing to oppoſe their progreſs. A battle enſued at Thetford, in which Edmund was totally defeated, and, after having ſuſtained the greateſt indignities, put to death by exquiſite tortures.

A. D. 871.] Their next ſtation was at Reading. Ethelred, attended by Alfred, marched againſt the enemy, and ſeveral battles were fought with various ſucceſs; but the moſt conſiderable was that of Aſhdown, a hilly tract of land, where the victory was determined in favour of the Engliſh, through the courage and conduct of young Alfred; and the Danes routed, with the loſs of one of their principal commanders, five officers of diſtinction, and many thouſands of their private men. The broken remains of the Daniſh army fled to their corps at Reading, and making an excurſion in a few days, were attacked by the royal brothers at Baſing in Hampſhire, who were worſted in the ſkirmiſh. Another engagement ſoon enſued at Merton in Surrey, at the beginning of which the Engliſh gained the advantage; but the Danes, having rallied their forces, obtained a complete victory.

Amidſt theſe confuſions, Ethelred died of a wound which he received in one of the actions with the Danes; he was interred at Winburn in Dorſetſhire, and left his kingdom to his brother

ALFRED.

A. D. 871.] This prince was only twenty-two years of age when he aſcended the throne. He had ſcarcely buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field in order to oppoſe the Danes. His firſt eſſay in arms was far from auſpicious of his future glory. At Wilton he gave battle to the invaders,

vaders, but, in purſuing his advantage too eagerly, he was oppreſſed by numbers, and compelled to relinquiſh the honour of the day. He was ſtill however formidable; and though the Weſt Saxons alone adhered to his ſtandard, he harraſſed his enemies, and reduced them to conclude a treaty, in which they ſolemnly ſwore to evacuate his territories. The oath was taken and violated with equal facility; while Alfred, who had confided in the ſacred obligation, was ſurprized and routed near Exeter. He collected again his ſcattered forces, fought eight battles in one year, and was probably victorious in moſt, ſince he compelled the Danes to ſue again for peace, on condition of being allowed a ſettlement in England. They promiſed to oppoſe the entrance of any more of their countrymen. The arrival of another body of Danes diſplayed their perfidy; the new invaders were joined by the old; they ſeized Chippenham, and extended their ravages all around them.

A. D. 878.] Deſpair now ſeized the Saxons, whoſe exertions had been ſo long fruitleſs. Some fled beyond ſea, or ſought refuge in the mountains of Wales; others ſubmitted to the conquerors; and Alfred himſelf was obliged to relinquiſh the enſigns of his dignity, and in the meaneſt diſguiſes to elude the purſuit and fury of his enemies. He was concealed by a neatherd, who had been intruſted formerly with the care of his cows, as his ſervant. In this ſituation an incident has been preſerved by popular tradition, memorable from the diſtreſs in which ſuch virtue and dignity were involved. The wife of the neatherd was ignorant of the condition of her royal gueſt; and obſerving him one day by the fire-ſide buſy in trimming his arrows, ſhe deſired him to take care of ſome cakes that were toaſting, while ſhe was employed in other domeſtic concerns: but Alfred, whoſe thoughts were differently engaged, forgot the truſt; and the good woman on her return finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king ſeverely, and upbraided him, that he ſeemed pleaſed enough to eat them, though he neglected the care of them. Alfred's patience was remarkable, and he promiſed to pay greater attention for the future.

Alfred having found the ſucceſs of the enemy had rendered them more remiſs, collected ſome of his retainers. In the center of a bog formed by the ſtagnate waters of the Thone and Parret, he found two acres of firm ground; and building himſelf an habitation on it, he rendered it ſecure by it's fortifications, and ſtill more by the unknown and inacceſſible roads which led to it. This place he called Æthelingay, or the Iſle of Nobles; and thence made frequent and unexpected ſallies on the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arms, but knew not from what quarter the blows proceeded.

Here he was informed that the earl of Devonſhire had routed Hubba the Dane, who had beſieged him in his caſtle of Kinwith, at the mouth of the Tau, had killed Hubba himſelf, and had got poſſeſſion of the famous *Reafen*, or enchanted ſtandard, which contained the figure of a raven, and which the Danes believed to have been woven by the three ſiſters of Hinguar and Hubba, with magical incantations, and to expreſs by the motion of it's wings the ſucceſs of whatever enterpriſe they had in agitation.

Delighted with the proſpect now before him, Alfred left his retreat; but before he attempted to aſſemble his ſubjects in arms, he was determined to explore the ſtate of the enemy. His ſkill as a harper procured him admiſſion into their camp; he was introduced into the tent of, and played before, their prince Guthrum; and was witneſs, during ſeveral days, of their ſupine ſecurity. Animated by theſe appearances, he ſent private emiſſaries to the moſt conſiderable of his friends, and ſummoned them to meet him, with their retainers, at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood Foreſt. The Engliſh had fatally experienced, that ſubmiſſion had only increaſed the rapacity and inſolence of their conquerors; they repaired to the rendezvous with alacrity, and they received with ſhouts

of

of tranſport a monarch whom they had always loved, and whom they had long concluded to have been dead. Before their ardour could cool, Alfred led them againſt the Danes. The latter, aſtoniſhed and diſmayed, fled after a little reſiſtance: the remnant that had eſcaped from the field were beſieged by the victors in a camp they had fortified; hunger compelled them to implore the clemency of Alfred, whoſe prudence converted them from mortal enemies into faithful friends and confederates. He propoſed to Guthrum and his followers to re-people the deſerted parts of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland; but he exacted from them a pledge of their future ſincerity, by ſtipulating that they ſhould embrace chriſtianity: the Danes complied, and Guthrum was purified in the baptiſmal font, where the king gave him the name of Athelſtan, and received him as his adopted ſon.

A. D. 885.] Alfred's hopes were now in a great meaſure accompliſhed: the greater part of the Danes ſettled peaceably in their new quarters; the more turbulent ſought ſubſiſtence by ravaging the coaſts of France; and for ſeveral years England enjoyed a ſtate of tranquillity. This period Alfred employed in regulating the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice, and of providing for the future defence of the iſland. He repaired the ruined cities, built caſtles and fortreſſes, and eſtabliſhed a regular militia. He likewiſe increaſed the ſhipping of his kingdom, and trained his ſubjects to naval exerciſes: his veſſels were ſtationed with ſuch judgment, as continually to intercept thoſe of the Danes, and for a long time to prevent the inroads of thoſe rapacious pirates; by which means he maintained his kingdom for ſome years in ſafety and tranquillity.

A. D. 895.] Haſtings, the celebrated Daniſh chief, having at length exhauſted the provinces of France along the Loire and the Seine, was obliged to quit a country that no longer afforded him ſubſiſtence, and appeared off the coaſt of Kent with three hundred and thirty ſail. The greater part of the Danes diſembarked in the Rother, and ſeized the fort of Apuldore. Haſtings himſelf, with a fleet of eighty ſail, entered the Thames, and fortified Milton in Kent: but, on the firſt alarm, Alfred had flown, with a choſen band, to the defence of his people; the militia were rapidly drawn together, the invaders were cooped up in their fortifications, and obliged to ſubſiſt on the plunder which they had brought with them from France. Tired of this ſituation, the Danes of Apuldore attempted to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom; they were followed and defeated by Alfred at Farnham. They fled to their ſhips, and eſcaped to Merſey in Eſſex, where they erected new works for their protection. In a ſimilar enterpriſe, Haſtings had ſcarcely been more fortunate; and though he avoided the encounter of Alfred, he was glad to find refuge from the approach of that prince at Bamflete, near the iſland of Canvey.

Guthrum, prince of the Eaſt Anglian Danes, had now expired; and his followers, who had been ſettled in Northumberland, had abandoned the toils of huſbandry for the ſpoils of piracy. Alfred immediately oppoſed the enemy, who were repulſed in two ſucceſſive attempts, on the coaſts of Devon and Suſſex. Several of their ſhips were taken; and they themſelves, diſcouraged by the difficulties they had met with, returned to the ſettlements that had been allotted to them.

In the mean time Haſtings quitted his retreat, and recommenced his ravages; but while he inſulted and plundered the open country, his fortifications at Bamflete were ſtormed by the Engliſh, and his wife and two of his ſons were made priſoners. Alfred ſpared the lives of his captives, and reſtored them to the Daniſh chief, on the condition of their immediate departure.

Several of the Danes, however, unwilling to forego their plunder, having penetrated into the county of Glouceſter, where they were joined by ſome Welch, were beſieged in their camp at Boddington by Alfred. After having endured the extremities of famine, in a deſperate ſally a ſmall number broke through the lines of the Engliſh; theſe were, however, purſued with diligence by

the victor, who having made priſoners of ſeveral, tried them at Wincheſter, and being condemned, they ſuffered as the common enemies of mankind on a gallows. By theſe means tranquillity was reſtored to England; and not only the Eaſt Anglian and Northumbrian Danes, but the Welch acknowledged the authority of Alfred.

A. D. 901.] By prudence, juſtice, and valour, he had eſtabliſhed his ſovereignty over all the ſouthern parts of the iſland, from the Engliſh Channel to the frontiers of Scotland; when, in the vigour of his age, and the full ſtrength of his faculties, he expired, after a reign of twenty-nine years and an half, in which he had attained the appellation of Great, and the title of founder of the Engliſh monarchy.

He reconciled the ſevereſt juſtice with the gentleſt lenity; the brighteſt capacity and inclination for ſcience, with the moſt ſhining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almoſt equally the objects of admiration; excepting only that the former, being more rare among princes, as well as more uſeful, deſerve a greater ſhare of applauſe. Nature alſo had beſtowed on him every bodily accompliſhment; his countenance was open and engaging, and his ſhape truly majeſtic.

Alfred's merit is chiefly to be diſcerned in his civil inſtitutions. The violence and rapacity of the Danes had ſubverted all order throughout England; and to provide a remedy for the evils which their licentiouſneſs had occaſioned, this prince divided the kingdom into counties, which he ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tithings. Every houſeholder was anſwerable for the behaviour of his family or his gueſts; ten houſeholders formed a tithing, who were anſwerable for each other's conduct, and over whom a headborough was appointed to preſide: every man was regiſtered in ſome tithing, and none could change his habitation without a certificate from the headborough. If the headborough was unwilling to anſwer for the appearance of any one of his tithing who was accuſed, the criminal was committed to priſon: if he fled, thirty-one days were allowed to produce him; and if that time elapſed without their being able to find him, the headborough, and two other members of the tithing, were obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of the three neighbouring tithings, (making twelve in all,) to ſwear that his tithing was free from all privity of the crime committed, and of the eſcape of the criminal; the tithing was otherwiſe ſubject to make ſatisfaction to the king according to the degree of the offence. Theſe tithings obtained the name of Frank Pledges.

The rigour of theſe inſtitutions was tempered by others favourable to the freedom of the citizens. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, the headborough ſummoned his tithing to aſſiſt him to decide any trivial difference which occurred among the members. In affairs of greater moment, or in controverſies between members of different tithings, the cauſe was brought before the hundred, which was regularly aſſembled once in four weeks. He was the firſt who inſtituted juries, now juſtly eſteemed the bulwark of our conſtitution; and ſo tenacious was he of the right veſted in them, that he puniſhed one of his judges for paſſing ſentence without the aſſent of the twelve jurors. He deviſed the giving of ſureties and bail for a perſon's good behaviour, in order to exempt his ſubjects from unmerited impriſonment.

The county court, which met twice a year, was ſuperior to that of the hundred, from which it received appeals; the biſhop, with the aldermen, preſided in it. Alfred alſo appointed a ſheriff in each county, who aſſiſted the aldermen in his judicial function. In default of juſtice in theſe courts, there lay an appeal to the king in council.

All reſolutions, with reſpect to public affairs, paſſed through three different councils; the firſt conſiſted of biſhops, abbots, clergy, and nobles, which attended the king, and formed a kind of privy council; the ſecond conſiſted likewiſe of biſhops, counts, judges, and ſome of the principal thanes, who aſſembled regularly on the three great feſtivals, for the

the determination of original cauſes, and the hearing of appeals from inferior courts of judicature; the third was the general aſſembly of the nation, called in the Saxon language *Wittena-gemote*.

He corrected the corruption and ignorance of lower magiſtrates, and, by framing proper laws, guided them in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He likewiſe encouraged learning, and invited over the moſt celebrated ſcholars from all parts of Europe: he eſtabliſhed ſchools, and repaired (or as ſome think founded) the univerſity of Oxford. He alſo encouraged manufacturers, and promoted navigation and commerce.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

A. D. 901.] Edward, known by the title of the Elder, in order to diſtinguiſh him from Edward the Confeſſor, on the demiſe of his father was anointed at Kingſton, by Plegmund archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the unanimous conſent of the nobles and commonalty of England.

Soon after his acceſſion, an incident fell out which gave the Danes, who had remained quiet during the latter part of Alfred's reign, an opportunity of reviving their hoſtilities. Ethelwald, ſon of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred, claimed the crown as his birthright. His cauſe was eſpouſed by a numerous body of the Danes, who croſſed the ſeas, and ſome of the Northumbrians and Eaſt Anglians, who declared in his favour.

Though Edward had the good fortune to overcome the attacks of a dangerous competitor, yet his reign was an inceſſant but ſucceſsful ſtruggle againſt the Northumbrians, Eaſt Angles, and Danes.

A. D. 916.] A formidable invaſion was made by the Danes from the ſouthern coaſt of Britanny; from whence ſailed a large fleet to the Severn, which plundered the Welch and Engliſh coaſts; but the militia of Hereford and Glouceſterſhire aſſembling, ſlew their commanders in an engagement, routed their army, and drove them into a wood.

The continual incurſions of the Danes ſeem to have been the occaſion of Edward's fortifying Buckingham and Bedford, and demoliſhing a fort which the Danes had built at Themisford.

During theſe tranſactions, Ethelfleda had taken the town of Derby, reduced Leiceſter, and conquered York.

A. D. 917.] Freſh parties of ravagers ſtill infeſting the continent, Edward equipped a fleet of one hundred ſail in order to attack them. Having engaged the enemy, he drove the greateſt part of their ſhips on ſhore, and then landing himſelf, in conjunction with his heroic ſiſter Ethelfleda, beſieged them in the city of Canterbury, and ſlew a great number of the perfidious enemy.

Ethelfleda died this year at Tamworth, this being the laſt engagement in which ſhe was concerned. She was no leſs eminent for her virtue and prudence, than for her courage; inſomuch that ſhe was juſtly eſteemed an exact pattern of her father Alfred.

The death of this princeſs, who had been married to Ethelbert earl of Mercia, contributed not a little towards enlarging and ſtrengthening Edward's dominions; for, immediately on her demiſe, he ſeized on her dominions; and being informed that Elfwhinna, her daughter, was carrying on a treaty of marriage with Reginald king of the Danes, likewiſe ſeized the perſon of this young lady, and exacting an oath o allegiance from the inhabitants, carried her away with him.

This prince was remarkably provident in putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence. He fortified the towns of Cheſter, Eddesbury, Warwick, Cherbury, Buckingham, Towceſter, Maldon, Huntingdon, and Colcheſter. He fought two ſignal battles at Temsford and Maldon; he ſubdued the Eaſt Angles, and forced them to ſwear allegiance to him; he expelled the two rival princes of Northumberland, Reginald and Sidroc, and acquired

acquired, for the preſent, the dominion of that province; he ſubdued ſeveral tribes of the Britons, and even obliged the Scots to give him marks of ſubmiſſion.

To the laws of his father he not only paid particular attention, but likewiſe amended and improved them. He died in the 25th year of his reign.

ATHELSTAN.

A. D. 925.] Edward was ſucceeded in his throne by this prince, who was his natural ſon, a circumſtance which, in thoſe times, was not deemed ſufficient to exclude him from the poſſeſſion of the crown; and he being of an age and capacity fit for government, obtained the preference to Edward's other children, who, though legitimate, were too young to rule a nation ſo greatly expoſed to domeſtic calamities and foreign invaſions. He met with ſome commotions, on his acceſſion, from the oppoſition of Alfred, a nobleman, who entered into conſpiracy againſt him; but this being ſoon quelled, he endeavoured to give ſecurity to the government, by providing againſt the inſurrections of the Danes. For this purpoſe he marched into Northumberland; where finding that the inhabitants bore the Engliſh yoke with impatience, he conferred on Sithric, a Daniſh nobleman, the title of king, and attached him to his intereſt by giving him his ſiſter Editha in marriage.

A. D. 927.] Notwithſtanding the ſeeming policy of this ſtep, it was attended with unhappy conſequences. Sithric dying within a twelvemonth, Anlaf and Godfrid, his two ſons by a former marriage, aſſumed the ſovereignty without waiting for Athelſtan's conſent. They were, however, ſoon expelled by that monarch; when the former retired into Ireland, and the latter into Scotland, where he was protected by Conſtantine, who was then on the throne. That prince being, however, continually ſolicited, and even threatened, by Athelſtan, at laſt promiſed to deliver up his gueſt; but being too generous to be guilty of ſuch treachery, gave Godfrid warning to make his eſcape; after which that prince ſubſiſted by piracy for ſome years, till the king was freed from any farther anxiety by his death.

Conſtantine, however, for the ſake of preſerving his crown from the reſentment of Athelſtan, who had in conſequence marched into Scotland, and ravaged the country with impunity, contentedly yielded to ſubmiſſive terms.

Filled with inquietude at the popularity of his brother Edwin, but afraid to take away his life by a public execution, this unhappy youth, whom he thought concerned in Alfred's conſpiracy, was turned adrift in a crazy veſſel, with one ſervant, by his command, in which he periſhed.

The chief promoter of this iniquitous deed was cup-bearer to Athelſtan. One day, as he was ſerving the king at table, he made a falſe ſtep, and had nearly fallen; but recovering himſelf ſuddenly with one foot, ſaid to the king, "See, Sir, how one brother aſſiſts the other!" Athelſtan, ſtruck with theſe words, felt all the conſciouſneſs of guilt awakened in his ſoul; and ordered a ſtrict examination to be made into the charge which had been brought againſt Edwin, when it appeared that he had been falſely accuſed; upon which the cup-bearer was put to a cruel death, while Athelſtan ſought to expiate his own guilt by a profuſion of penances and benefactions.

This prince, renowned for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and his attention to the internal regulation of his kingdom, enacted a law, that a merchant, who had made three long ſea voyages on his own account, ſhould be admitted to the rank of a thane, or gentleman. He died at Glouceſter, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, and was ſucceeded by his illegitimate brother,

EDMUND,

A. D. 941.] Who aſcended the throne in the eighteenth year of his age. His youth

ATHELSTAN ordering the BIBLE
to be tranſlated into the Saxon Language.

Publiſhed by W. D. Symonds, April 18. 1798.

His youth gave occaſion to the Danes to throw off the Engliſh yoke; and Anlaff, who received intelligence of their deſigns, improved this diſpoſition in order to renew his claim to the throne of Northumberland. Edmund accordingly formed an alliance with Olau king of Norway, who ſupplied him with ſhips, and having oppoſed the enemy at Cheſter, maintained an obſtinate engagement; but the next day they were brought to an accommodation, by the biſhops of York and Canterbury.

A. D. 944.] The Northumbrians, who ſtill watched every opportunity of entering into rebellion, were now chaſtiſed by Edmund, (who marched ſuddenly into their country) and obliged to ſubmit to whatever terms he impoſed.

A. D. 945.] He conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred it on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he ſhould do him homage for it.

A. D. 946.] His reign terminated this year, by a violent death. While celebrating a feſtival in Glouceſterſhire he obſerved Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had baniſhed, ſitting at table very audaciouſly, with his attendants: the king ordered him to retire, and on his diſobedience, being naturally choleric, he ſeized him by the hair, while the ruffian in the ſtruggle gave him a mortal wound with a concealed dagger. The aſſaſſin was immediately diſpatched, by the ſurrounding nobles.

Edmund left two ſons, but as they were too young to reign, he was ſucceeded by his brother,

EDRED.

This prince, immediately after his acceſſion, was employed in reducing to obedience the Northumbrian Danes, and compelling Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage, for the lands he held in England.

A. D. 953.] Though Edred was of an active and warlike diſpoſition, he was extremely ſuperſtitious, and blindly ſubmitted his conſcience to the guidance of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, whom he raiſed to the higheſt offices, and who, under the maſk of ſanctity, concealed the greateſt ambition. This churchman taking advantage of the king's placing an implicit confidence in him, introduced into England the Benedictines, a new order of monks, who immediately excited the moſt violent commotions.

While this ridiculous attachment to the crafty prieſt in particular, and the monkiſh ſect in general, expoſed him to the contempt of the rational and patriotic; it ſecured in his intereſt the whole body of churchmen, who were loud in extolling his praiſes, and repreſenting him as a ſaint, a prophet, and an apoſtle. Such commendations enhanced his character in the eſteem of the credulous vulgar, and rendered Dunſtan abſolute in matters both civil and eccleſiaſtical, who finding his advancement chiefly owing to the opinion of his auſterity, profeſſed himſelf a patron of the moſt rigid monaſtic rules, and introduced a pretended reformation into the monaſteries of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon, which he endeavoured to ſpread throughout the kingdom. To render their rivals, the ſecular clergy, as odious as poſſible, every inſtance of diſſoluteneſs in that order, was pretended as a general corruption, and where other ſlanderous topics were wanting, their marriage became a general ſubject of invective, and their wives received the name of concubines. On the other hand, the ſecular clergy, who were numerous, rich, and poſſeſſed of eccleſiaſtical dignities, vigorouſly defended themſelves.

Amidſt theſe diſputes, Edred, after a reign of nine years, died of a quinſy. Notwithſtanding his ſuperſtitious folly, he evinced ſome valour, but ſeemed too much elated with his ſucceſs, being the firſt who aſſumed the title of king of Great Britain, or monarch of all England.

EDWY,

A. D. 955.] Son of Edmund, and nephew to the deceaſed, aſcended the throne at the age of ſixteen or ſeventeen years, the eldeſt of Edred's three children being deemed too young to aſſume the weight of government. This prince being remarkably handſome, acquired the ſurname of *Pancalus*, or *the Fair:* but he had unfortunately married Elgiva, a beautiful princeſs of the royal blood, who was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon-law: the monks were loud on this occaſion; and their invectives provoked the reſentment of Edwy, who was ſoon inſtructed how dangerous the enemies were that he had created.

On the day of his coronation he had retired from the noiſy revelry of the table to enjoy the company of his beloved Elgiva: the imperious Dunſtan burſt into the apartment, and with every opprobrious epithet that could be applied to her ſex, he thruſt the queen from her royal conſort: to avenge the inſult, Edwy accuſed Dunſtan of malverſation, in the treaſury, and baniſhed him the kingdom. But during his abſence, his party was not inactive; they exclaimed againſt the impiety of the king and queen; and, ſeconded by the people, they ſoon proceeded to more outrageous acts of violence. Archbiſhop Odo, with a band of ſoldiers, ſeized the queen, burned her face with an hot iron, and had her carried into Ireland. Edwy, incapable of reſiſting, was forced to acquieſce in a divorce. But fate continued to perſecute the unhappy Elgiva; ſhe had been cured of her wounds, and even the ſcars of them were obliterated, when, as ſhe was flying to the arms of Edwy, whom ſhe ſtill regarded as her huſband, ſhe was ſeized by Odo, who ſatiated his hatred to her by the moſt cruel death; ſhe was hamſtrung, and a few days after expired, in the ſharpeſt torments at Glouceſter.

A. D. 957.] The monks exulted in their barbarity, and encouraged Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, to aſpire to the throne; they ſoon put him in poſſeſſion of Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt Anglia. Dunſtan returned to England, to ſupport him with his influence, and was inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury. The unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and purſued with unrelenting vengeance; but his death, which happened ſoon after, freed his enemies from all inquietude, and ſaved his competitor the trouble of any further conteſt.

EDGAR,

A. D. 959.] Now raiſed to the throne, was diſtinguiſhed in the fortune of his reign; by his vigorous preparations for war, he enforced peace; he maintained a numerous army, and powerful navy, and awed equally the foreign and domeſtic Danes: the neighbouring ſovereigns, the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Iſle of Man, of the Orknies, and of Ireland, were reduced to pay him ſubmiſſion: but the chief means by which he preſerved internal tranquillity, was his aſſiduous attention to Dunſtan and the monks.

A. D. 962.] In a general council of the prelates and the heads of the religious orders, he harangued againſt the diſſolute lives of the ſecular clergy, the ſmallneſs of their tonſure, their gaming, hunting, dancing and ſinging, and more eſpecially their open living with *concubines*; by which expreſſion it was ſuppoſed he meant their *wives*. He urged Dunſtan to complete the work, which had been begun under the reign of Edred; and as their prelate wanted nothing to ſtimulate his ardour, it was not long before the monks prevailed and eſtabliſhed their new diſcipline in almoſt all the convents.

Edgar, for his patronage to the monks, was repaid by their inceſſant praiſes: they have not only repreſented him as a conſummate ſtateſman, and a great prince, but as a man of ſtrict virtue, and even a ſaint; yet chaſtity could not be reckoned among his qualities; his amours convince us how much he played the hypocrite: he broke into a convent,

convent, carried off by force, and violated Editha, a nun: for this enormous offence, the *conſcientious* Dunſtan did not enjoin a ſeparation from his miſtreſs, but to forbear wearing the crown for ſeven years; this temporary deprivation of a vain ornament was indeed a mild puniſhment, when compared with the ſufferings of the unfortunate Edwy, who, for a marriage not ſtrictly regular, ſaw his wife torn from him, and treated with the moſt unrelenting barbarity, and himſelf expelled the kingdom. Such is the influence of hypocriſy and cabal, and ſuch are the vile arts by which a corrupt miniſter will ſeat himſelf in power.

At Andover, Edgar was likewiſe ſtruck with the beauty of the daughter of a nobleman, in whoſe houſe he lodged: having no leiſure to employ in courtſhip, he demanded of the mother that the young lady might be allowed to paſs that very night with him. The mother was a woman of honour, and therefore determined not to comply, but aware of the impetuoſity of the king's temper, feigning ſubmiſſion to his will, ſhe prevailed on her waiting woman to ſupply her daughter's place; with whom the king was ſo well pleaſed in the morning, (when he diſcovered the deception) that he kept her as his miſtreſs, till his marriage with Elfrida, who was daughter and heireſs of Olgar, Earl of Devonſhire, whoſe beauty had excited general admiration. Edgar, reſolving, if her charms were not exaggerated by report, to marry her, communicated his intentions to his favourite Athelwold, whom he deputed to bring an account of her perſon. The fidelity of Athelwold was overcome by the beauty of Elfrida; and when he returned to the king, he aſſured him that the lady poſſeſſed no charms, which would not have been overlooked in a woman of inferior ſtation. He however remarked, that ſhe would be on the whole an advantageous match for him, and might by her birth and riches make him ſufficient compenſation for her homelineſs. Edgar, pleaſed to eſtabliſh his favourite's fortune, forwarded his ſucceſs by his recommendations to the parents of Elfrida, whoſe hand Athelwold ſoon obtained; when dreading leſt his artifice ſhould be detected, he made uſe of every pretence for detaining Elfrida in the country: but as favourites are always expoſed to envy, Edgar was ſoon informed of the truth. Before he avenged the treachery of Athelwold, he reſolved to have occular demonſtration of his guilt. He told him he intended to viſit his caſtle, and be introduced to his wife. The favourite, incapable of refuſing the honour, revealed the whole tranſaction to Elfrida, and conjured her to diſguiſe that beauty which had ſeduced him from his fidelity; but the ambitious fair, exaſperated at an artifice which had defrauded her of a crown, appeared before Edgar in all her charms, and kindled in his boſom the paſſions of deſire and vengeance: he repreſſed, however, his emotions, until he had an opportunity, in hunting, of ſtabbing Athelwold; and ſoon after reaped the harveſt of his guilt, by his marriage with the widow.

The reign of Edgar was remarkable for the extirpation of wolves, by the following expedient. Ludwall, a Welch prince, refuſing to pay his annual tribute, was ſoon reduced by Edgar's forces; and on his ſubmiſſion, his tribute was changed from a ſtipulated ſum of money to five hundred wolves heads, to be produced every year. Thus Wales, which at that time was peſtered with theſe animals, in the ſpace of three years was ſo entirely freed from them, that there was not one to be found throughout the country.

A. D. 975.] After wearing the crown ſixteen years, Edgar died in the thirty-third year of his age, and was ſucceeded by

EDWARD, CALLED THE MARTYR,

Whom he had by his firſt marriage, with earl Ordmer's daughter. His acceſſion was attended with a violent oppoſition. Elfrida endeavoured to raiſe to the throne her own ſon Etheldred, an infant of ſeven years. The pretenſions of Edward were ſupported by the

the principal nobility, and he was anointed and crowned by Dunſtan at Kingſton. He reigned only four years, his death alone being memorable and tragical. In hunting he was led near Corfe-Caſtle, in Dorſetſhire, where his ſtep-mother reſided; and paying her a viſit without attendants, gave her an opportunity ſhe had long wiſhed for. After he had mounted his horſe, he deſired ſome liquor to be brought him. While he was holding the cup to his head, a ſervant of Elfrida approached, and ſtabbed him behind. The prince ſet ſpurs to his horſe, but faint with loſs of blood, fell from the ſaddle, and his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, he was dragged along until he expired. Elfrida, to conceal this horrid deed, known only to her ſervants, ordered the corpſe to be thrown into an adjacent well. The king being abſent, diligent ſearch was made, the body was found, and conveyed to Wareham, but afterwards tranſported to Shaftesbury, and interred in a monaſtery founded by Alfred the Great. Elfrida, to prevent the ſtorm which might have overwhelmed her, on account of this act of cruelty, affected ſtrong compunction of conſcience, and deep remorſe; and, to expiate her guilt, applied the ſpecific remedy of thoſe days, the founding and endowing monaſteries and religious houſes, one of which ſhe erected at Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire, and another at Wharwell in Northamptonſhire, retiring herſelf to the latter, where ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days.

The premature death of Edward derived from thoſe ſuperſtitious times the appellation of *Martyr*; and ſo forcibly did it impreſs Edgitha, a natural daughter of Edgar, and abbeſs of the county of Wilton, that ſhe reſiſted Dunſtan's propoſal of the crown, in conſequence of which her brother was ſucceeded by

ETHELRED II.

A. D. 979.] This prince, from his timidity, indolence, and irreſolution, acquired the ſurname of *Unready*. Under his feeble adminiſtration, the force which had been created by Alfred diſſolved. The Danes reſumed their ravages, the Engliſh were betrayed by the cowardice or incapacity of their generals, a ſhameful compoſition was made with Sweyn king of Denmark; the Engliſh monarch conſented to the diſgraceful badge of tribute; and being deſirous to draw cloſer his connection with the pirates of the north, he ſolicited and received in marriage Emma, ſiſter to Richard the ſecond duke of Normandy, *A. D.* 1001, who was great grandſon of Rollo, a petty prince of Denmark; who by his valour and abilities had engaged the admiration of his countrymen, the northern adventurers, and excited the jealouſy of the Daniſh monarch. Diſpoſſeſſed by the treachery and ſuperior force of the latter, of his ſmall but independent principality, he had fled for ſafety to Scandinavia. He had attached to himſelf a motley band of Norwegians, Swedes, Friſians, and Danes, and had made an attempt on England near the end of the reign of Alfred; but finding no advantages could be gained over a people governed with ſo much prudence and vigour, he had turned his enterpriſes againſt France. During the reign of Charles the Simple, he obtained from that weak prince a grant of the province of Neuſtria, and part of Brittany, on the conditions that he ſhould become a chriſtian, eſpouſe the daughter of Charles, and do homage for his principality; but, in the ceremony of inveſtiture, Rollo rejected with diſdain the ſervile indignity of proſtrating himſelf before, and kiſſing the feet of his ſovereign. One of his guards was accepted as his ſubſtitute; and the rude Norman, unpractiſed in the arts of courts, toſſed the kingly foot with ſo much violence, as nearly to overturn the chair, and to endanger the neck of Charles.

With his principality Rollo aſſumed the title of Duke of Normandy, and governed his new ſubjects with more equity and moderation than could have been expected, from the predatory life he had been engaged in. His authority

authority he tranſmitted to his poſterity, and the above-mentioned Richard the Second was the fourth duke of Normandy.

A. D. 1002.] While the weak king courted the alliance of the Normans, the Engliſh groaned beneath the rapacity and arrogance of the northern invaders. Senſible of the ſuperiority of theſe hardy warriors, it had been the cuſtom of Athelſtan and Edgar to retain in their pay bodies of Daniſh troops. Theſe mercenaries, by their arts and valour, had rendered themſelves ſo agreeable to the fair ſex, that they debauched the wives and daughters of the Engliſh: but what moſt provoked the inhabitants was, that, inſtead of defending them againſt invaders, they were ever ready to join the foreign Danes. This animoſity inſpired Ethelred with the reſolution of maſſacring the Danes throughout his dominions. Secret orders were diſpatched to commence the execution every where on the ſame day; and ſo well were theſe orders executed, (November 20,) that the rage of the populace, ſanctioned by authority, and ſtimulated by example, diſtinguiſhed not between innocence and guilt, and ſpared neither ſex nor age.

Edric, earl of Wilts, degraded himſelf in this bloody ſcene by an action that muſt render his memory for ever deteſtable. The peace with Sweyn, king of Denmark, had been principally effected by the mediation of Gunilda, that king's ſiſter, who had embraced the chriſtian religion, and married count Puling, an Engliſh nobleman, whence ſhe conſidered England as her native country, and voluntarily offered herſelf and family as hoſtages for her brother's punctual obſervance of the treaty. From that day ſhe lived under the eye of Edric, who, from the mere wantonneſs of cruelty, devoted this unfortunate princeſs to death, among the undiſtinguiſhed crowds of her countrymen. He commanded her huſband and children to be butchered in her preſence; after which ſhe herſelf was murdered, by being tranſfixed with four lances. This unhappy princeſs foretold, in the agonies of her deſpair, that her murder would ſoon be avenged by the entire ruin of the Engliſh nation. This prophecy was ſoon fulfilled.

A. D. 1003-7.] Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted but a pretence for invading England, appeared off the weſtern coaſt, to revenge the fate of their countrymen. Earl Hugh, a Norman, and governor of Exeter, betrayed that city into their hands; thence they extended their devaſtations within ſight of the walls of London. The calamities of the Engliſh were augmented by famine, and they conſented to purchaſe a precarious peace by the payment of thirty thouſand pounds.

A. D. 1008.] The Danes received the money without diſcontinuing their ravages; a ſecond peace, which they ſold at the price of forty-eight thouſand pounds, was as ill obſerved, in *A. D.* 1013, and new contributions were extorted with cruel diligence. The Engliſh nobility found no other reſource than ſwearing allegiance to Sweyn, and delivering him hoſtages for their fidelity. Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy, and the treachery of his own ſubjects, fled into Normandy, where he had ſent before him Emma, and her two ſons Alfred and Edward, where they were all kindly received.

A. D. 1014.] Scarcely had the king arrived in Normandy, before he was informed of the death of Sweyn; and the Engliſh prelates and nobles invited him to reſume the royal authority. But on his return (*A. D.* 1016) they diſcovered that adverſity had not corrected his diſpoſition; for he diſplayed the ſame incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity. Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, and no leſs terrible than his father, after ravaging the eaſtern coaſt, had burſt into the counties of Dorſet, Wilts, and Somerſet. He was oppoſed by Edmund, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, but the Engliſh ſoldiers demanded the preſence of their ſovereign; and diſappointed in that hope, they gradually retired from the camp. Edmund, no longer able to keep the field, ſet out for London, which he was determined to defend to the laſt extremity: he found that capital in confuſion, from the death

of the king, who had expired after a reign of thirty-five years. He left two ſons by his firſt marriage; Edmund, who ſucceeded him, and Edwy, who was murdered by Canute; and two more by his ſecond marriage, Alfred and Edward, who, with their mother Emma, immediately paſſed over into Normandy.

EDMUND IRONSIDE,

A. D. 1016.] On his father's death, was immediately proclaimed king. He had already given ſignal proofs of his courage and abilities, and had obtained the ſurname of *Ironſide* from his hardy valour: but great part of the nobility and clergy declared for Canute, to whom they ſwore allegiance at Southampton, having abjured the race of Ethelred. To prevent the further progreſs of treachery and diſaffection, Edmund prepared to decide the fate of his crown in one general engagement. He offered battle to the enemy, who were commanded by Canute and Edric, at Scoerſton in Gloceſterſhire; and in the beginning of the day fortune declared for him: but Edric having cut off the head of one Oſmer, whoſe face reſembled that of Edmund, fixed it on a ſpear, and carrying it in triumph, called out to the Engliſh to behold the head of their ſovereign. Edmund obſerved the conſternation of the troops; though he took off his helmet, and ſhewed himſelf to them, he was obliged, with all his activity and valour, to leave the victory undecided.

A. D. 1017.] But Edric now took a ſurer method to ruin the young king, by deſerting to him; and though Edmund was acquainted with his repeated perfidy, yet probably knowing no other of the chief nobility in whom he could place more confidence, he gave him a conſiderable command in the army; but ſoon after a battle enſuing at Aſſington, in Eſſex, Edric fled in the beginning of the action, and occaſioned a total defeat of the Engliſh. However, the indefatigable Edmund, aſſembling a new army at Glouceſter, was again able to diſpute the field.

As this battle was likely to prove deciſive, the two princes acted with leſs vigour and more caution than they had done in any engagement. During this pauſe, according to the record of ſome hiſtorians, Edmund challenged Canute to a ſingle combat, alledging the injuſtice of ſuch vaſt effuſion of blood, to gratify the ambition of two aſpiring mortals. To whom Canute replied, that he hoped it would not be imputed to his want of courage, but that it would argue the height of imprudence in him to riſque his life and crown on the power of his ſingle arm, againſt a perſon of Edmund's robuſt make and uncommon agility; however, as his antagoniſt had expreſſed an inclination to ſpare the effuſion of human blood, he was ready to open conferences on the ſubject of peace, and refer the articles to the determination of the principal officers of both armies. This reply excited a general joy throughout both camps; and an equal number of commiſſioners being appointed, they aſſembled in the little iſle of Alney, formed by the Severn; where, after a ſhort conference, a treaty of peace was concluded, and the kingdom divided between the two competitors. The ſouthern parts were left to Edmund; while Canute had the northern diviſion of Mercia, Eaſt Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely ſubdued.

Some ſhort time after this treaty Edmund was murdered at Oxford, at the inſtigation of the infamous Edric; whereupon

CANUTE,

Taking advantage of the tender years of Edwin and Edward, the infant ſons of Edmund, under plauſible pretences ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates, to fix the ſucceſſor to the throne. The perpetrator of Edmund's murder was gained over to his intereſt, and nobles ſuborned to depoſe, that in the treaty of Glouceſter it had been verbally agreed, in caſe of Edmund's death, to name

name Canute tutor to his children, or ſucceſſor to his dominions; and this evidence, ſupported by the great power of Canute, determined the ſtates to veſt in him the government of the kingdom. Jealous of the two princes, yet unwilling to render himſelf odious, he ſent them abroad to his ally the king of Sweden; whom he deſired to free him, by their death, from all future anxiety. The Swede, too humane to comply with the requeſt, conveyed them to Solomon king of Hungary. The elder died without iſſue, but Edward the Younger married Agatha, the ſiſter-in-law of Solomon, and daughter of the emperor Henry the Second, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent.

A. D. 1018.] Canute governed England with vigour and ſeverity: he no ſooner found himſelf confirmed in the throne, than he put to death the nobles he could not rely on; and amongſt theſe was the traitor Edric, who was raſh and inſolent enough to tell him in public, that he had not been rewarded according to his ſervice, and in particular made a merit of having been acceſſary to the removal of Edmund. Canute, enraged at this report, turned to the traitor, and with a ſtern look replied, "Villain! as thou audaciouſly avoweſt an execrable treaſon, hitherto only ſuſpected, thou ſhalt immediately receive the puniſhment due to ſuch an atrocious crime!" At the ſame inſtant, without giving him time to reply, he ordered him to be beheaded, his body to be thrown into the Thames, and his head fixed upon the higheſt part of the Tower, in order to verify a former promiſe, that he ſhould be *exalted* above all the nobility of the kingdom. His three ſons were put to death at the ſame time, as ſuppoſed to have been accomplices in the crimes of their father.

A. D. 1020.] Though Canute's jealouſy was fatal, his juſtice was impartial. In the diſtribution of it he made no diſtinction between the Danes and Engliſh; he reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms, and gradually incorporated the victors with the vanquiſhed. Though the diſtance of the children of Edmund ſeemed to ſecure him from their enterpriſes, he dreaded the pretenſions of Alfred and Edward the Younger, ſons of Ethelred by Emma, who were ſupported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. To acquire the friendſhip of that prince, he paid his addreſſes to his ſiſter Emma, and the widow of Ethelred conſented to give her hand to the implacable enemy of her huſband, on the promiſe that the children of their marriage ſhould ſucceed to the Engliſh crown.

A. D. 1028.] After repelling the attacks of the king of Sweden, he invaded and ſubdued the kingdom of Norway. At leiſure from war, his mind now became occupied with the proſpect of a future ſtate of exiſtence: ſhocked at the miſery his pride and ambition had occaſioned, he became a penitent; but, inſtead of endeavouring to atone for the injuries he had committed, by compenſation to the injured, his penitence was diſplayed in a pilgrimage to Rome, building churches, and endowing monaſteries. One anecdote, however, diſtinguiſhes him ſuperior to the adulation ſo grateful to little minds. Some of his flatterers exclaiming that every thing was poſſible to him, he ordered his chair to be placed on the ſea-ſhore while the tide was riſing; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean: but when the ſea ſtill advanced towards him, and began to wet him with it's billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the univerſe was feeble and impotent, and that power reſided with one Being alone, in whoſe hands were all the elements of nature, and who could ſay to the ocean, "Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther."

A. D. 1031.] Canute's expedition againſt Malcolm king of Scotland was his laſt memorable action. The latter had refuſed to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but his obſtinacy yielded to the appearance of Canute on his frontiers, at the head of a formidable army;

army; and his grandſon and heir Malcolm, to whom he relinquiſhed Cumberland, ſubmitted to the ceremony of homage.

After this enterpriſe, Canute died at Shaftſbury, (*A. D.* 1035,) having acquired the ſurname of *Great* from his conqueſts. He had given his daughter in marriage to the Engliſh earl Godwin, who had ſerved him with great ability in his war with Sweden. Of his two ſons by his firſt marriage, Sweyn had been crowned king of Norway, and Harold ſeized the throne of England; while Hardicanute, who was his iſſue by Emma, was left in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Denmark.

HAROLD, I.

A. D. 1035.] Who was ſurnamed *Harefoot*, for his ſwiftneſs in running, having founded his claim on the will of Canute, notwithſtanding Canute had ſtipulated with Richard, duke of Normandy, that his children by Emma ſhould ſucceed to the throne of England, was favoured by the Danes, and immediately got poſſeſſion of his father's throne and treaſure.

While the Danes ſupported Harold, the Engliſh, with earl Godwin, aſſerted the pretenſions of Hardicanute. A civil war was however prevented by a compromiſe; and it was agreed that Harold ſhould enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the poſſeſſion of the ſouth ſhould remain to Hardicanute; and till that prince ſhould appear to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, Emma fixed her reſidence at Wincheſter, and eſtabliſhed her authority over her ſon's ſhare of the partition.

A. D. 1036.] This treaty delivered not Harold from the dread of competitors: the duke of Normandy was a minor; and Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Emma by Ethelred, had croſſed the ſea to viſit their mother at Wincheſter. Thence Alfred was invited by Harold to London; at the inſtigation of the tyrant the unfortunate prince was attacked near Guildford by the vaſſals of earl Godwin: he was taken priſoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monaſtery of Ely, where he died ſoon after. Alarmed at his fate, Edward and Emma fled to Normandy and Flanders; and Harold ſeized the dominions which had been aſſigned to his brother.

This prince died four years after his acceſſion, little regretted by his ſubjects, and was ſucceeded by his brother,

HARDICANUTE,

A. D. 1039.] Or Canute the *Hardy*, who, before Harold's death, under pretence of paying a viſit to his mother, had aſſembled a fleet of ſixty ſhips to aſſert his pretenſions, in arms; and when informed that his brother was no more, immediately ſet ſail for London, where he was received in triumph, and acknowledged king without oppoſition. To juſtify himſelf from participating in the crime of Harold, he invited into England, and entertained with regard, prince Edward; yet when the latter preferred an accuſation againſt Godwin as the accomplice in the murder of his brother Alfred, the king, influenced by the preſent of a galley with a gilt ſtern, rowed by fourſcore men, armed and cloathed in the moſt coſtly manner, each wearing on his arm a gold bracelet weighing ſixteen ounces, ſuffered the accuſed to vindicate himſelf by his ſingle oath.

This prince retained not long the affections of the Engliſh; he revived the tax of *Danegelt*, which conſiſted of a ſhilling on a hide, on all lands, and from it's name was probably impoſed to purchaſe peace of, or to furniſh an armament againſt the Danes. In ſeveral parts of England, eſpecially at Worceſter, the inhabitants reſiſted this odious tax: they were however obliged to ſubmit; and were delivered by the intemperance of their oppreſſor from the dread of his vengeance: at the nuptial feaſt, at Lambeth, of a Daniſh lord, Hardicanute ſuddenly

denly expired, and preſented to the Engliſh a favourable opportunity of ſhaking off the Daniſh yoke.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

During the late reigns, the Engliſh had ſuffered ſo much from the oppreſſion of the Danes, that they conſidered themſelves as happily relieved by the death of Hardicanute. Sweyn, his brother, was abſent in Denmark, and either had ſo little intereſt, or was ſo indifferent about his ſucceſſion to the crown of England, that no exertion was made on his behalf; the Engliſh were divided between Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who was in Hungary, and Edward, ſon of Ethelred, neither of whom were in England; but a compromiſe was made between him and earl Godwin, whoſe daughter, Editha, Edward was to receive in marriage.

The ſtates being aſſembled for the election of a king, Godwin introduced Edward, and having expatiated largely on the miſeries entailed upon the nation by the Danes, he took the prince by the hand, and riſing from his ſeat, "Behold," ſaid he, "your king; this is prince Edward, ſon of king Ethelred and queen Emma, to whom I pay my allegiance." His remonſtrances had the deſired effect, and the ſuffrages of the aſſembly were united in favour of Edward.

A. D 1042.] The popularity which Edward had enjoyed on his firſt acceſſion, was not impaired by his reſuming all grants of his immediate predeceſſors: his ſeverity towards his mother the queen dowager, was more injurious to his reputation. He accuſed her of neglecting him and his brother during their adverſe fortune; he ſtripped her of her treaſures, and confined her in a monaſtery at Wincheſter; but the ſtories which charge her as maintaining a criminal correſpondence with the biſhop of Wincheſter, and which repreſent her as juſtifying herſelf by walking unhurt over burning plowſhares, are deemed, in the opinion of ſome, the inventions of the monkiſh hiſtorians.

A. D. 1043.] Edward having been educated in Normandy, was ſo attached to the manners and language of the natives, that they now repaired to his court in numbers, and were received with favour. This partiality ſoon diſguſted the Engliſh; but above all, it excited the jealouſy of Godwin, who, beſides being earl or duke of Weſſex, had the counties of Kent and Suſſex annexed to his government. His eldeſt ſon, Sweyn, poſſeſſed the ſame authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloceſter, and Hereford; and Harold, his ſecond ſon, was duke of Eaſt Anglia, and at the ſame time governor of Eſſex. The king had indeed married his daughter; but the amiable qualities of Editha had never acquired the affection of her huſband: it is even pretended that Edward abſtained from all commerce of love with her. And ſuch a forbearance, whether riſing from frigidity or reſentment, though it obtained for the prince, from the monkiſh hiſtorians, the appellation of *Saint* and *Confeſſor*, could not be grateful to the father.

A. D. 1047.] This cruel behaviour to a daughter, and the influence of the Normans, ſoon incurred the diſaffection of Godwin. The inſolence of one of the attendants of Euſtace, count of Bologne, who had married Gada the king's ſiſter, had provoked a tumult at Dover, from which the count himſelf with difficulty eſcaped. He complained to Edward, who, from his partiality towards the Normans, directed Godwin, within whoſe government Dover lay, to puniſh the inhabitants by laying the country waſte with fire and ſword; but Godwin refuſed, threw the blame on the count of Bologne, and boldly told him the laws of England did not allow a ſubject to be condemned unheard, that the only method of terminating this affair was by a legal trial. He further obſerved, it was his duty to protect the people he was ordered to puniſh, who had only made reſiſtance in their own defence againſt an inſolent foreigner,

reigner, who ought to be ſurrendered to juſtice for what he had done.

This anſwer gave offence to the imperious Edward, who had not been accuſtomed to ſuch language; he therefore conſidered the ſpeech of Godwin as an audacious remonſtrance, and that it would derogate from his dignity, if he ſhould either ſuffer his commands to be diſputed, or his ſubjects to enjoy the benefit of the laws of their country, when not agreeable to his royal pleaſure. He therefore determined to puniſh the earl, whenever a favourable opportunity offered.

A. D. 1048.] About this time, the Welch had erected a fort on the frontiers of Herefordſhire, part of his ſon Sweyn's eſtate, and committed ſeveral outrages on his tenants. This afforded Godwin and his family a plauſible pretence, for collecting an armament in their own defence, in caſe the former ſhould be attacked for his diſobedience, which he had ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect, whenever the king could form a party ſufficient to oppoſe him. The popularity of the earl's family, and the plauſibility of their pretences, ſoon levied a conſiderable army.

Sweyn collected another body. A favourable opportunity offered to Edward, for oppoſing the meaſures of Godwin, and being joined by Leofric and Siward, the royal party was ſo powerfully augmented, that peremptory orders were diſpatched to Godwin and his ſons, to appear before the aſſembly, with ſevere threatenings in caſe of diſobedience. Godwin, on the popular principles which he affected, could not conſiſtently with himſelf decline the ſummons, nor with ſecurity obey them. He was ſenſible of the implacability of Edward, and therefore alledged, as reaſons for his non-compliance, that the ſtate of the nation required the moſt vigorous exertion; that the Welch had inſulted the dignity of the crown of England, and the Normans wholly engroſſed the affections of the ſovereign; that his intereſt and ſtation in the government, would not ſuffer him to be an unconcerned ſpectator of the miſeries impending over his country; and therefore he had raiſed forces, as the moſt ſpeedy and preventive method he could poſſibly purſue; demanding, at the ſame time, that Euſtace and his retinue ſhould be delivered into his cuſtody, in order to be tried by the laws of the country.

Through the joint aſſiſtance of Leofric, Siward, and other noblemen of the royal party, Edward ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army, capable of reducing and giving law to his antagoniſt, nor did he want inclination to exert the power he had acquired. But Leofric and Siward wiſely conſidered, that notwithſtanding the ambition of Godwin, and the danger which might be apprehended from the tenor of his conduct, the truth of ſeveral of his allegations was inconteſtible. From divers reaſons they were alſo aſſured, that Edward was effectually convinced, by the danger he had eſcaped, that Engliſhmen were to be governed only by the laws of their country. Therefore, when civil diſſentions threatened the ruin of their country, theſe two worthy patriots jointly exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that all the arbitrary views of the king were diſappointed, and all the dangerous deſigns of the earl defeated; for, by protracting the time of ſuſpenſion, the force of Godwin was impaired; and on the other ſide, the meeting of the ſtates, the preſence of the ſovereign, and the neceſſity of their own private affairs, were conſiderations that outweighed all the intereſt of Godwin and his family; by which means the latter were obliged to accept of the terms rather preſcribed, than offered by the royal party; which were, that another meeting of the ſtates ſhould be appointed for deciding all diſputes, and that Godwin and his ſons ſhould repair thither, attended by twelve perſons only. Being compelled to an acquieſcence, he returned to Weſſex, and his ſons to their reſpective eſtates.

A. D. 1049.] The great council was convened, but Godwin refuſed attending, without he received hoſtages for himſelf and ſons; aſſerting that he had diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt

againſt his life. Reply was made, that as a ſubject he had no right to demand terms of the government.

Finding he could not comply without endangering his perſonal ſafety, he refuſed to obey the ſummons; in conſequence of which the law was ſuffered to take it's courſe, and Godwin and his ſons were baniſhed the kingdom; while Edward, regardleſs of the ties of humanity, that he might the more effectually gratify his revenge on the family, ſtripped the queen of her jewels and effects, and confined her in the monaſtery of Warewell.

But the exiled nobles were not idle; they collected a formidable force; and having ſailed up the Thames, were joined by conſiderable numbers from all parts of the country. But as both armies conſiſted of Engliſhmen, they were unwilling to embrue their hands in kindred blood; and by the interpoſition of the nobility and biſhops an accommodation was brought about. Godwin and his ſons gave hoſtages for their good conduct, on conſideration of being reſtored to their employments and eſtates. The king likewiſe agreed to the expulſion of foreigners, but he conſented with much reluctance, at the preſſing intreaties of Stigard biſhop of Wincheſter. The queen was releaſed from her confinement, and reſtored to her former honour.

Godwin was formally impeached by the king for the murder of his brother Alfred, and his late rebellion; when, after a trial, in which no doubt every means was employed to obtain a conviction, he was acquitted, and reſtored to his former dignities.

The character of this great man is much traduced: he is repreſented as haughty and inſolent, becauſe he oppoſed a worthleſs king in his folly; and would not ſubmit to rapacious Normans, who were placed at the head of the ſtate. His having put out the eyes of prince Alfred is evidently a falſhood; neither could he have any motive for ſuch an act of uſeleſs barbarity. The fact ſeems to be, Alfred, under pretence of viſiting his mother, brought with him a thouſand armed Normans: this giving ſuſpicion to the Engliſh, who had ſuffered ſo ſeverely by the wars of different competitors, Godwin, as earl of Kent, went to oppoſe him; a battle enſued, in which probably Alfred was mortally wounded, and died at the monaſtery where he fled for refuge.

It was moſt probably through the influence of Godwin that the Saxon laws were collected and enforced in this reign, for we cannot believe ſo great a deſign originated in the mind of a weak and arbitrary king; but he was a friend to monks and Normans, and Godwin was an enemy to both; yet from them is derived all that we know of either.

By the reconciliation of Edward and Godwin tranquillity was reſtored to England. William the Baſtard, duke of Normandy, paid a viſit to the king, who took every opportunity of ſhewing his gratitude for the protection he had received from the duke and his father during his adverſity.

A. D. 1053.] Edward ſtill preſerved his reſentment, though obliged to cover it, againſt Godwin, on account of his popularity, and the oppoſition he made to his arbitrary proceedings: but the death of Godwin put an end to their difference; for he was ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy as he ſat at table with the king at the palace at Oldham, and expired three days after. Thus fell one of the greateſt men the nation ever produced. His ſon Harold was appointed to ſucceed him in his honours and employments, notwithſtanding Edward deteſted him as much as his father; becauſe his virtues had rendered him, if poſſible, more popular.

By the death of Alger, duke of Mercia, and of Siward, duke of Northumberland, he was delivered from two powerful rivals. The eldeſt ſon of Siward had fallen in a ſucceſsful action with Macbeth, the uſurper of Scotland; his ſecond ſon, Waltheof, was too young to be intruſted with the adminiſtration of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Toſti.

A. D. 1056.] As Edward's continence had deprived him of iſſue, now, when worn out with

with cares and infirmities, he began to think of appointing a ſucceſſor to his kingdom. He invited from Hungary his nephew Edward, the only remaining heir of the Saxon line; but that prince expired ſoon after his arrival with his children. The youth and inexperience of his ſon Edgar Atheling, diverted from him the thoughts of Edward; who, dreading leſt on his death Harold might avail himſelf of his influence and authority to uſurp the crown, at laſt fixed his choice (as it was pretended) on his kinſman William of Normandy, who was natural ſon of Robert duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaiſe. The illegitimacy of his birth had not prevented him from being acknowledged by the Normans as their duke. His father died while he was a minor, but no ſooner did he come to maturity, than his qualities in the field and the cabinet were the admiration of his friends, and the terror of his enemies. Having eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his own dominions, he viſited England at the juncture when Godwin was baniſhed; and he was received in a manner ſuitable to the reputation he had acquired, and the obligations which Edward owed to his family.

It was at this time, if ever, that he made the promiſe that he ſhould ſucceed him in the throne of England; but his ſubſequent invitation of Edward, who was the next heir, from Hungary, and who came for the purpoſe of ſucceeding him, is a palpable contradiction of his having made any promiſe to the former. Moreover, the firſt was a ſecret tranſaction, whereas the laſt was public; yet on this flimſy pretence this unfortunate country was deluged in blood.

In the interim the power and popularity of Harold rapidly increaſed; but in his views on the throne he was embarraſſed by his apprehenſions for thoſe hoſtages whom Godwin had given for his good behaviour: he prevailed on the king to conſent to their releaſe; and for that purpoſe, as he was ignorant William was his competitor, he immediately proceeded with a numerous train on his journey to Normandy. A tempeſt drove him on the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who detained him as his priſoner. Harold however found means to acquaint the duke of Normandy with his ſituation; and William immediately perceived the importance of the incident: could he gain Harold, his way to the throne of England would be open; he demanded therefore his liberty of Guy, who preſumed not to refuſe, and delivered the earl into the hands of his rival. William received him with every demonſtration of reſpect; and took an opportunity of diſcloſing to him the ſecret of his pretenſions to the crown of England; he deſired his aſſiſtance; he offered him one of his daughters in marriage; and promiſed, in caſe of ſucceſs, to advance his fortune ſtill to a greater height. Harold heard him with ſurpriſe; but anxious to recover his own liberty, as well as that of his brother and nephew, he feigned a compliance; he even took a ſolemn oath to ſupport his claim; and was diſmiſſed by William with all the marks of a mutual confidence.

But no ſooner did Harold find himſelf at liberty, than his ambition ſuggeſted to him ſufficient caſuiſtry to juſtify the violation of an oath, which had been extorted from him by fear; he continued therefore ſtill to court popularity, and to inflame the hatred of the Engliſh to the Normans; when fortunately about this time two incidents occurred which ſerved to increaſe the reputation he had already acquired.

The name of Griffith, prince of Wales, by his incurſions on the Weſtern borders, was now rendered terrible to the Engliſh. To ſuppreſs this dangerous enemy, Harold determined to march againſt him in perſon; he penetrated amidſt their mountains, and reduced the Welch to ſuch diſtreſs, that, to avert their total deſtruction, they ſacrificed their prince, whoſe head they cut off, and ſent to Harold; and were content to receive as their ſovereigns two Welch noblemen, whom Edward appointed to rule over them.

Equal honour was derived by Harold from the other incident. Toſti his brother had

had oppreſſed Northumberland in ſuch a manner, that the inhabitants had riſen in arms. Morcar and Edwin, two brothers, and grandſons to the duke of Mercia, were their leaders. Harold advanced with a formidable army to reduce them; but, before the ſignal for battle was given, Morcar, ſenſible of the generous diſpoſition of his adverſary, requeſted a conference, and repreſented in ſuch ſtrong terms the cruelty and rapacity of Toſti, that Harold refuſed to be the inſtrument of injuſtice, and, abandoning his brother's cauſe, he returned to Edward, whom he perſuaded to pardon the Northumbrians, and to transfer the government to Morcar: he even married the ſiſter of that nobleman; and by his intereſt procured Edwin, the younger brother, to be appointed governor of Mercia.

William perceived plainly from this marriage, that no dependence could be placed on his engagement with Harold, who now openly aſpired to the ſucceſſion; while Edward, feeble and irreſolute, was afraid to declare in favour of the duke of Normandy.

In this ſtate of uncertainty, he was ſurpriſed by death in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was the firſt king of England who pretended to cure, by his touch, the king's evil; a practice long continued by his ſucceſſors.

HAROLD II.

A. D. 1066.] Authors have differed in relating the manner in which Harold came to the throne. The only deſcendant of the ancient race of kings was Edgar Atheling, grandſon of Edmund Ironſide; but he was a very weak prince, and the Engliſh had ſuffered enough by the folly of the laſt, to make them reject him. William had communicated his pretenſions to Harold, and ſome others; but the Normans were too odious to the Engliſh to admit his claims. The truth ſeems to be, that the nobility who were at court, dreading the effects of a competition for the crown, agreed that Harold ſhould ſucceed Edward, though not of the royal family, he having been long reſpected by the Engliſh for his virtues and abilities; but as no time was to be loſt, he was crowned by Aldred archbiſhop of York: this was confirmed by an aſſembly of the ſtates.

His elevation was reeeived by the Engliſh with the moſt unequivocal marks of approbation; but the duke of Normandy received the intelligence with open indignation. He ſent an embaſſy to England, upbraiding him with his breach of faith, and ſummoning him to reſign the poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Harold replied to the Norman ambaſſadors, that the oath he had taken was void, as extorted by violence; that he had obtained the crown from the unanimous ſuffrages of the people; and that if the duke made any attempts by force of arms, he ſhould experience the ſtrength of an united nation, conducted by a prince who was determined that the ſame moment ſhould put a period to his life and government.

This reply by no means diſcouraged William; he conſidered that England had enjoyed a profound tranquillity for near fifty years, that her inhabitants were unuſed to arms, her towns without fortifications, and that his rival was yet ſcarcely eſtabliſhed on the throne. On the contrary, the Normans were at the higheſt pitch of military glory; they had acquired the aſcendant over the Italians and the Greeks, the Germans and the Saracens; and had laid the foundations of the opulent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The ſituation of Europe was favourable to his views; a military ſpirit was univerſally diffuſed throughout it; the genius of chivalry was in it's vigour; and a race of daring adventurers, impatient of peace and repoſe, were eager to embark in any enterpriſe, let the danger be ever ſo great.

With warriors of this deſcription, the duke of Normandy's court was crouded; and no ſooner had he proclaimed his intention of attempting the conqueſt of England, than he found leſs difficulty in completing his levies, than in rejecting thoſe who were deſirous of ſerving under him. The count of Brittany,

with five thouſand of his ſubjects, marched beneath his banner; the counts of Anjou and Flanders encouraged their vaſſals to engage in the expedition. The latter was regent of France during the minority of Philip the Firſt, and ſecretly facilitated the views of William; while the emperor Henry the Fourth promiſed to guarantee his Norman dominion during his abſence, and by theſe means enable him to employ his whole force in the invaſion of England.

However, conſidering the ſuperſtitious age, the moſt important ally that William gained was the Roman pontiff; the pretended ſucceſſor of St. Peter began now openly to interpoſe in the quarrels of the greateſt monarchs. It would have been a ſufficient motive for Alexander the Second, to have eſpouſed the party of William, that he alone had made an appeal to his tribunal. But the pope foreſaw other advantages; England had hitherto maintained a conſiderable independence in it's eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; Alexander hoped that the Normans, if ſucceſsful, would import into that country a more devoted reverence for the holy ſee: with this view he pronounced Harold a perjured uſurper, and ſanctioned the pretenſions of William; who immediately aſſembled a very formidable fleet, and ſelected an army of ſixty thouſand men from the numbers who courted his ſervice, including the names of the moſt illuſtrious nobles of Normandy, France, Brittany, and Flanders.

While making theſe preparations, the duke encouraged Toſti, Harold's brother, who had fled to Flanders, and had united with Holfager, king of Norway, now to commence his purpoſe of invading England. Accordingly, with ſixty ſail he joined in the Humber the Norwegian fleet, which conſiſted of three hundred veſſels; and defeated Morcar earl of Northumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, who had ventured to give him battle, and were both ſlain.

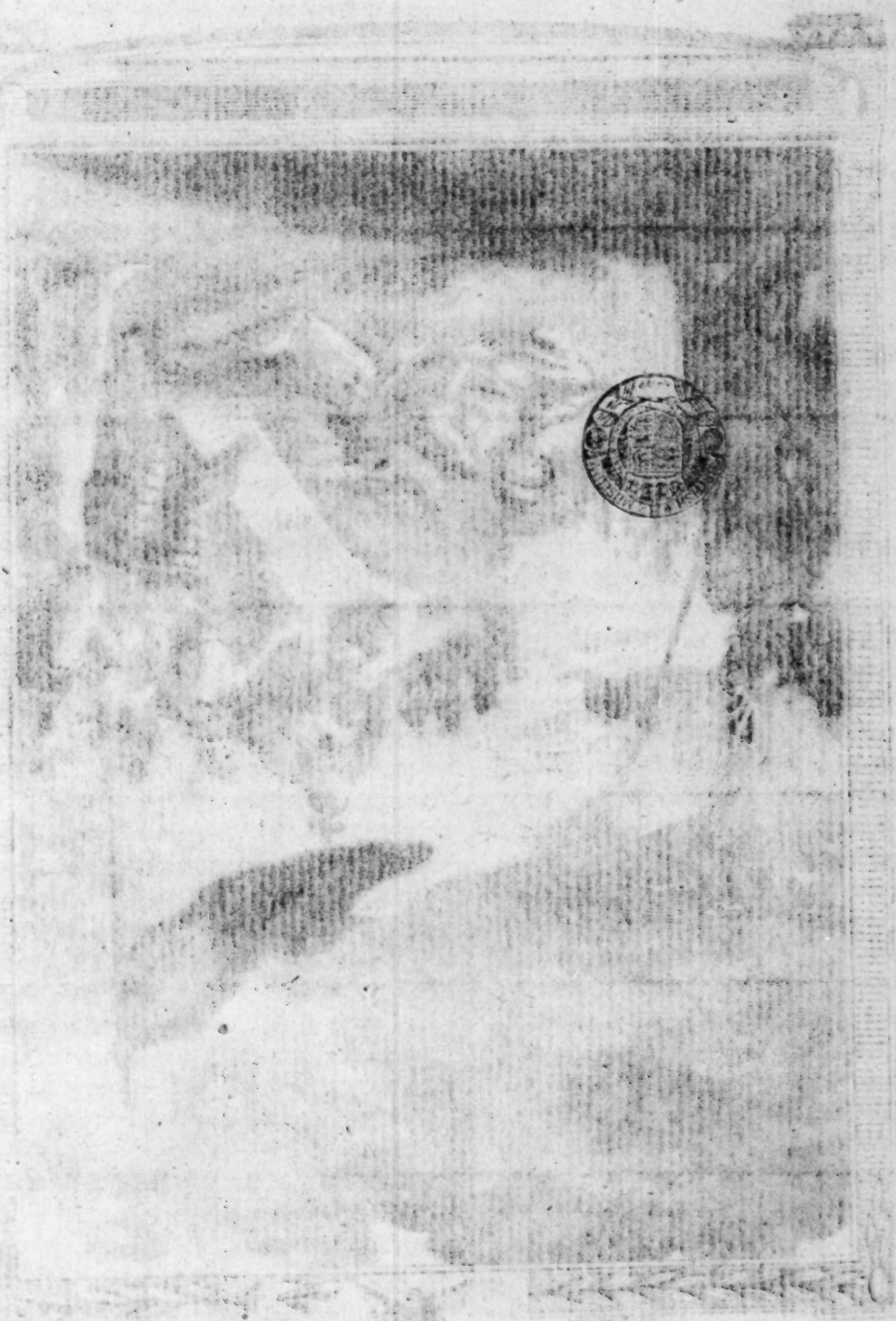
No ſooner was Harold appriſed of this defeat, than deſirous of impreſſing his new ſubjects with proofs of his valour, he rapidly advanced to encounter the invaders; and his army, as he marched along, gradually ſwelling by numbers, whom his popularity allured to his ſtandard, at Standford he engaged the enemy. His victory was deciſive; both the king of Norway and Toſti periſhed in the action, and the Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of Harold, who was ſoon after informed that the duke of Normandy had landed with a great army in the ſouth of England. This intelligence he received with ſome degree of ſcorn, and replied, that William had not the leaſt right to the crown of England; for granting that the late king had diſpoſed of it in his favour, ſuch a diſpoſal (if any ſuch there were) was diametrically oppoſite to the laws of the kingdom, which reſtricted kings from following their own caprice. With reſpect to himſelf, he inſinuated that he had been elected by thoſe who had a right to confer that dignity upon him; and obſerved, that the duke was guilty of an act of injuſtice, in requiring him to reſign a crown which had been conferred on him by the people. But Harold, miſled by the information that William had laid aſide his preparations, had diſmiſſed his fleet; and the Normans, who had a long time ſtruggled with contrary winds, now landed without oppoſition at Pevenſey in Suſſex.

Determined to expel the Normans, or periſh in the attempt, Harold marched into Suſſex; entertaining a contemptible opinion of the duke's ſtrength, on account of his remaining inactive ſo long after his landing. Having encamped within nine miles of the Norman army, he called a council of war; when it was deemed prudent, by a majority, to defer the battle: but Harold, deaf to all advice, rejected their reaſons, and a reſolution was taken immediately to engage; upon which Gurth, the king's younger brother, endeavoured to diſſuade him from his reſolution, by repreſenting to him the temerity of venturing the liberties and properties of his ſubjects upon a ſingle chance of war; the expediency of the preſervation of his own life, on which ſucceſs abſolutely depended; and laſtly, by aſſuring him, that if he would commit the army

Ryley delen. Charter Sculpt.

***LANDING* of *WILLIAM I.* Called the *CONQUEROR*,**

Published by H.D. Symonds, Sept.r 1, 1790



army to his care, he would diſcharge the truſt as became a brother, a ſubject, and a patriot.

Harold was deaf to all his remonſtrances, and, impatient of the event, ſoon appeared in ſight of the enemy, who had pitched their camp at Haſtings. So confident did he ſeem of ſucceſs, that his only offer to William was a ſum of money, if he would quit the kingdom. The duke of Normandy, in return, required him to reſign the crown, or to hold it of him in fealty, or to ſubmit their cauſe to the pope, or to the chance of ſingle combat; but to theſe alternatives Harold replied, that the god of battle ſhould ſoon be the arbiter of all their differences.

Now both parties prepared for action, but the night previous to it was differently ſpent in the hoſtile camps; the Engliſh indulged in riot and jollity; the Normans were occupied in the duties of religion. On the morning (October 14th) the duke called together his principal officers: he repreſented to them that the fortune of the war depended on their ſwords, and would be decided in a ſingle action; that if they remitted, in the leaſt, their wonted proweſs, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the ſea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious death was the certain puniſhment of their imprudent cowardice. After this harangue, he ordered the ſignal of battle to be given.

In the mean time Harold had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground; and having ſecured his flanks with trenches, he reſolved to ſtand upon the defenſive, and to avoid all action with the cavalry, in which he was inferior. The Kentiſh men were placed in the van, a poſt which they always claimed as their due. The Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king himſelf, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, diſmounting, placed himſelf at the head of his infantry, and expreſſed his reſolution to conquer or to die. The firſt attack of the Normans was deſperate, but was received with equal valour by the Engliſh; and the former began to retreat, when William haſtened to their ſupport with a ſelect band. His preſence reſtored the action, and the Engliſh, in their turn, were obliged to retire. They rallied again, aſſiſted by the advantage of the ground; and William, to gain the victory, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which, had it failed, muſt have ended in his total ruin. He commanded his troops to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The Engliſh followed with precipitation: the Normans faced upon them in the plain, and drove them back with conſiderable ſlaughter. The artifice was a ſecond time repeated with the ſame ſucceſs; yet a great body of the Engliſh ſtill maintained themſelves in firm array, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory. While they were galled by the Norman archers behind, they were attacked by the heavy armed infantry in front. Harold himſelf, who now died on his birth-day, was ſlain by an arrow, as he combated with great bravery at the head of his men: his two brothers ſhared the ſame fate. The Engliſh, diſcouraged by the fall of thoſe princes, fled on all ſides, and chiefly by the darkneſs of the night eſcaped their purſuers.

The obſtinacy with which the Engliſh had maintained the conflict from morning to ſunſet, is approved in the loſs of the victors; fifteen thouſand Normans fell, and William in the action had three horſes killed under him: but the victory, however dearly bought, was deciſive. The body of Harold was brought to William, but was generouſly reſtored without ranſom to his mother; and no ſooner had the Normans returned thanks to Heaven for their ſucceſs, than their prince preſſed forwards to improve his advantage, before the Engliſh could recover from their diſmay and diſtraction.

Earls Edwin and Morcar had aſſembled in London almoſt all the remaining nobility of the kingdom, to deliberate upon meaſures to be taken in the preſent emergency, both for ſettling the government of the nation, and raiſing an army to oppoſe the Normans. They propoſed that Edgar ſhould be placed on the throne, in which they were warmly ſupported by archbiſhop Stigand

gand and the Londoners, whoſe weight was very great even in thoſe early times, on account of their great wealth, proweſs, and numbers; but the major part of the clergy favoured the deſigns of the Conqueror, whoſe great ſucceſs, and his being countenanced by the pope, made them believe they ſhould find in him a more powerful protector than they could expect under ſo young and weakly ſupported a prince as Edgar: they could not, however, ſo far prevail, but that the unanimous voice of the citizens was hearkened to; Edgar was accordingly proclaimed king of England, with the general conſent of the nobility, and orders were iſſued for levying a new army to ſupport his title; but by the diſſentions and cabals that prevailed among the great men, this ſalutary meaſure was rendered in a manner ineffectual.

William, being recovered from his diſorder, continued his march towards London, after having received the ſubmiſſion of the Kentiſh men, who gave him hoſtages for the aſſurance of their fidelity; in which they were followed by the inhabitants of Canterbury: but, apprehenſive that he might not meet with the ſame diſpoſition in the inhabitants of the other counties through which he was to paſs, he cauſed his army to march in three diviſions, by three different routes; with orders to his men, if they ſhould meet with any reſiſtance, to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword; an order which was made a pretext to commit moſt dreadful outrages on the ſlighteſt pretences. The duke's view, in this ſevere command, was evidently to intimidate the Engliſh from any attempts to oppoſe him in his progreſs.

Being ſtopped in his way by ſome trees which Fretherig, abbot of St. Alban's, had cauſed to be felled, and placed in the road, he ordered him to appear before him, with a promiſe that no harm ſhould be offered him, if he complied. On the abbot's coming into his preſence, the duke demanded of him, how he dared to impede his march, after the rigorous order which he knew to have been given? "In this," rejoined the abbot, "I have done no more than my birth and duty exacted of me; and had others of my rank, O duke, acted in a manner alike becoming them, you would not have penetrated thus far into our country." Struck with the pertinence of this reply, William diſmiſſed the abbot without further notice.

On his approach to the capital, the terrors of the people increaſed; and the clergy thought this a good opportunity to exert their talents of inſinuation to diſſuade the Londoners from making a reſiſtance; which, they ſaid, would anſwer no end but to incenſe the Conqueror, and puſh him to acts of tyranny and revenge, which might prove fatal to all the inhabitants; whereas, by a timely ſubmiſſion, they might conciliate his affections, ſecure his protection, and blunt the edge of the uplifted ſword of power. By theſe and the like arguments, concurring with the near approaching danger, the citizens of London, who, as they had more to loſe, had alſo more to fear, than any other ſubjects in England, ſuffered their former ardour to abate; and, from having ſo lately reſolved to brave the utmoſt malice of their adverſe fortune, they now expreſſed an earneſt deſire of coming to an accommodation. The two brothers, Morcar and Edwin, more accuſtomed to the perils of the field, and having had frequenter opportunities of obſerving the amazing viciſſitudes of war than the home-bred peaceful burghers, reſolved not to give up their all without venturing one laſt effort in defence of their liberties and properties. With this view they animated thoſe of their own party to engage in the hazard with them, and, watching a favourable opportunity, ſallied out upon the duke, who was now arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his firſt diviſion, hoping to find him fatigued with his march, and to fall upon him unprepared; but they had to do with a general too well practiſed in the art of war to ſuffer himſelf to be ſurprized: William was upon his guard, and gave the aſſailants ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to retire with all haſte. Their unſucceſsful return added freſh

alarms

alarms to the diſpirited Londoners; the friends of Edgar ſhrunk back from his cauſe, and thought only how to avert the gathering ſtorm from their own heads. The clergy, aſſiduous abettors of William and his enterpriſe, turned this accident in favour of their former counſels, which now began to be generally embraced. In this ſituation of affairs, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland, deeming Edgar's cauſe deſperate, retired with their forces to the northern provinces.

William, who had the earlieſt intelligence of what paſſed in London, thought the confuſion which that city muſt be thrown into by the departure of the two brothers, on whom the citizens had fixed their eyes as their only ſupport in the preſent exigence, offered too favourable an opportunity for compaſſing his deſigns to be neglected even for a moment; accordingly he himſelf croſſed the Thames, and took poſt at Wallingford in Berkſhire, from whence he ſent out detachments to do military execution on all the country round. After which he marched to Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire; but, previous to this ſtep, he ſent a ſtrong body of forces to the Surry ſide of the river, with orders, if they were not received in London, to reduce all Southwark to aſhes; which was accordingly performed with the moſt cruel rigour, and which ſeverity had the deſired effect; for the chief of the Engliſh party, foreſeeing that their longer holding out would open new ſcenes of calamity, reſolved to give way to the torrent of the times, and, if poſſible, ſave their country from devaſtations more ſhocking than it had ever yet experienced. With this view ſeveral nobles, accompanied by Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, Wulſtan biſhop of Wincheſter, Walter biſhop of Hereford, and other the moſt eminent citizens of London, repaired to William at Berkhamſtead, and ſwore him fealty, having firſt entered into a contract with him for their own ſecurity.

William's opponents were forcibly ſtruck with this example; eſpecially as they reflected upon the duke's power, his rapid ſucceſs, and the ſeverity he had exerciſed in treating every one who did not declare for him, as if he was againſt him; whereupon, dreading a ſiege, and thinking that the only way to ſecure the Conqueror's favour was to anticipate his wiſhes, and make a merit of neceſſity, the magiſtrates, after having conſulted with the nobility, who had already made their ſubmiſſion, unanimouſly reſolved to go in a body to make him a tender of the crown, with this expreſſion, "That having always been accuſtomed to live under kingly government, they knew no one more worthy to govern them than himſelf."

The duke received them with great courteſy; and, as if unmindful of the very purpoſe for which he had invaded the kingdom, now, with the moſt refined policy, pretended to have ſome ſcruples, deſiring time to deliberate on their propoſal: but ſuffering himſelf at length to be won, by their pleaſing importunities, to do that which was the darling purpoſe of his ambitious ſoul, he returned for anſwer, that he was ready to conſent to their requeſt, and accepted the crown as their gift; thus tacitly acknowledging the right of election in the people of England, at the ſame time that the manner in which he acquired that election plainly ſhewed him unregardful of ſuch right.

Edgar Atheling, now abandoned, found it in vain to reſiſt, and accordingly implored the protection of William, who readily granted it him. Morcar and Edwin likewiſe, ſeeing all their protections entirely ſuperſeded by this act of the Londoners, had no longer any pretence to hold out; they, therefore, joining with the current, ſwore fealty to the duke of Normandy; who, on his part, gave all his new ſubjects the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of protection in civil and perſonal rights, and in return received hoſtages for the faithful performance of their engagements. William, notwithſtanding all this, would not abide in the city till he had built a fortreſs in it to awe the inhabitants, which he ſecured by a ſtrong garriſon of Normans.

Of the Anglo-Saxon Conſtitution, Laws, and Policy.

"The Saxons, as they enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obſtinately retained that invaluable poſſeſſion in their new ſettlement; and they imported into this iſland the ſame principles of independence which they had inherited from their anceſtors. The chieftains (for ſuch they were, more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in theſe military expeditions, ſtill poſſeſſed a very limited authority; and as the Saxons exterminated, rather than ſubdued, the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed tranſplanted into a new territory, but preſerved unaltered all their civil and military inſtitutions. The language was pure Saxon; even the names of places, which often remain while the tongue entirely changes, were almoſt all entirely affixed by the conquerors; the manners and cuſtoms were wholly German; and the ſame picture of a fierce and bold liberty, which is drawn by the maſterly pencil of Tacitus, will ſuit thoſe founders of the Engliſh government. The king, ſo far from being inveſted with arbitrary power, was only conſidered as the firſt among the citizens; his authority depended more on his perſonal qualities than on his ſtation; he was even ſo far on a level with the people, that a ſtated price was fixed for his head, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer, which, though proportionate to his ſtation, and ſuperior to that paid for the life of a ſubject, was a ſenſible mark of his ſubordination to the community." HUME.

The manner of electing their kings, or chiefs, in Germany, was to place them on a ſhield, and elevate them on the ſhoulders of the ſoldiers; if they were approved of, their election was declared by the claſhing of their arms.

The Anglo-Saxons likewiſe collectively elected their princes: but this privilege might afterwards be transferred to the national aſſembly; for it was a law of the great council which met at Calcuith, that "the kings ſhall be elected by the prieſts and elders of the people."—*Spel. Concil. tom.* i. *p.* 296.

Among the Germans, Tacitus informs us, "the kings were choſen from among the nobility, but the dukes for their virtue; (*Tacit. de Germ. c.* 7.) and as theſe were only offices of magiſtracy, or in the army, and not hereditary honours, it is obvious they elected men to the ſupreme authority who had proved themſelves qualified by their good conduct in a ſubordinate ſituation.

After the Saxons ſettled in England, the leaders of each party aſſumed the title of king, in their reſpective conqueſts; but we muſt not imagine that they regularly ſucceeded each other in a lineal deſcent. Great reſpect was ſhewn the royal family; and if the deceaſed king left a ſon or ſons of age, who had no marked diſqualification, one of them was generally choſen to ſucceed; if not, ſome other branch of the family, or any nobleman who had the greateſt influence, or was moſt reſpected for his abilities, was honoured with the regal power. Whoever ſucceeded, he neither claimed nor conſidered it as a matter of *right*; the free ſuffrages of the people, or their repreſentatives, was the only rule by which he reigned. Accordingly the ſucceſſion was frequently broken; and the ſmalleſt violation of ancient uſage, or the leaſt ſtep towards tyranny, was always dangerous, and often fatal to them.

The earls, or ealdermen, (for the primitive meaning of this word ſignifies only an aged man,) were the firſt degree of nobility, or rather magiſtracy. At firſt they were choſen annually by the people; but during the confuſion occaſioned by the invaſion of the Danes, they were appointed by the king, and held their offices during life, or good behaviour. However, it appears, that after the expulſion of the Danes, the people reaſſumed the right of electing their magiſtrates; for the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, ſect. 35, ſay expreſsly, that the heretoghs, or dukes, (other terms for earls,) and the ſheriffs, were choſen in the folkmote, or county court, where the freeholders aſſembled once a year.

Theſe

These titles and offices were not hereditary till after the conquest; but were held during life, or good behaviour. The earls had a seat in the wittena-gemote, and represented the freeholders. To them was intrusted the government of counties, they presided in the courts of justice, and in time of war commanded the armies. They had a deputy, or sheriff, to assist them in the administration of justice.

The thanes were divided into the greater and the lesser thanes: the first held their lands of the king, the other of the earls; and both on condition of attending their superior in his wars, and furnishing his retainers with provisions. From hence we may account for the extraordinary power of the earls; we may likewise observe, that the expences attending war were borne wholly by the landholders, without burdening the other orders of the community.

Next to the thanes were the ceorls: they consisted of the farmers who paid rent for their lands, merchants, and artificers. A merchant who had thrice crossed the seas, or a farmer who could purchase five hides of land, that is, five hundred acres, was ranked with a thane.

It was a custom of the Saxons in Germany to make slaves of prisoners taken in war; gaming likewise reduced many to this situation. These causes failed not to produce the same effect among the Anglo-Saxons; many of the ancient Britons became the slaves of their conquerors; the wars of the heptarchy, and the incursions of the Danes, added to their number. Their crimes subjected some to slavery, misfortune and calamity others; and this state received an increase from those who were born to it. The slaves were of three sorts; the *villani*, who belonged to the manor of their lord; the *bondi*, who had bartered their liberty, or forfeited it through crime; the *nativi*, such as were born to it.—*Reliq. Spel. p.* 250.

Slaves were not considered as members of the community, though there were laws for their protection.

The power of a master was not absolute over his slave; if he beat out his eye, or teeth, he recovered his liberty; if he killed him, he paid a fine to the king.

Beside the different orders of men already mentioned, there were the proprietors of free or allodial land; which was held without the condition of military service. But these, breaking the natural subordination of the feudal arrangement, were regarded with envy, or considered as the instruments of rebellion; and neither encouraged by the king, or respected by the nobles. Mean and unequal compositions were affixed to the injuries they received; their jurisdiction was very limited; kings were fond to unite them to the state; and as they were unsatisfied with their condition, they resigned their free possessions, and received them back again in tenure; so that, by the end of the reign of Henry II, all the lands were charged with some service or other, and there was no allodium left. *Bar. Angl. p.* 30.—These changes took place after the Norman Conquest.

For the preservation of order, the country was divided into tythings, hundreds, and counties. This we have observed before, but it is here necessary to be more copious on the subject.

Each tything, or free-borg, consisted of ten families, who chose one of their number for their president: he was called tythingman, borsholder, or headborough, and continued in office for one year. They were answerable to each other for their conduct. Every man was considered as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tything; and no man could change his habitation without a certificate from the borsholder of the tything in which he last resided. If any person in the tything was guilty of a crime, the borsholder was summoned to answer for him; and if he refused to be surety for his appearance, the prisoner was committed to prison till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding sureties, the tything to which he belonged were allowed thirty days to find him; if they failed in this, the borsholder, with two other members of the tything, and three members from three other neighbouring

ing

ing tythings, (making twelve in all,) were obliged to appear, and ſwear that the tything was innocent both of the crime and eſcape of the delinquent; if they could not get ſuch a number to anſwer for their innocence, they were compelled, by a fine, to make ſatisfaction to the king according to the offence. When any differences aroſe in this little community, the borſholder ſummoned the tything together, and with their aſſiſtance they were ſettled.

Ten of theſe tythings conſtituted a hundred. They had a court of judicature, in which were decided appeals from the tythings, controverſies between the members of different tythings, and cauſes of greater importance than came before the court of the tything. They elected their own preſident: this magiſtrate was called the hundreder; twelve of their number aſſiſted him as jurors; for the trying of cauſes they met once a month: beſides this monthly meeting, Spelman ſays, (*Reliq. Spel. p.* 51.) "a full appearance was required twice in the year; in memory whereof the ſuitors are at this day called, at our Lady and Michaelmas courts, by the ſteward of the hundred." And, according to *Wilkins*, p. 203, they attended this meeting in arms. Here was a more general inſpection of the police of the diſtrict, for inquiry into crimes, the correction of abuſes in magiſtrates, and the obliging of every perſon to ſhew the tything in which he was regiſtered. Each hundred formed a military company, and was called a weapontake.

The *ſhyre-mote*, or county court, was next in order. This court met twice a year, at Eaſter and Michaelmas. Here the earl, or ealderman, and the biſhop preſided. Every freeholder in the county was obliged to attend; and if he refuſed, his poſſeſſions were ſeized, and he was forced to find ſecurity for his appearance.—*Hickes, Diſſert. Epiſt. p.* 4. *LL. Æthelſt. c.* 20.

This court received appeals from the hundreds and tythings, and decided on all controverſies, civil and eccleſiaſtical, by a majority of voices.

Beſides theſe, and in default of juſtice, there lay an appeal to the king in council: this was called the king's court. It was here that Alfred, aſſiſted by his nobles, is ſuppoſed to have condemned forty-four judges to death, for abuſes in their office.—*Horn, Mirroir des Juſtices, c.* 8.

During the heptarchy, the chief legiſlators were Ethelbert, Ina, and Offa, in their reſpective kingdoms. Their inſtitutions were collected and reviſed by the great Alfred; and received ſuch improvements as the change of property and experience ſuggeſted. Though they are now loſt, they long ſerved as the baſis of Engliſh juriſprudence, and are deemed the origin of what is called the COMMON LAW. After the final expulſion of the Danes, they were again collected and enforced by Edward the Confeſſor.

Among the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, (*De Germ. c.* 11.) all who had been preſented with the lance, met at the new and full moon, to deliberate on the common concerns of the ſtate; but Grotius was of opinion, that the people did not meet upon every occaſion, but by repreſentatives. To uſe his own words—"In great nations, ſuch as the Batavians, in which Pliny reckoned ſeven tribes, the whole were not able to meet; but proper men were ſent from all the tribes, who ſpoke in the council."—*Lib. de Antiq. Rep. Batav. c.* 2.

Repreſentation was certainly known and practiſed, on many occaſions, among the Germans. Thus, when Cæſar was erecting a bridge over the Rhine, the Suevi, taking alarm, aſſembled a great council, who diſpatched orders through the community, directing the people to aſſemble at a ſtated place, and wait for the Romans.—*Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. lib.* iv.

The ſtates of Gaul likewiſe held, by their repreſentatives, a great aſſembly in the time of Veſpaſian.—*Tacit. lib.* iv.

From theſe and other authorities, which might, it is obvious, be cited, the ſupreme authority reſted with the people; firſt, in ſmall ſtates, in the general aſſembly of the people; afterwards, in larger ſtates, by deputies from the

the different tribes. And when they were threatened by any great calamity, there was an aſſociation of the ſtates, each being repreſented by it's chiefs.

As the commons were ſo conſiderable in Germany, they muſt have conſtituted a part of the Anglo-Saxon parliament. Is it poſſible that men who had experienced liberty, and joined to their natural independence the fierceneſs of victory, ſhould change their former habits and way of thinking, and ſink from the character of citizens into that of ſlaves? It is more conſiſtent with reaſon and hiſtory to conclude, that they received an increaſe of conſideration and power. But as this has been diſputed by ſome hiſtorians, it may be proper to examine the conſtituent parts of the Anglo-Saxon parliaments.

The Saxons, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in England, preſerved their former inſtitutions; they had on the continent their hundred and county courts, as well as in England; the tythings were an inſtitution of Alfred, but this added to the influence of the commons. During the heptarchy, each kingdom had it's wittena-gemote, or national aſſembly. Here, as in Germany, they met in an open field; a ſtage, or huſtings, was erected for the king and the chiefs, and the people were collected round it. The intended law was propoſed from the huſtings: if it was approved by the majority, it was adopted; if not, it was rejected. That the commons were a conſtituent part of this aſſembly, may be proved from the preambles to the laws paſſed at theſe meetings. The following are extracted from *Wilkins's Leges Saxonicæ*:—"Wihtred, king of Canterbury, in the fifth year of his reign, and the ſixth day of Auguſt, in a place called Berkhamſtead, gathered the principal people to council: there was Berhtwald, archbiſhop of Britain; Hroſes, a biſhop, and all the clergy; with the herdſmen folk, *i. e.* farmers; where *the congregation eſtabliſhed theſe laws.*"

"Ina, by God's gift king of the Weſt Saxons, with the council of Cenrede my father, Heddes my biſhop, and all my ealdermen, and the oldeſt and wiſeſt of my people, and many of the ſociety of God's people, (*i. e.* miniſters,) was conſulting for the health of our ſouls, and the ſtability of our kingdom, and *right laws there our folk eſtabliſhed.*"

The attempts of Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons, to unite the ſeven kingdoms under his own dominion, and the invaſions of the Danes, who about this time landed in great bodies, threw every thing into confuſion, ſo that all law and order was ſuſpended. While the Danes ravaged the country, the Saxons robbed and murdered each other with impunity. In this dreadful extremity, it pleaſed God to raiſe them up a deliverer in the perſon of ALFRED THE GREAT. This glorious prince having delivered his country from a foreign yoke, after many violent ſtruggles, his next care was to deliver them from vice and oppreſſion at home. He collected and digeſted all the Saxon laws; he corrected the courts of judicature; and finding thoſe which then exiſted inſufficient for the purpoſes of juſtice, he inſtituted tythings. He revived the wittena-gemote; but the ſeveral ſtates being united under one government, it was impracticable for the people to meet as before; he therefore directed, that, inſtead of aſſembling themſelves, they ſhould ſend repreſentatives. The country was divided into tythings, or free burghs; which did not conſiſt preciſely of ten families, but generally of as many as lived together in one town, or in a convenient diſtrict of the country, and were diſtinguiſhed by the names of rural tythings and town tythings. Each of theſe was directed to ſend a repreſentative; who being always an inhabitant of the tything, the rural tything choſe a farmer, or one of the leſſer thanes, for their repreſentative; and the town tything a merchant or manufacturer, for of ſuch the inhabitants of the towns conſiſted; and it frequently happened that the grave, or tythingman, was choſen to repreſent them; for during and after the time of Alfred, the greſa-byrgh are mentioned in the preambles of the laws as attending the wittena-gemote inſtead of *ealle theode*, that is, all the people.

It has been aſſerted, that the wittena-gemote conſiſted only of the earls, biſhops, and other great men; but the diſtinction between this aſſembly and the wittena-ge-theaht (or heaht) is ſo obvious as to prove the contrary. When Alfred collected the old laws, he conſulted the wittena-ge-theaht (i. e. the wiſe men amongſt the high) only; but for making new ones the deputies of the byrghs were called, and doubtleſs conſtituted a great majority: this was called a wittena-gemote, which ſignifies wiſe men among the lower bulk of the people. In the preambles to the laws of Canute, the wittena-ge-heaht only is mentioned, which ſhews the importance of this privilege, and that the Danes did not think fit to continue it during their uſurpation. Some of theſe preambles run thus: (*vide Wilkins's Leges Saxonicæ.*)

"I Alfred the king gathered together and commanded to be written many laws of our fore-fathers which pleaſed me; and many of them which pleaſed me not, I rejected with my wittena-ge-theaht."

"I Athelſtan, king, with a council of Wulfhelm archbiſhop, and alſo my other biſhops, *with the gerefas of the byrgs*, &c."

"Theſe are the commands which Canute king of England, &c. *with his wittena-ge-theaht commanded.*"

It may be ſaid, that if every tything ſent one repreſentative, the aſſembly would be too numerous to tranſact buſineſs; but probably ſome of the diſtant tythings might truſt their common concerns to thoſe who reſided nearer the place of meeting; or two or three tythings, or free borgs, might join to ſend one deputy, as is done by the boroughs in Scotland at this time. A numerous attendance was always an advantage, as it was more likely to aſcertain the public will; neither could packed majorities be ſo eaſily obtained, or the public buſineſs be at a ſtand, as is frequently the caſe with our modern parliaments: nor need it be ſuppoſed the meeting was ſo large as to be incapable of doing buſineſs. Late experience is ſufficient to prove, that thouſands of men can repeatedly aſſemble and deliberate on their moſt valuable rights without tumult or diſorder. It has been ſaid alſo, that the boroughs were too mean and contemptible to be admitted to a ſhare in the national councils. If we were to admit, that the boroughs wanted wealth, in the early part of the Saxon hiſtory, they were not poor from the ſeverity of the government, but becauſe they deſpiſed or were ignorant of many of thoſe things which are now conſidered as the conveniences of life; and thus their poverty was a part of their liberty. But as commerce, manufactures, and the ſciences improved, and they certainly did improve under the illuſtrious Alfred, boroughs and towns, which are the ſeat of theſe, would increaſe in their importance, from the flow of wealth and knowledge they would occaſion. As the inhabitants of boroughs had property to protect, and great national objects to promote, their advice and concurrence in the national councils, was as requiſite as that of any other claſs of men; it cannot therefore be ſuppoſed they would give up a *right* which their anceſtors had exerciſed in their own perſons from time immemorial. It is true many of the records of the Saxon times, even the laws of Alfred and Edward, have been deſtroyed, on purpoſe to overthrow this fact, and many others which relate to the liberties of the people, by the Norman conqueror and his ſucceſſors, who were deſirous to eſtabliſh an abſolute deſpotiſm. We are therefore obliged to reaſon from analogy, and the imperfect records which remain. From theſe it appears, that the *people* were *repreſented* in the wittena-gemote, by perſons choſen by themſelves, and that every freeman had a vote for his repreſentative; that as theſe were generally their magiſtrates, their legiſlative and judicial functions expired together, with the year.

Biſhops, abbots, and earls conſtituted the other parts of this aſſembly. The biſhops were choſen by the wittena-gemote, and ſometimes by the king, as in periods of great

great commotion. Abbots were choſen by the monks of their reſpective monaſteries; and earls by the freeholders, at their folkmote, or county meeting. Theſe offices being held during life, or good behaviour, their ſeat in the wittena-gemote was held on the ſame terms.

Even the monarchy itſelf was elective and limited. Thus the whole government was one great ſyſtem of election and repreſentation. In the wittena-gemote reſided the ſupreme legiſlative authority. The earls and commons formed not two houſes, but deliberated together. The king was preſent; but it does not appear that he either poſſeſſed or exerciſed the power of a negative, for their reſolutions were final. They were much more numerous than our preſent parliament; they met two or three times a year, at various places, often in an open field, and their buſineſs was generally finiſhed in one day.

Beſide the wittena-gemote, the king had two councils, the one compoſed of the caldermen and biſhops, the other of his particular friends; but they only adviſed and aſſiſted him in the executive part of the government. Even on the ſubjects of war or treaties the people were conſulted; as appears from the treaty between Alfred and Gythrun, which begins thus: "This is the compact that king Alfred and king Gythrun, and all the wiſe men of England, and the people which abide in Eaſt Anglia, *all gathered together*, with an oath confirmed."

From theſe obſervations, it will appear how free, and at the ſame time how effectual, for every purpoſe of good government, the Anglo-Saxon conſtitution was; and though overthrown by a victorious tyrant, the people did not patiently endure the oppreſſion, but by various ſtruggles, in ſucceeding reigns, obtained a reſtoration of part, though that part is by various artifices rendered almoſt nugatory. We may likewiſe ſee how much miſtaken thoſe writers are who give our conſtitution no higher antiquity than the Norman Conqueſt, whereas every thing that is valuable in it is derived from the Saxons. To their inſtitutions muſt Britons ſtill look, as the only effectual means of ameliorating their condition, and ſecuring thoſe rights which have been founded in wiſdom and juſtice, whoſe utility has been eſtabliſhed by experience, and ſanctioned by the HIGHEST ANTIQUITY.

Chriſtianity having been introduced among the Saxons by miſſionaries from Rome, the conſequence of this was a ſuperſtitious attachment to that ſee, and a gradual ſubmiſſion of the whole kingdom to it's authority. The Britons had never acknowledged any ſubordination to the Roman pontiff, but conducted their eccleſiaſtical government by their domeſtic councils and ſynods, and the Saxons at firſt did the ſame; but the weakneſs and ſuperſtition of different kings, by their pilgrimages to Rome, conceſſions, and grants to the pope, laid the foundation for that ſupremacy which has been ſince aſſumed. This was increaſed by Wilfrid, biſhop of Lindisferne, and ſole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom; who, at the latter end of the ſeventh century, made an appeal to Rome againſt the deciſion of an Engliſh ſynod, which had abridged his dioceſe by the erection of two new biſhoprics. Agatho, the pope, readily embraced this precedent of an appeal to his court; and notwithſtanding king Egfrid reſiſted the papal authority, he was reſtored in the ſucceeding reign. Wilfrid, though the moſt haughty and luxurious prelate of his age, had obtained with the people the character of ſanctity; and confounded their imaginations with the conceit that St. Peter, to whoſe cuſtody the keys of heaven were intruſted, would certainly refuſe admittance to all who failed in due reſpect to his ſucceſſor: this was well ſuited to vulgar conceptions, and made impreſſions on the minds of men for ſeveral ages.

The miſſionaries who converted the Britons and Scots held opinions and obſervances different from thoſe who converted the Saxons, in conſequence of which diſputes of the moſt ridiculous kind were generated: theſe excited ſuch animoſities between the Britiſh and Romiſh prieſts, that they refuſed all communion

communion together, each regarding his opponent as no better than a pagan. Theſe differences continued upwards of a century; and were at laſt finiſhed, not by men's diſcovering the folly of them, but by the entire prevalence of the Romiſh ritual over the Scotch and Britiſh.

The Saxons having received their religion from Roman monks, it inſpired a profound veneration for that order. Bounty to the church atoned for every violence againſt ſociety; and the remorſes for cruelty, murder, treachery, and aſſaſſination, were appeaſed, not by amendment of life, but by penances, ſervility to the monks, pilgrimages to Rome, and an abject and illiberal devotion.

From the firſt introduction of chriſtianity among the Saxons, they had admitted the uſe of images, and by the direction of pope Gregory their ancient altars were preſerved: perhaps, without ſome of theſe exterior ornaments, that religion would not have been ſo readily received by theſe idolators; but no ſpecies of worſhip or addreſs was paid to images. This abuſe did not prevail among chriſtians, till it received the ſanction of the ſecond council of Nice.

ÆRA II.

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Coronation of William—Diſcontents and Conſequences—Deſolations in the North of England—Inſurrection of the Norman Barons—Death of the King, &c.

WILLIAM, while the fortreſs was erecting, made Barking in Eſſex the place of his reſidence, and cauſed preparations to be made for his coronation, which was performed on Chriſtmas-day, in the moſt ſplendid and magnificent manner. Before he aſcended the throne, he made a compact with his new ſubjects, by his coronation-oath, the ſame with that of the Saxon kings.

A. D. 1066.]

Thus, by a pretended deſtination of king Edward, by an irregular election of the people, but ſtill more by force of arms, William ſeated himſelf on the Engliſh throne. He gratified his followers by the diſtribution of the treaſures of Harold; by the moſt liberal donations to churches and monaſteries, he expreſſed his gratitude to the eccleſiaſtical order, who, influenced by the pope, had embraced his party with zeal; he introduced into England ſtrict execution of juſtice; he reſtrained, by ſevere diſcipline, the inſolence of his troops; he appeared ſolicitous to unite the Normans and the Engliſh by intermarriages and alliances; he confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and the other cities of England; and ſeemed deſirous of replacing every thing on the ancient eſtabliſhment.

He had by this mixture of vigour and lenity ſo ſoothed the minds of the Engliſh, that he thought he might ſafely reviſit his native country, and enjoy the congratulations of his ancient ſubjects. He left the adminiſtration in the hands of his brother Odo, biſhop of Baieux, and of William Fitz-Oſborne. That their authority might be leſs expoſed to danger, he carried over with him the chief of the Engliſh nobles, particularly Edgar Atheling, Stigand the primate, the earls Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof, &c. who, while they ſerved to grace his court by their

their magnificence, were in reality hoſtages for the fidelity of the nation. To ingratiate themſelves with their new ſovereign, they in Normandy vied with each other in equipages and entertainments; but though, during the reſidence of William at Tercamp, every thing bore the exterior of feſtivity, the Engliſh nobles derived little ſatisfaction from treats, where they conſidered themſelves led by the oſtentatious conqueror in triumph.

Affairs in England took ſtill a worſe turn during the abſence of the ſovereign It is probable the Normans, deſpiſing a people who had ſo eaſily ſubmitted to the yoke, and envying their riches, were deſirous of provoking them to rebellion. Their arrogance multiplied complaints and diſcontents every where; ſecret conſpiracies were entered into againſt the government; the inhabitants of Kent, who had firſt ſubmitted to the conqueror, were the firſt who attempted to throw off his yoke; and encouraged by Euſtace count of Bologne, who had been alſo diſguſted by the Normans, made an unſucceſsful attempt on Dover. Edric, the foreſter, whoſe poſſeſſions lay on the banks of the Severn, provoked at the depredations of ſome Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rowallen, two Welch princes, and endeavoured to repel force by force. The diſaffection of the Engliſh daily increaſed; a ſecret project was entertained to perpetrate a maſſacre of the Normans, like that which had been formerly executed upon the Danes; and the quarrel became ſo general and natural, that earl Coxo, having refuſed to head his vaſſals in an inſurrection, was for his fidelity to William arraigned as a traitor to his country, and put to death.

The king's return diſconcerted the plans of the conſpirators, many of whom fled, or concealed themſelves, and enriched with their ſequeſtered eſtates the Normans.

Though highly irritated againſt the Engliſh, William ſtill preſerved the appearance of juſtice in his oppreſſions: he reſtored to their inheritance ſuch as had been arbitrarily expelled during his abſence; but he ſeized the opportunity of impoſing the tax of Danegelt on the people, which rendered his government more odious. The inhabitants of Exeter roſe in arms, and the people of Devonſhire and Cornwall followed their example: Exeter, however, was terrified into ſubmiſſion by the preſence of William himſelf; a citadel was erected to reſtrain in future their levity; and Devonſhire and Cornwall implored the clemency of their ſovereign, which he granted; and returning to Wincheſter, was joined by Matilda, his wife, who was ſolemnly crowned by archbiſhop Aldred.

A. D. 1068.] A new and more formidable inſurrection in the north excited the general attention, and ſeemed to threaten more important conſequences: Edwin and Morcar appeared at the head of it; and were encouraged by the aſſurance of ſupport from their nephew, Blethyn prince of North Wales, from Malcolm king of Scotland, and from Sweyn king of Denmark. The breaſt of Edwin was inflamed with private as well as public wrongs, and he accuſed William of having broken his promiſe of beſtowing on him his daughter in marriage. Before the earls, however, could receive the foreign ſuccours they expected, they were ſurprized by the appearance of the king, who knew the importance of celerity. As they were incapable of reſiſtance, they condeſcended to ſue for mercy; but though William pardoned the chiefs, he ſeized and beſtowed on his Norman adherents the lands of their followers; and the numerous colonies of foreigners, which he eſtabliſhed in the north, left Edwin and Morcar not only deſtitute of any real power, but expoſed to immediate ruin.

A. D. 1069.] The drift of the king was now apparent; the Engliſh ſoon foreſaw that he determined to rely on the ſupport and affection of foreigners, and that new forfeitures would be the reſult of this plan of adminiſtration. Impreſſed with this diſmal proſpect, many fled into foreign countries: Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſidious careſſes of William, eſcaped with his

ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtina into Scotland. Some few, however, ſtill hoped to acquire ſecurity from arms: from the retreat which they had ſought in Ireland after the diſaſtrous battle of Haſtings, Goodwin, Edmund, and Magnus, Harold's three ſons, paſſed into England; they landed in Devonſhire, but were repulſed and obliged to return, by Brien ſon of the count of Brittany: in the North, the inhabitants of Northumberland and York threw off their allegiance, defeated and killed their foreign governors; they were ſtrengthened by a large body of forces from Denmark, and were animated by the preſence of Edgar Atheling, who quitted Scotland to place himſelf at their head: Hereward, a nobleman of Eaſt Anglia, celebrated for his valour, aſſembled his followers, and taking ſhelter in the iſle of Ely, made inroads on all the neighbouring country; and Edric, the foreſter, calling in the aſſiſtance of the Welch, laid ſiege to Shrewſbury, and made head againſt earl Brien and Fitz-Osborn, commanders of the oppoſing party.

The tempeſt was however huſhed by the policy and vigour of William; he inflamed his followers by the promiſe of new forfeitures; he purchaſed the retreat of the Danes; he reduced to obedience Northumberland and York: Edgar Atheling again ſought refuge in Scotland; Edric implored the clemency of the conqueror, and was once more received into favour; but Hereward alone bade him defiance, confiding in the advantages of his ſituation.

A. D. 1070.] Notwithſtanding the king preſerved the language of clemency and forgiveneſs towards the chiefs, his heart was hardened againſt the people. To chaſtiſe the turbulence of the Northumbrians, he laid waſte that fertile country between the Humber and the Tees, for the extent of ſixty miles; the lives of an hundred thouſand perſons, driven miſerably from their habitations, are computed to have been ſacrificed by this barbarous ſtroke of policy.

He took advantage of the imprudence with which the bulk of the landed property had engaged in theſe inſurrections, to involve the proprietors in confiſcation; their eſtates were transferred to the Normans; the moſt ancient and honourable Engliſh families were reduced to beggary; they had the mortification of ſeeing their caſtles and manors poſſeſſed by foreigners of the meaneſt extraction; and they found themſelves carefully excluded from every road which led either to riches or preferment.

The inhuman ſeverity of the foreſt laws may juſtly be ranked among the other inſtances of William's cruelty. He prohibited his ſubjects from hunting in any of his foreſts: the killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was puniſhed with the loſs of the offender's eyes; and that at a time when the killing of a man might be atoned for, by paying a moderate fine. Not ſatisfied with thoſe large foreſts, which the former kings poſſeſſed in all parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near his palace at Wincheſter; and for that purpoſe, laid waſte a country of about thirty miles in extent, drove out all the inhabitants, and deſtroyed all their dwellings, not ſparing even the churches, and made the ſufferers no compenſation for the injury. One of the moſt horrid acts of wanton cruelty recorded in hiſtory.

William alſo introduced into England the feudal law, as eſtabliſhed in Normandy and France. He divided, with very few exceptions, beſides the royal demeſnes, the lands of that country into baronies; and conferred them, with the reſervation of ſtated ſervices and payments, on the moſt conſiderable of his adventurers. Theſe barons ſhared a great part of their lands to foreigners, who were nominated knights or vaſſals, and who paid their lords the ſame duty and ſubmiſſion in peace and war, which he himſelf paid to his ſovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knights fees; and as none of the native Engliſh were admitted into the firſt rank, the few who retained their landed property,

were

were glad to be received into the ſecond, under the protection of ſome powerful Norman.

Having ſome reaſon to dread the reſentment of the body of the clergy, who were ſtill natives, he expelled the Engliſh from all the conſiderable dignities, and advanced foreigners in their place. Among theſe was Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other biſhops and abbots, who, on frivolous pretences, were degraded and thrown into priſon. Upon Stigand's depoſition, he promoted Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, to the vacant ſee. This prelate diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in promoting the intereſt of the papacy; and by introducing a number of innovations which became dangerous to ſome of William's ſucceſſors, and incommodoius to moſt of them; but the king's arbitrary ſway and extenſive authority kept him from feeling any immediate inconveniences from it. He held the church, as well as his lay-ſubjects, in great ſubjection; and would allow none, of whatever character, to diſpute his ſovereign will and pleaſure. He forbad his ſubjects acknowledging any one for pope, whom he himſelf had not previouſly received: he required, that all the eccleſiaſtical canons ſhould firſt be laid before him, and be ratified by his authority; even bulls or letters from Rome could not be legally produced, till they received the ſame ſanction; and none of his miniſters or barons, whatever offences they committed, could be liable to ſpiritual cenſures, till he had given his conſent. Theſe regulations kept united the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, which the other principles he himſelf had introduced, had an immediate tendency to ſeparate.

William was particularly vigilant to humble the Engliſh: he even formed a project of extinguiſhing the Engliſh language: he ordered that in all the ſchools the youth ſhould be inſtructed in the French tongue; and that all law proceedings ſhould be directed in the ſame idiom; no other was uſed at court, or in faſhionable company; to this cuſtom that mixture of French which is at preſent found in the Engliſh tongue, and which compoſes the greateſt part of our language, may be imputed.

A. D. 1071.] The two great earls Edwin and Morcar, ſenſible that they had entirely loſt their dignity, now determined to attempt the recovery of it by force. While the former retired to his eſtate in the North, with a view of commencing an inſurrection, Morcar took ſhelter in Ely with the brave Hereward. To ſubdue that iſle, William ſurrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a cauſeway through the moraſſes to the extent of two miles; the rebels ſurrendered at diſcretion; Hereward alone forced his way ſword in hand through the enemy, and continued his hoſtilities at ſea, till William, charmed with his bravery, received him to favour. But Morcar was thrown into priſon; Edwin was killed in attempting to eſcape into Scotland; and Edgar Atheling, weary of a fugitive life, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and, with a decent penſion, was ſuffered to live in England unmoleſted.

A. D. 1073.] By the will of Hebert, the laſt count, William obtained the dominion of the province of France, ſome years before his invaſion of England; but now the inhabitants diſſatisfied with the Norman government, and inſtigated by Fulk, count of Anjou, (who had ſome pretenſions to the ſucceſſion,) roſe in rebellion, and expelled the magiſtrates whom the king had placed over them. This inſurrection was ſoon quelled, but the Norman barons who had joined their duke in the conqueſt of England, being men of independent ſpirit, could not brook the indignity of ſubmitting to a baſtard, and conſequently bore with reluctance the growing arrogance of the imperious William. Of theſe the chief were Roger earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Guader earl of Norfolk; the former intended to marry his ſiſter to the earl of Norfolk, and deeming it his duty to mention it to the king, aſked his conſent, but William having refuſed, the parties agreed upon clandeſtine nuptials.

A. D.

A. D. 1074.] The two earls, exaſperated at being denied their requeſt, and dreading the king's reſentment for their diſobedience, had prepared meaſures for a revolt; and during the marriage feſtival, while the company were making merry they opened to them their deſigns, inveighing againſt William's arbitrary conduct; the tyranny he exerciſed over the Engliſh, whom they affected to pity; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the moſt noble birth, and his viſible intention of reducing both the victors and the vanquiſhed to the ſame ignominious ſubjection. The whole company, animated by the ſame ſentiments, and warmed by the jollity of the feſtival, entered, by a ſolemn engagement, into the deſign of ſhaking off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof, who was preſent, being heated with wine, expreſſed his approbation of the conſpiracy, and promiſed to join in it. This was the laſt Engliſh nobleman, who, for ſome time paſt, poſſeſſed any power or authority. After the capitulation at York, the conqueror had received him into favour; he had even married Judith, William's niece, and had been promoted to the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon. But when his cool judgment returned, he dreaded leſt a revolution which might augment the authority of the Norman barons, ſhould ſubject his country to a multitude of tyrants, inſtead of one. Diſtracted and irreſolute, he imparted the project and his doubts to his wife Judith, who having already fixed her affections on another, conveyed in exaggerated terms the intelligence of the conſpiracy to her uncle.

In the interim, the earl had revealed in confeſſion the ſecret to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who urged him to make atonement for his guilt by acknowledging it. He accordingly paſſed over to Normandy, and laid open the whole deſign to the king.

A. D. 1075.] The conſpirators informed of his departure, immediately flew to arms; but before the arrival of the Danes, on whoſe aſſiſtance they had depended, they were defeated and diſperſed. The earl of Norfolk retired in deſpair to Brittany, where he poſſeſſed a conſiderable eſtate: the property of the earl of Hereford was forfeited, and he himſelf impriſoned during life. But Waltheof obtained not the pardon he had been promiſed, and which his repentance merited; William, inſtigated by his niece, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed; the Engliſh, who conſidered him as the laſt reſource of their nation, lamented his fate; they fancied miracles were wrought by his reliques; and the infamous Judith, falling ſoon after under the king's diſpleaſure, was abandoned by all the world, and paſſed the reſt of her life in miſery and remorſe.

A. D. 1076.] Now while William was exerting his temporal, the Roman pontiffs were equally aſſiduous in extending their ſpiritual authority. Gregory the Seventh, the moſt enterpriſing of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, undertook the arduous taſk of diſjoining the eccleſiaſtical from the civil power, and excluding profane laymen from the rights they had aſſumed of filling the vacancies of biſhoprics, abbies, and other ſpiritual dignities. After a long ſtruggle, he prevailed over Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany; he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt Nicephorus, emperor of the Eaſt; he degraded Boleſlas king of Poland, and kept in continual alarm Philip king of France.

The haughty and potent William could not of courſe eſcape his attacks. Gregory required him to perform homage, and remit the tribute that was due to the vicar of Chriſt; by this he meant Peter's pence, which, though at firſt a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, had been conſtrued into a badge of ſubjection. William replied, that the money ſhould be remitted as uſual; but neither had he promiſed to do homage to Rome, nor was it in the leaſt his purpoſe to impoſe that ſervitude on his ſtate: but though he ſupported with firmneſs the royal dignity, he was infected with the general ſuperſtition of the age; it was the policy of the court of Rome to prohibit the marriage of

prieſts;

prieſts; and in a ſynod that was held this year at Wincheſter, with the king's conſent, it was decreed that the biſhop ſhould not thenceforth ordain any prieſts or deacons without exacting from them a promiſe of celibacy.

A. D. 1077.] Danger now menaced William in his own family, and his attention was ſoon recalled from eccleſiaſtical affairs to civil. His eldeſt ſon, Robert, was greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, and without reſerve in his friendſhips or enmities. He had been flattered with the hope, that his father, in poſſeſſion of England, would reſign to him the independent adminiſtration of his dominions on the continent: diſappointed in this expection, he cheriſhed a violent jealouſy againſt his younger brothers William and Henry: irritated by an imaginary affront, he quitted the court, and after a vain attempt to ſurprize the citadel of Rouen, he fled to Hugh de Neufchatelle, a powerful Norman baron, and openly levied war againſt his father. After a long ſtruggle, he was beſieged in the caſtle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſin: in one of the rencounters beneath the walls, Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet, and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat enſued, till at laſt the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and diſmounted him. On his calling out for aſſiſtance, his voice diſcovered him to his ſon, who, ſtruck with remorſe and horror, threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his forgiveneſs. William for the moment was implacable, and giving him his malediction, departed for his camp on Robert's horſe, which the prince had aſſiſted him to mount; but the impreſſion of his ſon's generoſity, together with the mediation of the queen, overcame the reluctance of the king, and brought about a reconciliation between him and Robert, who ſoon after accompanied him to England.

A. D. 1081. Having now quelled all commotions at home and abroad, he inſtituted that great rent-roll of the kingdom, ſo famous ſince by the name of Doomſday-book. It was compoſed by verdict, on preſentment of jurors, ſummoned from every county and hundred, that was ſurveyed. The number of jurors differed in proportion to the extent of each county; their office was to make a preſentment before certain commiſſioners ſent from court, to each county, of the quantity of arable land, paſture, meadow, and wood; the names of the occupiers, their extent and value, both in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, and in the reign of William. The ſurvey itſelf was made by counties, hundreds, towns, or manors, hides, half hides, and acres of land, poſſeſſed by every individual; and this deſcription included the number of freemen, ſodmen, villains or labourers, cottages, borderers, ſlaves, cattle, mills, and fiſheries.

By this nice and general ſurvey, he was enabled to impoſe taxes in proportion to the property of individuals, and to amaſs treaſure incredibly immenſe. This book, which coſt ſix years in compoſing, was lodged in the office of the chamberlain of the exchequer, and called Doomſday-book from it's ſentence, in imitation of that pronounced at the laſt day, being final.

A. D. 1083.] The king was ſorely afflicted now by the death of Matilda, his conſort. In the midſt of his ſorrow he was alarmed by an inſurrection that broke out in Le Maine, which was fomented by the nobility, and laſted upwards of three years; when William, finding he could not quell the diſaffected party by force, made a treaty with the chief of them, and accordingly the diſturbance terminated.

A. D. 1086.] Having paſſed into Normandy, he took with him Edgar Atheling, whom he allowed to make a pilgrimage into the Holy Land. While on the continent, he was detained by a miſunderſtanding between him and the king of France, occaſioned by dreadful inroads made by ſome French barons on the frontiers, into Normandy. The princes at that time were little able to reſtrain their licentious nobility; but William thought that they durſt not have provoked his reſentment, had they not been

aſſured of Philip's countenance and protection; and his diſpleaſure was increaſed by hearing of ſome railleries which that monarch had thrown out againſt him. William, who was become corpulent, had for ſome time been detained in bed by ſickneſs; upon which Philip expreſſed his ſurprize that his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. The king ſent him word, accompanied with an oath, that, as ſoon as he was up, he would preſent ſo many lights at Notre Dame, as would perhaps give the king of France little pleaſure; alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women, after lying-in, preſenting wax tapers at the altar, upon their being churched.

A. D. 1087.] The king, determined to fulfil his vow, immediately on his recovery marched with an army into the iſle of France, laying every place waſte with fire and ſword, and reducing the town of Mante to aſhes: but for this iniquitous reſolution he met with his reward, being ſtopped by an accident. His horſe, treading upon ſome of the hot embers, ſuddenly ſtarted aſide, when the king bruiſed his belly on the pummel of the ſaddle, which produced a rupture. Being in a bad habit of body, as well as advanced in years, he began to apprehend the conſequences, and gave orders for his being carried in a litter to the priory of St. Gervais, near Rouen. Finding his illneſs increaſe, and being ſenſible of his approaching death, he diſcovered the vanity of all human grandeur, was ſtruck with remorſe for the horrible cruelties and acts of violence he had committed during the courſe his reign, and endeavoured to atone for his crimes by making preſents to churches and monaſteries. He releaſed earl Morcar, and other Engliſh priſoners; and was even prevailed on, though not without reluctance, to ſet at l b rty his brother Odo. He died on the 9th of September, in the ſixty-third year of his age, the twenty-firſt of his reign over England, and the fifty-fourth over Normandy.

The dukedom of Normandy, and the province of Le Maine, he bequeathed to his eldeſt ſon Robert; but as to the ſucceſſion of the crown of England, he confeſſed, as he owed it to the election of the people, he had no right to bequeath it as any part of his patrimony or inheritance; however he expreſſed a wiſh that his ſon William might enjoy it after his deceaſe. To his third ſon, Henry, he left no more than the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda; but foretold (knowing his diſpoſition) that he would one day ſurpaſs his brother in power and opulence.

King William had iſſue, beſides his three ſons who ſurvived him, five daughters; Cicely, a nun in the monaſtery of Feſcamp, afterwards abbeſs in the Holy Trinity of Caen, where ſhe died; Conſtantia, married to Alan Fergents, earl of Britanny; Alice, contracted to Harold; Adela, married to Stephen earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had four ſons, William, Theobald, Henry, and Stephen, of whom the elder was neglected, on account of the imbecility of his underſtanding; and Agatha, who died on her journey to the king of Gallicia, to whom ſhe was betrothed.

As the king had deſired, his corpſe was removed to Caen, and depoſited in the abbey church, built by himſelf. The interment is ſaid to have been delayed by ſome accidents, and that a very extraordinary circumſtance attended the ceremony of his funeral. As they were going to lay him in the grave, Anſelm Fitzarthur, a Norman, ſtood up, and forebade the burial in that place, claiming the ground as his inheritance, and alledging the deceaſed had built a church upon it, without paying him any conſideration; whereupon they were forced to ſtop, according to the laws of the country, in order to examine the validity of his pretenſion; which proving well grounded, the prelates preſent agreed to make him ſatisfaction, and then prepared to put the corpſe into the ground; but the grave being either too narrow, or the ſtone coffin too ſtrait, in trying to force it down, the belly of the deceaſed burſt, and cauſed ſuch an intolerable ſtench, that the people all quitted the church, leaving the prelates to hurry over the ſervice as faſt as they could.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Acceſſion of William Rufus—A Conſpiracy—Invaſion—Quarrel, &c.—Death of William—Acceſſion of Henry—Tranſactions during his Reign, with his Death—Acceſſion of Stephen—Inſurrection—The King taken Priſoner—Matilda crowned—Stephen releaſed, and reſtored to the Crown—His Death, &c.

WILLIAM, who from the colour of his hair was ſurnamed *Rufus*, now haſtened to England, to prevent by his celerity the claims of Robert.

A. D. 1087.] He arrived before the intelligence of his father's death, ſecured the fortreſſes of Dover, Pevenſey, and Haſtings, got poſſeſſion of the royal treaſure; and having taken an oath to archbiſhop Lanfranc, if he was choſen king, he would keep juſtice, equity, and mercy, through the whole kingdom, an aſſembly of the ſtates was called, at which he promiſed to reſtore the Saxon laws, and through the influence of the archbiſhop was elected, by whom he was crowned.

About the ſame time Robert was acknowledged ſucceſſor to Normandy; but the tranquillity with which this partition was effected was ſoon interrupted. The barons, who poſſeſſed eſtates in England and Normandy, were uneaſy at the ſeparation of thoſe territories; they reſpected the claim of primogeniture in Robert, and they preferred his open and generous nature to the haughty diſpoſition of the king. A conſpiracy was formed againſt Odo, biſhop of Baieux, and Robert earl of Mortaigne, maternal brother of the Conqueror: with theſe were aſſociated many of the Norman barons; and in expectation of a powerful army from Normandy, they returned to their caſtles, and commenced hoſtilities in ſeveral places.

William, conſcious of his danger, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh by promiſes of future lenity, and the indulgence of hunting in the royal foreſts. Their credulity ſwelled his forces to a numerous army, with which he marched into Kent, and compelled his uncles, who had ſeized the fortreſſes of Pevenſey and Rocheſter, to ſurrender. Their ſubmiſſion, with the indolent conduct of Robert, broke the hopes of the other rebels; ſome few of whom received a pardon, but the greater part were attainted, and their eſtates beſtowed on the adherents to William.

A. D. 1089.] As ſoon as the king was delivered from his apprehenſions, he violated his promiſes in every part; and when Lanfranc, the archbiſhop, remonſtrated with him, William aſked him if he thought it was poſſible for a king to keep his promiſe. The death of Lanfranc, who had uſed his influence to moderate his violent diſpoſition, gave full ſcope to his tyranny. Not only the Engliſh were the victims of his tyranny, but he invaded the privileges of the church, and ſeized the temporalities of the vacant biſhoprics and abbies, being inſtigated by his favourite Ralph Flambard, a Norman, worſe than himſelf.

A. D. 1090.] His ambition was equal to his avarice; he envied his brother the poſſeſſion of Normandy; acquired by fraud the fortreſſes of St. Valory and Albermarle, and croſſed the ſea with a formidable army. The mediation of the nobles on both ſides prevented affairs from coming to extremities; and by a treaty, advantageous to William, he obtained the territory of Eu, and the towns of Aumale and Feſcamp, on condition that he ſhould aſſiſt Robert in reducing Maine, which had revolted from his authority. The two brothers alſo agreed, that on the demiſe of either without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould inherit his dominions.

Henry, the youngeſt ſon of the Conqueror, had

had in the conteſt between William and Robert ſided with the latter. In the treaty that was concluded between the brothers, finding himſelf neglected, full of indignation he retired to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and ravaged the neighbourhood. Robert and William beſieged him with their joint forces, and nearly reduced him by the ſcarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to ſupply himſelf, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for his ill-timed generoſity, he replied, "What, ſhall I ſuffer my brother to die of thirſt? Where ſhall we find another, when he is gone?"

During this ſiege, William, ſeeing a ſmall party of horſe belonging to the garriſon approach near his camp, was ſo tranſported by the ardour of his courage, that he furiouſly advanced before his own troops, and charged into the midſt of them. His horſe was killed under him; and the ſoldier who had diſmounted him, not knowing who he was, dragged him by the foot on the ground, and was going to ſlay him, if he had not ſtopped the blow by ſaying, with a voice of authority, "Raſcal, lift me up! I am the king of England!" At theſe words, the ſoldiers of prince Henry, his brother, were ſtruck with awe, and reverently raiſing him up from the earth, brought him another horſe. By this time his own forces were come to his ſuccour in ſuch numbers, that the little band of the enemy could make no reſiſtance, much leſs carry off the king as their priſoner. William, ſeeing this, vaulted into the ſaddle, and caſting his eyes, which ſparkled with fire, all around him, aſked who it was that unhorſed him? For ſome time all were ſilent, but at laſt he who did it anſwered, "It was I, who did not ſuppoſe you to be a king, but an ordinary knight." "By the face of our Lord," replied William, with a ſmile, "thou ſhalt henceforth be my ſoldier, and receive from me the recompence thy valour deſerves." Prince Henry was ſoon after obliged to capitulate, and, being ſtripped of all his patrimony, wandered about for ſome time in poverty, with few attendants.

A. D. 1092-4.] To the Norman war ſucceeded hoſtilities in Scotland, and theſe were ſcarcely ſuſpended, before the enmity of Robert and William again broke out. The latter had invaded Normandy with twenty thouſand men: his progreſs was checked by a domeſtic inſurrection, and the intelligence that the Welch had entered England. William immediately returned; by his vigour he cruſhed the rebels, and repelled the invaders; and the noiſe of theſe petty wars and commotions ſoon ſunk in the tumult of the cruſades, which engroſſed the nation's attention.

A. D. 1096.] Mahomet having united and inflamed the Arabians by his pretended revelations, they now ſpread their empire from the banks of the Ganges to the ſtraits of Gibraltar. The Turcomans, who were their brethren in faith, and their rivals in dominion, had wreſted from them Syria, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Jeruſalem. Their barbarous manners terrified the pilgrims who attempted to viſit the holy ſepulchre; and theſe, on their return, filled all chriſtendom with indignation againſt the infidels. Above the reſt, Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, was diſtinguiſhed by the vehemence and eloquence of his complaints. His reſentment againſt the Moſlems was not confined to words; he entertained the deſign of leading to their deſtruction the hardy warriors of the weſt. Pope Martin the Second entered into his views, and ſummoned at Placentia a council of eccleſiaſtics and ſenators ſo numerous, that no building could contain them. The harangue of the pontiff, and of Peter himſelf, who repreſented the indignity the chriſtian name ſuffered from allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of the infidels, was anſwered by the acclamations of the zealous multitude. A ſecond council, which Martin held at Clermont in Auvergne, was ſtill more fully attended; his pathetic exhortation kindled the impatience of his hearers: "It is the will of God! It is the

the will of God!" burſt ſpontaneouſly from them. The ſign of the croſs became the badge of union, and by all who enliſted themſelves in this ſacred warfare was affixed on their right ſhoulder.

While the youthful and vigorous took up arms, the infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by preſents and money. A promiſcuous diſorderly multitude of 300,000 perſons, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, and Walter *the Moneyleſs*, attempted to penetrate through Hungary and Bulgaria to Conſtantinople, and periſhed by diſeaſe, by famine, and the ſword. Theſe were followed by the more numerous and more diſciplined bands of France, Germany, Normandy, Italy, and England, led by Hugh count of Vermendois, brother to the French king, Raymond count of Toulouſe, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen count of Blois. The whole number amounted to 700,000 men.

Animated by this univerſal enthuſiaſm, and impelled by the bravery and miſtaken generoſity of his ſpirit, Robert duke of Normandy had early enliſted himſelf in the cruſade; but being unprovided with money, he offered to mortgage, or rather ſell, his dominions to his brother William, for the inadequate ſum of ten thouſand marks. The bargain was ſoon concluded; and while Robert ſet out with a magnificent train for the Holy Land, William poſſeſſed himſelf of Normandy, and thus re-united beneath his authority the territories of his father. He was far from being infected with the enthuſiaſm of the age: as an inſtance of his irreligion, we are told that he once accepted of ſixty marks from a Jew, whoſe ſon had been converted to chriſtianity, and who engaged him by the preſent to aſſiſt him in bringing back the youth to judaiſm. William employed both menaces and perſuaſions for that purpoſe; the convert was, however, inflexible; and the king, when he ſent to the father to inform him of his ill ſucceſs, obſerved, that it was but equitable he ſhould retain half the money for his trouble.

His quarrel with Anſelm the primate was, however, in the eyes of the clergy, his greateſt offence. The king had undertaken an expedition againſt Wales, and required the archbiſhop to furniſh his quota of ſoldiers; the latter, afraid to refuſe, ſent them ſo miſerably accoutred, that William was diſpleaſed, and threatened him with a proſecution. Affairs came to ſuch extremities between them, that Anſelm, afraid of his life, retired beyond ſea; all his temporalities were ſeized; but he was received with great reſpect by the Roman pontiff, who eſpouſed his cauſe with ſo much zeal as even to menace the king with excommunication.

A. D. 1097.] The ceſſion of Normandy and Maine, by duke Robert, had extended the dominions without increaſing the power of William. The Norman nobles, in their revolts, were ſupported by the French monarch. Helie, lord of Le Fleche, a ſmall town of Anjou, had acquired the affections of the citizens of Maine: he was introduced into the town, and preſſed the ſiege of the citadel; and William, who was hunting in the new foreſts when he received the intelligence of this hoſtile attempt, was ſo provoked, that he immediately turned his horſe, and galloped to the port of Dartmouth. He found the weather ſo tempeſtuous, that the mariners thought it dangerous to put to ſea; but William ordered them to ſet ſail inſtantly, telling them, that they never yet heard of a king that was drowned. By his vigour and talents he preſerved the citadel of Maine, and purſued Helie into his own territories; but in the ſiege of the caſtle of Majol he received a wound, which obliged him to return to England, having abandoned the enterpriſe.

A. D. 1100.] William earl of Poictiers, and duke of Guienne, now inflamed with the ſpirit of adventure, determined to join the cruſaders; but wanting money for the enterpriſe, he propoſed to mortgage his dominions to the king of England, who accepted the offer, and had prepared a fleet and army to eſcort the money, and take poſ-

ſeſſion of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poictou; when an accident put an end to all his ambitious projects, and terminated his life.

One morning, as he mounted his horſe to purſue his favourite diverſion of hunting, a monk, in conſequence of a dream which preſaged his death, warned him from going forth that day. As he paid little regard to monkiſh ſuperſtition, and at the ſame time imagined, that their great pretence of concern for his welfare was a diſguiſe of venality, he ordered Fitz-hamon, his treaſurer, to pay the monk an hundred ſhillings, and jeſtingly ſaid, "The monk dreams like a monk, and wants ſomething in return for his dream, let him have an hundred ſhillings; but bid him remember to dream more to the purpoſe hereafter."

The king was attended that day by Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, and famous for his ſkill in archery. Towards evening, finding that they had ſeparated from the reſt of the company, the king alighted, to wait for their coming up; when a ſtag paſſing by, he let fly an arrow, wounded the animal, and afterwards chaſed him, in hopes of ſeeing him fall; when Tyrrel, ſhooting at the ſame ſtag, pierced the king through the heart, and he expired immediately.

Tyrrel, the innocent author of his death, terrified at the accident, galloped away to the ſea ſide, where he found a veſſel, in which he was conveyed to the continent. The king's corpſe being found by ſome peaſants, in croſſing the foreſt, they conveyed it in a cart to the biſhop's palace at Wincheſter, and next day it was interred with little ceremony, and leſs lamentation.

Thus fell William, whoſe deſire of acquiſition was inſatiable, on the ſecond day of Auguſt, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty-three days.

Robert, brother of William Rufus, would in all probability have ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition, had he been preſent to take advantage of his brother's death. He was at that time on his return from Jeruſalem, in the conqueſt of which he had performed ſome great actions, and gained a reputation for valour and conduct, equal, if not ſuperior, to that of any of the princes aſſociated with him. As he was returning home, he ſtopped in Apulia, where he married Sibylla, the daughter of the earl of Converſana, and the moſt celebrated beauty in Europe, who brought him for her portion a great ſum of money, with which he propoſed to redeem his duchy of Normandy, mortgaged to William Rufus.

Henry had received in his youth ſuch a tincture of learning, that he got the name of *Beauclerk*, or the Scholar; a very extraordinary title, in that ignorant age, for a layman, much more for a king's ſon.

After the ſiege of St. Michael, where he had made a brave reſiſtance, which raiſed his reputation, and his being obliged to ſurrender it upon no better conditions than ſafety and freedom to himſelf and his garriſon, he took refuge in Britanny, and then in the French Vexin; where having remained about a year, he again thought it neceſſary to change his abode, and wandered over the provinces of France, with no other attendants than one knight, a chaplain, and three eſquires; expoſed to all the hardſhips of want, and learning, in adverſity, patience and fortitude, virtues which he could not ſo perfectly have acquired, had he been always nurſed up in the favours of fortune. But, while he was oppreſſed by his brothers, and reduced to a ſtate ſo much below his birth and merit, the citizens of Dumfront, incenſed againſt their lord, Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, who had tyrannized over them, and convinced that they could obtain no redreſs from duke Robert, expelled the earl, and offered their town, one of the ſtrongeſt in Normandy, to the exiled prince. He accepted their offer, and, with their aſſiſtance, for ſome time made a ſucceſsful war againſt both his brothers; but when the duke aſſumed the croſs, a reconciliation took place between William and Henry; after which they went to England.

Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Foreſt,

Foreſt, when informed of the monarch's fate; accordingly he haſtened from Wincheſter, extorted by menaces the royal treaſure from William de Breteuil the keeper of it, and purſued without delay his journey to London; but he did not aſſume the crown by hereditary right, as that (had any ſuch thing been acknowledged) belonged to his brother; on the contrary, as Matthew Paris writes, he cunningly called together the clergy of London, and all the people of England, (that is, their repreſentatives;) to whom he promiſed an amendment of the laws by which they had been oppreſſed in the time of his father and brother deceaſed, if they would unanimouſly agree to his promotion, ſo that he might aſcend the throne in their affections, and that they might receive him as their patron. His addreſs and liberality had the deſired effect; he was ſaluted king, and in leſs than three days after his brother's death ſolemnly crowned by Maurice biſhop of London, Auguſt 15, being Sunday.

Henry, in order to maintain the dignity which he had thus irregularly poſſeſſed himſelf of, by fair profeſſions courted the favour of his ſubjects; he paſſed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppreſſions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. To the clergy he promiſed that he would never ſeize the revenues of a ſee or abbey during it's vacancy; nor farm, or diſpoſe of, for money, any eccleſiaſtical benefice. To the nobility he engaged, that, upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir, or whoever ſhould be named in his will, ſhould be admitted to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, on paying a juſt relief: he remitted the wardſhip of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed, who ſhould be anſwerable for the truſt; and he conſented not to diſpoſe of any heireſs in marriage, but by the advice of all his barons. He renounced the right of impoſing moneyage, and of levying taxes at pleaſure, on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands; he made ſome general profeſſions of moderating fines; he offered a pardon for all offences, and forgave all debts due to the crown; he required that the vaſſals of the barons ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges which he granted to his own barons; and he promiſed a general confirmation and obſervance of the laws of king Edward.

A copy of this celebrated charter was lodged in ſome abbey of each county; but though it ſerved the preſent purpoſe, it was not acted upon, and in leſs than a century, through this neglect, fell into ſuch oblivion, that a copy could not be obtained without much difficulty for the model of the Great Charter, which the barons exacted from king John.

Henry, like the generality of predeceſſors, and the majority of ſucceſſors, notwithſtanding his readineſs to promiſe, was ſlow to redreſs thoſe grievances which flowed from the exercife of regal authority. To increaſe, indeed, his popularity, he committed to priſon Ralph Flambard, biſhop of Durham, who had been the chief inſtrument of oppreſſion under his brother: but this act was followed by another, which was a direct violation of his own charter; he kept the ſee of Durham vacant for five years, and retained poſſeſſion of all it's revenues during that period.

Conſcious that Anſelm had, by his character of piety, and the perſecution he had ſuſtained, acquired great authority, he was anxious to engage his friendſhip; he reinſtated him in his dignities, though the primate refuſed to renew to him that homage which he had done to his brother, and to which every Engliſh biſhop had hitherto ſubmitted. Henry, intent on other plans, overlooked his contumacy; he had formed a deſign of marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. That princeſs in her youth had worn the veil; ſhe however aſſerted that ſhe had not put it on with a view of entering into a religious life, but in compliance with a cuſtom familiar to the Engliſh ladies, who, under that habit, protected

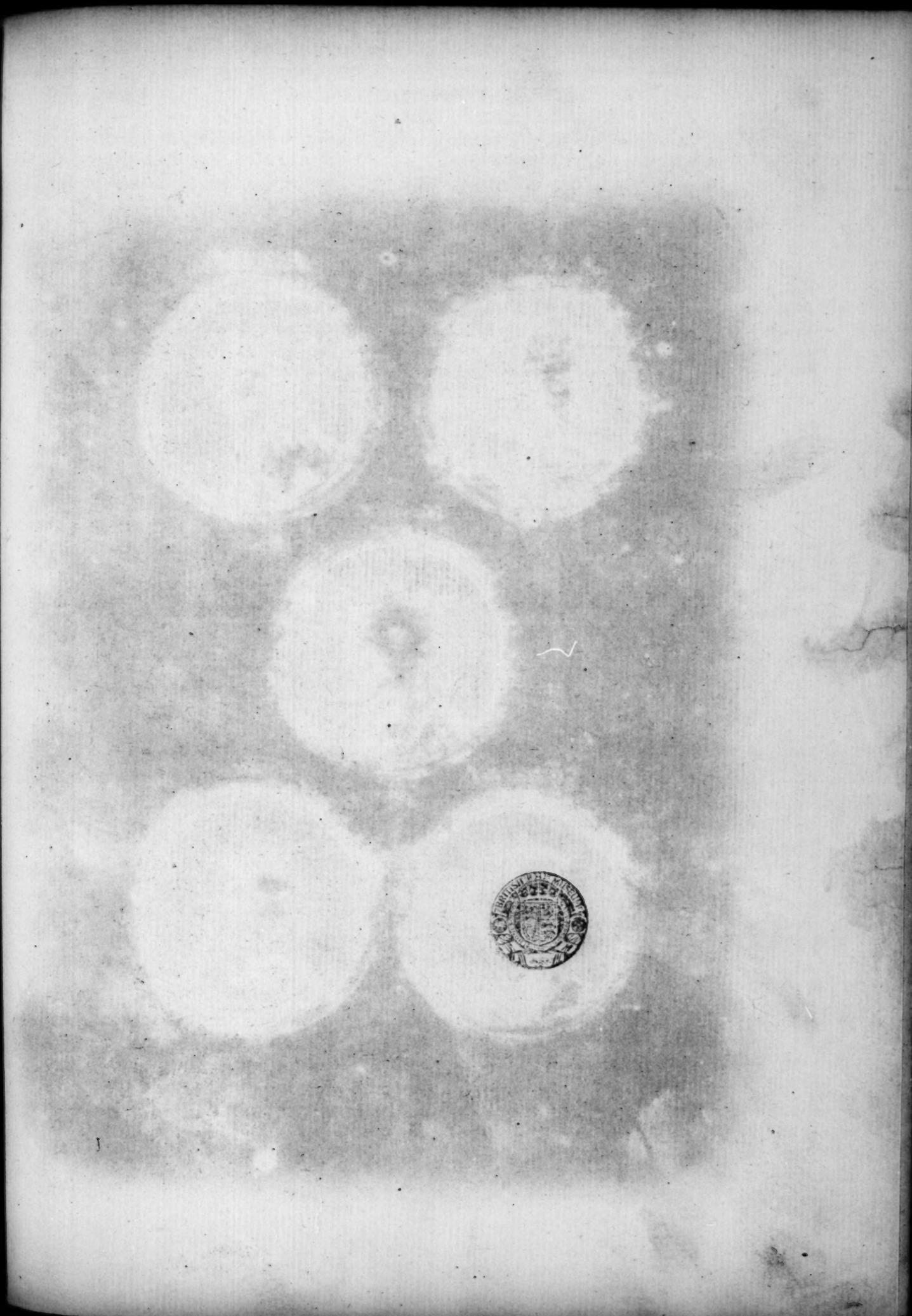
tected their chaſtity from the brutal violence of the Normans. In a council of prelates and nobles, ſummoned by Anſelm to Lambeth, her apology was admitted, and her eſpouſals with Henry celebrated with great pomp and magnificence by the primate.

A. D. 1101.] Henry, by this marriage with a Saxon princeſs, had endeared himſelf to the Engliſh; who had now hopes of obtaining, if not from himſelf, at leaſt from his poſterity, the reſtoration of their ancient conſtitution.

Robert, on his arrival from Italy, had eſtabliſhed his authority over Normandy, and was invited into England by Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, William de la Warrenne, earl of Surry, and ſeveral of the principal nobility: even the ſeamen were affected with the general popularity of his character, and they carried over to him the greater part of the fleet which had been equipped to oppoſe his paſſage. By careſſes and declarations, by the influence of Anſelm, and the name of Matilda, Henry aſſembled a ſufficient force to encounter his brother, and preſſed forward towards Portſmouth, where he had landed. The two armies lay in ſight of each other for ſeveral days, without coming to action. Both princes ſeemed apprehenſive of the event; and, by the mediation of Anſelm, a treaty took place. It was agreed that Robert, in lieu of his pretenſions to England, ſhould receive a portion of three thouſand marks; that if either of the princes died, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; and that the adherents of each ſhould be fully pardoned. But Henry, notwithſtanding the advantage of this treaty was evidently on his ſide, was the firſt to violate it, and watched the moment to avenge himſelf on the friends of Robert. The uſual violence and tyranny of the Norman barons ſoon afforded him an opportunity to bring to trial, and to execute, the earls of Shrewſbury and Surry. Though the ſubſequent and illegal conduct of theſe nobles was the pretence for their ſentence, men eaſily conceived the real ſource of it was their attachment to Robert. Enraged at their fate, that prince had paſſed over to England, and remonſtrated ſeverely with his brother; but he met with ſo cold a reception, that he fancied his own liberty in danger, and was glad, at the expence of his penſion, to purchaſe an eſcape.

A. D. 1105.] Henry's ambition ſeemed to increaſe; while that active courage, which in the cruſades had diſtinguiſhed Robert, was no longer to be diſcerned. He was alternately plunged in the moſt diſſolute pleaſures, or abandoned to the moſt womaniſh ſuperſtition. The barons, whom a ſevere adminiſtration only could have reſtrained, gave reins to their rapacity, and Normandy became a ſcene of violence and depredation. To avail himſelf of theſe diſorders, Henry, with a formidable army, entered the dutchy. In his firſt campaign he took Baiueux by ſtorm, and was admitted into Caen: in his ſecond, Robert, rouſed from his lethargy, advanced to meet him, with a view of terminating their quarrels in a deciſive battle; he reſumed his wonted ſpirit; he animated his troops by his example, and broke in the firſt charge the Engliſh ranks; but when he had the faireſt proſpect of victory, his hopes were blaſted by the cowardice and flight of Beleſme, one of his generals; his veterans, diſmayed, and ſuſpicious of each other, turned their backs; the fortune of Henry prevailed; and Robert, with ten thouſand of his followers, were made priſoners, after a great ſlaughter.

The power and liberty of Robert now totally expired; Normandy ſubmitted to the victor; and the vanquiſhed prince was carried by his brother into England, and detained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, which was twenty-ſeven years, when he died in the caſtle of Cardiff in Glamorganſhire. In the ſame action, Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jeruſalem, became the captive of Henry; but the king gave him his liberty, and ſettled a ſmall penſion upon him, on which he retired, and lived, though totally neglected



HENRY I.

STEPHEN.

HENRY II.

RICHARD I.

JOHN.

neglected and forgotten, to a good old age in England.

A. D. 1106.] Henry, having obtained his ends, no longer yielded an implicit obedience to the opinions of Anſelm: by having refuſed to do him homage, that prelate had denied his right of inveſtiture in eccleſiaſtical benefices, and he was ſupported in his refuſal by the Roman pontiff, Paſcal the Second. The king, who was not inclined tamely to ſurrender ſo important a prerogative, threw out menaces againſt ſuch as ſhould attempt to oppoſe him in the exerciſe of it; and Anſelm, ſenſible of his danger, deſired to make a journey to Rome: his requeſt was granted; but the king, in his abſence, ſeized all the revenues of his ſee: he however ſent William de Warelweſt to negociate with the pope, and to find ſome means of accommodating this delicate affair. The Engliſh miniſter told Paſcal, that his maſter would rather loſe his crown, than part with the right of granting inveſtitures; Paſcal replied, "And I would rather loſe my head, than allow him to retain it." The reſolution of the latter was not to be doubted. By pronouncing the tremendous ſentence of excommunication, he had already obliged the emperor of Germany to relinquiſh a ſimilar claim; nor was he inclined to treat the king of England with greater indulgence. He had excommunicated his miniſter; when Henry, apprehenſive of the event, and jealous of the fidelity of his ſubjects in a ſtruggle with the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, propoſed a middle courſe, which met with Paſcal's approbation.

Biſhops had formerly been accuſtomed to paſs through two ceremonies, before they took poſſeſſion of their dignities. They received from the hand of their ſovereign a ring and croſier, as ſymbols of their office, and this was called their *inveſtiture*; they alſo made their ſubmiſſions, which were required of vaſſals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of *homage*; and as the king might refuſe both to grant the *inveſtiture*, and to receive the *homage*, he had virtually the ſole power of appointing prelates. Paſcal was, however, for the preſent ſatisfied with his reſigning the right of granting inveſtitures, by which the ſpiritual dignity was ſuppoſed to be conferred; and he allowed the biſhops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges. This accommodation, if it reſtored not confidence, ſuſpended the appearance of jealouſy between Henry and Anſelm; and the primate was re-inſtated in the enjoyment of the revenues of his ſee, on his return to England.

A. D. 1108.] Henry was no ſooner delivered from this embarraſſment, than he was involved in another on account of Normandy. Though he had detained Robert a priſoner in England, he had intruſted William, the ſon of that prince, a youth about ſix years old, to the care of Helie de St. Saen, a nobleman of ſtrict honour and probity, who had married Robert's natural daughter. Henry had ſoon reaſon to repent of his choice; but when deſired to recover poſſeſſion of William's perſon, Helie conveyed his pupil to the court of Fulk, count Anjou, and ſoon obtained for him the protection of Louis the Groſs, king of France. Theſe meaſures demanded the preſence of Henry in Normandy: on the frontiers of that duchy he waged an unequal, but not an inglorious war, againſt the count of Anjou and the king of France, who ſupported the pretenſions of the ſon of Robert. By his addreſs he detached Fulk from the intereſt of the confederates; and by his vigour and conduct he ſoon after compelled Lewis to ſubſcribe a peace, on condition of the ceſſion of Giſors.

A. D. 1118.] This peace was, however, of ſhort duration; for William, his nephew, diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of Clito, (which was uſed in that age by the Normans, as Atheling was by the Saxons, to denote a prince of the royal blood,) had now attained to manhood, and ſhewed ſtrong indications of a great ſpirit, and an underſtanding fit to ſupport his high pretenſions. Henry had offered to give him three earldoms in England, and breed him up in his own court like his ſon; but he diſdained

theſe offers, and perhaps might be afraid to put himſelf into the power of a king to whoſe crown he had a title. The young earl of Flanders now warmly eſpouſed his party: but the moſt fortunate event in his favour was the death of William earl of Evereux; for Amauri de Montfort claiming that earldom, as heir to the deceaſed, and it being refuſed him by Henry, he, by his birth, alliances, riches, and perſonal talents, perſuaded almoſt all France, and Louis himſelf, to declare war againſt Henry, in behalf of that prince. The far greateſt part of the Norman barons engaged in the ſame cauſe: the defection among them went ſo far, that Henry ſcarce knew in whom to truſt; he was encompaſſed with treaſon; and became ſo uneaſy, that for ſome time after he never ſlept without a ſword or a ſhield lying by him; frequently changed his bed; and ordered ſeveral domeſtics, whom he thought the moſt faithful, to keep watch in arms at night about his perſon.

An event of ſo extraordinary a nature occurred in this war, that it deſerves particular notice. Euſtace, lord of Breteuil, who had married Juliana, a natural daughter of king Henry, and had by her two daughters, being connected in friendſhip with Amauri de Montfort, was perſuaded by him to demand a ſtrong caſtle, which was then held as part of the ducal demeſne, becauſe it had formerly been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. The king, afraid at ſuch a time to refuſe almoſt any requeſt, and yet unwilling to truſt him with the caſtle, promiſed to grant it him after the concluſion of the war, when it could be done with more ſafety, and gave the governor's ſon, as a hoſtage for the performance of his promiſe, taking in return his two daughters, as hoſtages for his fidelity during the war. But Euſtace, being perſuaded by Amauri de Montfort to revolt, cruelly put out the boy's eyes, and in that diſmal condition ſent him back to his father. Henry, exaſperated at ſuch an atrocious and inſolent act of barbarity, and not having the criminal in his power, delivered up to the injured governor the two young ladies, his grand-daughters, whom Euſtace had placed as hoſtages in his court, bidding him take his revenge on them as he ſhould think proper. The governor, inflamed with rage againſt Euſtace, paid no regard to their innocence or birth, but inhumanly cut off the ends of their noſes, and put out their eyes. Henry, inſtead of reſenting this cruel exceſs of his rage, loaded him with preſents and honours.

Juliana endeavoured to revenge her children's ſufferings by the murder of her father, having diſcharged an arrow at him out of a croſs-bow, from the caſtle in Breteuil; but failing in her aim, was obliged to ſurrender the caſtle and herſelf at diſcretion. The king, having expoſed her to ſhame, ſent her to her huſband.

The ballance of power now turned in Henry's favour; who, finding that the earl of Anjou was his moſt formidable enemy, reſolved to try to recover the friendſhip of that valiant prince, by completing the marriage they had before agreed on; and ſending for prince William, his ſon, from England, managed a ſecret negociation with the earl, and the articles being privately ſettled between them, ſolemnized the nuptials at Liſieux in Normandy, in June 1119. Beſides a large portion paid down, the lady brought her huſband the reverſion of Maine, which, by the contract of marriage, was ſettled upon him after the death of her father. Thus, in the midſt of this formidable war, which had threatened him with the loſs of all his dominions, did Henry gain to his family one of the moſt conſiderable provinces in France.

On this happy turn in his affairs, he proſecuted the war with great vigour in Normandy; which he would ſoon have concluded, if the king of France, attended by William, duke Robert's ſon, had not marched thither, to ſuccour the rebels, at the head of his army. Henry, upon the firſt notice of that monarch's approach, retired to Rouen, being willing to avoid any hoſtilities againſt Louis: but the French having advanced within four miles of Rouen, and ravaged the whole country

country with fire and ſword, he reſolved to give them battle; which he ſoon after did in the plain of Brenneville, near the caſtle of Noyon.

The engagement was begun by William Clito; who, by the impetuoſity of his charge, broke the firſt line of the Engliſh, but was repulſed by the ſecond, compoſed of Henry's houſehold, and commanded by that king. Henry was in great danger; for William Criſpin, a Norman knight, attacked him hand to hand, and ſtruck him twice upon the head with his ſword. He was however taken priſoner at Henry's feet, with ſeveral of the principal nobles of France; while Louis with great difficulty eſcaped, by flying on foot into a wood, in which he for ſome time wandered alone, and was conducted from thence to Andeli, by a peaſant who did not know him. His horſe and ſtandard were taken; the laſt of which Henry kept as an honourable trophy, but the horſe he ſent to the king, with all it's accoutrements; and ordered his ſon to return that of William Clito, who had been alſo diſmounted in the action.

After ſome time, conditions being mutually agreed upon, a peace was concluded, to the ſatisfaction of Henry.

The public proſperity which Henry now enjoyed, was ſoon damped by a domeſtic calamity. His only ſon, William, had reached his eighteenth year; he had been affianced to the daughter of Fulk count of Anjou, and had been acknowledged as ſucceſſor to the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy. He had been detained at Barfleur, where Henry had embarked to return to England, ſome hours after his father. His captain and crew had conſumed the interval in drinking; and when they weighed anchor, in their impatience to overtake the king, they ſtruck the ſhip on a rock, where ſhe immediately foundered. William was put into the long-boat, and had already got clear of the ſhip; when hearing the cries of his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Perche, he ordered the ſeamen to row back, in hopes of ſaving her. But the numbers who then crowded in, ſoon ſunk the boat, and the prince with all his retinue periſhed: above an hundred and forty young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy were loſt on this occaſion; and the only perſon who eſcaped, was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the maſt, and was by fiſhermen taken up the next morning.

Henry, on receiving the fatal intelligence, fainted away, and never after recovered his wonted chearfulneſs.

A. D. 1121. The king had now no legitimate iſſue except one daughter, Matilda, whom in 1110 he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry the Fifth, and whom he had ſent over to be educated in Germany. Her abſence and marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the ſucceſſion; and in hopes of male heirs, Henry courted and obtained the hand of Adelais, daughter of Godfrey duke of Lovaine: Adelais however proved barren in his embraces; and a new league that was formed in favour of his nephew William, between the count of Anjou and the king of France, revived his former apprehenſions: the opportune death of the emperor enabled him to conciliate Fulk, by beſtowing his daughter Matilda on Geoffrey the ſon of that prince: William was however ſtill ſupported by the king of France; and Charles, earl of Flanders, being aſſaſſinated, Louis immediately put the young prince in poſſeſſion of that county, to which he had pretenſions in right of his grandmother. He ſurvived a very little time this piece of good fortune, which ſeemed to open the way to farther proſperity; he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the Landgrave of Alſace, his competitor for Flanders; and his death put an end, for the preſent, to the king's jealouſy and inquietude.

A. D. 1131.] England being reſtored to tranquillity, Henry was enabled to viſit Normandy, and ſoon after his arrival; his ſatisfaction was increaſed by his daughter the empreſs Matilda being brought to bed of a ſon, who was named after him. On this occaſion the nobility of England and Normandy

mandy renewed to that princeſs the oath of fealty which they had already ſworn; two more ſons, of whom ſhe was ſucceſſively delivered, augmented Henry's partiality for her; but ſome incurſions of the Welch determined him to return to England, when he was ſuddenly attacked by an illneſs, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, which proved fatal to him; and died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving by will his daughter Matilda the heir of all his dominions, without taking any notice of her huſband the earl of Anjou.

This king was much addicted to women, and had no leſs than ſeven illegitimate ſons and ſix daughters. On his acceſſion he granted a charter to London, which ſeems to have been the firſt ſtep towards rendering that city a corporation: by this charter the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middleſex at three hundred pounds a year, to elect it's own ſheriff and judiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown; and it was exempted from ſcot, danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the king's revenue: to theſe articles were added, a confirmation of the privileges of their courts of huſtings, wardmotes, and common halls, and their liberty of hunting in Middleſex and Surry.

Though he granted thoſe charters, he fulfilled them no farther than was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure him againſt the competition of his brother Robert, and nephew William. He was very deſirous to eſtabliſh a right to the monarchy, by hereditary ſucceſſion, as appears by his procuring the oath of fealty to be taken to his ſon, during his own life, and after the death of William to his daughter Matilda; but the Engliſh, who had never ſeen a woman reign except Sexburga, wife of Cenwalch king of the Weſt-Saxons, regardleſs of the precaution of Henry and their oaths, choſe Stephen his nephew to be their king, who likewiſe promiſed to obſerve the Saxon laws; and after a long conteſt between Stephen and Matilda, we further find, that young Henry her ſon is choſen in preference to the heirs of Stephen. Hence it appears, that hereditary right was not the doctrine of thoſe days.

The deſigns of Henry to ſecure his dominions to his daughter and grand-ſon, were defeated by unfortunate accidents.

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen count of Blois, and had brought him ſeveral ſons; among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngeſt, had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received great honours, riches, and preferment. Henry had betaken himſelf to the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, and was created biſhop of Wincheſter; the eſtabliſhment of Stephen was equally honourable; he had married Matilda, daughter and heireſs of the count of Boulogne, who brought him, beſides that feudal ſovereignty in France, an immenſe landed property in England. Stephen alſo by this marriage acquired a new connection with the royal family, as Mary, his wife's mother, was ſiſter to David the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda the firſt wife of Henry, and mother of the empreſs.

Stephen, in return for theſe favours, had affected the greateſt attachment to his uncle, and the moſt ardent zeal for the ſucceſſion of Matilda; yet at the ſame time he had not neglected to cultivate the friendſhip of the Engliſh nation. By his bravery he acquired the eſteem of the barons; by his generoſity and affability, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly of the Londoners; and though he dared not take any ſteps towards his future grandeur, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the jealouſy of ſo penetrating a prince as Henry, he ſtill hoped, that by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might in time be able to attain the ſupreme government.

As ſoon as Henry had breathed his laſt, Stephen gave full reins to his ambition. He haſtened over to England; and though the citizens of Dover, and of Canterbury, apprized of his purpoſe, ſhut their gates againſt him, he ſtopped not till he arrived at London. The populace, who had been prepared by his emiſſaries, ſaluted him king; by the influence

influence of his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, he gained the clergy; the artful tale, that Henry on his death bed, diſſatisfied with his daughter Matilda, expreſſed his intentions of leaving his dominions to the count of Boulogne, reconciled the obſequious conſcience of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stephen was ſolemnly crowned by that prelate; few of the barons attended his coronation; but none preſumed to oppoſe it.

When the Normans heard that Stephen had got poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, they ſwore allegiance to him: and no ſooner was Matilda informed of her father's death, than ſhe found another had occupied the place that had been deſtined for her. Though Stephen's acceſſion was facilitated by ſeveral advantages, they would ſtill have been all inſufficient without the conſent of the nation, to obtain which, he entered into an engagement to make ſome conceſſions demanded by the barons and people of England, and to grant to the clergy ſuch privileges, as they had in vain wiſhed to extort from his predeceſſors. This he not only ratified by an extraordinary oath which he took at his coronation, and by a general charter, confirming that of king Henry the Firſt, and the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; but ſometime after, by another given at Oxford, in which were ſet down all the particulars of his oath. We are not told what induced the biſhop of Saliſbury to betray Matilda; but it is certain, that immediately after the king's coronation, he obtained the town of Malmeſbury for himſelf, the office of chancellor for his natural ſon, and that of treaſurer for one of his nephews. Theſe were probably the terms upon which he ſold himſelf to Stephen, who was ſo ſenſible how neceſſary it was to buy him, that in a diſcourſe with ſome of his own friends, he thus expreſſed himſelf with an oath, "that if he were to aſk of me one half of my kingdom, I would grant it to him, *till this ſeaſon be paſt*. He ſhall himſelf be tired of aſking ſooner than I will of giving."

Thus, little dependence could be placed upon *royal* promiſes, when, in bargaining for a crown, no price was deemed too great, but when *that ſeaſon was paſt*, and the reins of government were ſecure, then to *revoke* was common.

A. D. 1136.] Stephen, notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, was far from being eaſy; he dreaded, in particular, Robert earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon to the late king, a man of honour and abilities, and zealouſly attached to his ſiſter Matilda. This nobleman indeed took the oath of fealty to Stephen; but he took it with the reſerve that the king ſhould never invade any of his rights or dignities. The clergy and the nobility imitated his example. Many of the latter, in return for their ſubmiſſion, exacted terms ſtill more deſtructive to the royal authority; they required the right of fortifying their caſtles, and of putting themſelves in a ſtate of defence. All England was immediately filled with their fortreſſes, which the owners garriſoned either with their vaſſals, or with licentious ſoldiers; unbounded rapine was exerciſed upon the people for the maintenance of their troops; wars between the barons were carried on with the utmoſt fury; and the ariſtocratical power, uſually oppreſſive in feudal governments, roſe rapidly to ſuch a height as was never experienced before.

Stephen, finding that the legal prerogatives of the crown were reſiſted and abridged, was tempted to make his power the ſole meaſure of his conduct. He indulged his mercenaries in every ſpecies of depredation; the indignation with which the Engliſh bore their arrogance was fomented by the earl of Glouceſter, who having ſettled with his friends the plan of an inſurrection, retired beyond ſea, ſolemnly renounced his allegiance, and ſent the king a defiance. About the ſame time, David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and penetrating into Yorkſhire, committed the moſt barbarous devaſtations. The fury of his ravages enraged the northern barons, who might otherwiſe have been inclined to join him; they aſſembled their vaſſals, and at North Allerton awaited the enemy: the battle was obſtinate, and obtained the name of The Standard, from a

lofty crucifix which the Engliſh carried with them. The Scots were defeated; David and his ſon Henry narrowly eſcaped the purſuit of the victors; and this ſucceſs awed the mal-contents, and might have eſtabliſhed the throne of Stephen, had he not engaged in a quarrel with the clergy, whoſe power, gradually increaſing, had excited his jealouſy. They had been equally forward in building caſtles. Roger biſhop of Saliſbury had built two at Sherborne and the Devizes: and his nephew Alexander, biſhop of Lincoln, had erected a fortreſs at Newark.

A. D. 1138.] Stephen, ſenſible from experience of the miſchiefs attending theſe multiplied citadels, reſolved to begin with deſtroying thoſe of the clergy. On pretence of a fray which had ariſen betwen the retinues of the biſhop of Saliſbury and the earl of Brittany, he ſeized both that prelate and the biſhop of Lincoln, and obliged them to deliver up their ſtrong places.

The whole body of the clergy, alarmed at this bold and impolitic ſtroke, repreſented their grievances to the biſhop of Wincheſter, brother to the king, who having been lately veſted with legatine authority, convoked a general ſynod of the clergy, before which he ſummoned the king to appear in perſon. But as Stephen had no intention to ſubject the civil to the eccleſiaſtical power, he ſent thither ſome earls, with Aubrey de Vere, who accuſed the two prelates of treaſon and ſedition; the ſynod however refuſed to examine their conduct until the caſtle of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed, was reſtored: and the biſhop of Saliſbury threatened to appeal to the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1139.] This quarrel made the clergy his enemies, and their complaints had ſuch an influence on the body of the people, that the empreſs, who was alſo encouraged by the legate himſelf, landed in England with Robert earl of Glouceſter, and a retinue of one hundred and forty knights. She fixed her reſidence at Arundel caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais the queen dowager, now married to William de Albiney, earl of Arundel and Suſſex. After making a ſhort ſtay in the caſtle, the earl of Glouceſter, attended only by twelve horſemen, went from thence in a dark night, by unfrequented roads, towards Briſtol; and was met by a party of horſe, which eſcorted him ſafe to that city.

Intelligence being brought to the king of Matilda's landing, he quitted Marlborough, and with the beſt of his forces came before Arundel, where, finding that the earl was gone, he blocked up the caſtle, and returned to the ſiege; but the biſhop of Wincheſter adviſing him to let her join the earl of Glouceſter, under a notion that he might more eaſily ſubdue them together, Stephen was ſo weak as to give her his oath for her ſecurity, and ſend her under his own ſafe conduct to Briſtol, eſcorted by his brother and the earl of Meulant, his chief miniſter. Matilda ſtaid there for ſome time, and then removed to Glouceſter.

Stephen now exerted himſelf with great ſpirit, and was continually at the head of his forces, beſieging caſtles, or marching to the relief of his friends. Among other exploits, he drove the biſhop of Ely out of that iſland, and ſeized all his riches. His uncle the biſhop of Saliſbury had died a little before of grief and anger at the loſs of his treaſures and caſtles, and had the additional torment of ſeeing the laſt remainder of his wealth, which he had depoſited in his cathedral at Sarum, taken from that church, while he lay on his death-bed, and delivered up to the king, by the canons themſelves.

There followed a number of military events, little memorable in themſelves, and confuſed both in time and place. The nation was diſtreſſed by oppoſite factions, who, under the pretence of the public cauſe, carried on the devaſtations with redoubled fury, and no bounds were ſet to their oppreſſions of the people. The caſtles of the nobility were become receptacles of licenſed robbers, who, ſallying forth day and night, plundered the open country, the villages, and even the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treaſures, and ſet fire to their houſes after they had pillaged them

them of every thing valuable. The land was left untilled; and a grievous famine, the natural conſequence of war, equally affected both parties, and reduced them to the moſt extreme want and indigence.

At the expiration of that term, an event happened which promiſed ſome end to the public calamities. The caſtle of Lincoln had been ſurprized by the partizans of Matilda; but the citizens, who were better affected towards Stephen, having invited him to their aid, he laid ſiege to the caſtle. The earl of Glouceſter haſtened with an army to the relief of his friends, and Stephen abandoned the ſiege to give him battle. After a violent ſhock, the two wings of the royaliſts were put to flight; and Stephen himſelf, ſurrounded by the enemy, was at laſt, after great efforts of valour, borne down by numbers, and taken priſoner. He was conducted to Glouceſter; and though at firſt treated with humanity, was ſoon after, on ſome ſuſpicion, thrown into priſon, and his party appeared entirely broke by the captivity of their leader; yet Matilda, amidſt every proſpect of proſperity, deemed it neceſſary to court the clergy, by attaching to her the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was intruſted with the formidable commiſſion of legate. She promiſed him, that if he would recogniſe her title to the throne, he ſhould in return be entire maſter of the adminiſtration. The ambitious prelate acceded; in an aſſembly of the eccleſiaſtical order, he profeſſed his affection for his brother, but declared that he conſidered the ties of blood as inferior to thoſe of duty: he inveighed againſt the oppreſſion of Stephen, and pronounced Matilda the lawful ſovereign of England. That princeſs, afraid to ſummon the ſtates, conſented to receive the crown from the hands of the clergy.

A. D. 1140.] The deputies from London, who were the only laymen ſummoned to this aſſembly, demanded that Stephen ſhould be reſtored to liberty; but their voices were drowned in the majority, and the capital, notwithſtanding it's attachment to the late king, ſubmitted to Matilda, who was by nature paſſionate and imperious.

Stephen's queen, ſeconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her huſband, on condition that he ſhould renounce the crown, and retire into a convent; the legate deſired that prince Euſtace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne, and the other patrimonial eſtates of his father; the Londoners applied for the eſtabliſhment of king Edward's laws, inſtead of thoſe of king Henry. All theſe petitions were in the moſt haughty and peremptory manner rejected, and the repulſed party provoked to acts of outrage.

A. D. 1141.] The biſhop of Wincheſter had been for ſome time diſguſted with Matilda's haughty behaviour, abſolved thoſe whom he had before excommunicated for adhering to his brother, and excited the Londoners to revolt. Matilda, informed of their intention to ſeize her perſon, fled to Oxford, and thence to Wincheſter: the ſiege of that city was inſtantly formed by the legate, who had aſſembled his vaſſals, and had been joined by the mercenaries of Stephen. The princeſs made her eſcape; but earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy: the empreſs, ſenſible of his merit and importance, conſented to exchange Stephen for him; and the civil war was rekindled with greater fury than ever.

A. D. 1142.] Stephen, having now recovered his liberty, exerted himſelf with ſuch activity and vigour, that Matilda's party being reduced to the loweſt ebb, her faithful brother reſolved to paſs into Normandy, and ſolicit the count of Anjou to come and eſpouſe the claim of his wife; but that nobleman being involved in domeſtic troubles, the earl of Glouceſter prevailed on him to ſend over his eldeſt ſon Henry, that the preſence of the young prince might animate the partizans, and repair the ill fortune of his mother.

While Glouceſter was in Normandy, Stephen, willing to improve the opportunity of his abſence, aſſembled a body of troops, beſieged

ſieged and reduced the town of Wareham, and then marched with great expedition to Oxford, to which the empreſs had retired, entered the city, and immediately inveſted the caſtle, before any meaſures could be taken for it's defence.

The place was attacked and defended for ſome time with equal courage and intrepidity; but at length the garriſon was reduced to ſuch extremity, that Matilda was obliged to agree to a capitulation. Conſcious, however, of the cruel manner in which ſhe had treated the king, and dreading his juſt reſentment, ſhe determined to avoid the impending danger by a precipitate flight. Accordingly, taking advantage of a dark night, ſhe paſſed through the poſtern-gate, clothed in white, in order to deceive the centinels, who could not by that means well diſtinguiſh her from the ſnow. Croſſing the Thames on the ice, ſhe walked to Abington, and there taking horſe, rode the ſame night to Wallingford, where ſhe was viſited by her ſon and brother, who were juſt arrived in England, and had received the news of her eſcape on their firſt landing. In the mean time the caſtle of Oxford ſurrendered; but Stephen's grand deſign was diſappointed by the eſcape of Matilda, on whoſe account alone he carried on that toilſome ſiege.

A. D. 1146.] Matilda, deſpairing of future ſucceſs in her attempts to recover the throne of England, determined to return to her huſband; accordingly ſhe ſet out with the young prince, attended by the earl of Glouceſter, who on their embarkation returned to Briſtol, and there died of a fever, to the unſpeakable loſs of the empreſs.

Stephen in the mean time endeavoured to extort from the nobles of their own party the ſurrender of their caſtles; with ſtill greater imprudence he engaged in a quarrel with the court of Rome. He refuſed to ſuffer Eugenius the Third to name the deputies for the Engliſh church, who were to attend a general council, which had been ſummoned at Rheims in Champagne. The pope, to puniſh his obſtinacy, laid his whole party under an interdict; and Stephen was at laſt obliged to remove the reproach, by making proper ſubmiſſions to the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1147.] The weakneſs of the competitors, rather than any decreaſe of mutual animoſity, had produced a tacit ceſſation of arms in England; and many of the nobility had embarked in the holy wars, when an event happened which threatened a revival of hoſtilities. Prince Henry, who had reached his ſixteenth year, was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood from his great uncle, David king of Scotland. For that purpoſe he repaired to the Scottiſh court with a great retinue, and thence made ſeveral incurſions into England; and in theſe his dexterity and vigour, his valour and prudence, raiſed the hopes of his party. Soon after his return to Normandy, he was, by Matilda's conſent, inveſted in that duchy; and upon the death of his father Geoffrey, which happened in the ſubſequent year, he took poſſeſſion both of Anjou and Maine, and gained a great acceſſion by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou, who had been divorced, from a ſuſpicion of infidelity, from Lewis the Seventh of France. Neither the report of her gallantries, nor her age, which doubled that of Henry, deterred the latter from ſoliciting her hand; and eſpouſing her ſix weeks after her divorce, he got poſſeſſion of all her dominions as her dowry.

A. D. 1151.] The luſtre which he received from this acquiſition had ſuch an effect in England, that when Stephen, deſirous to inſure the crown to his ſon Euſtace, required the archbiſhop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his ſucceſſor, the primate refuſed compliance, and fled beyond ſea from the reſentment of Stephen. Henry, informed of theſe diſpoſitions, invaded England, gained at Marlborough ſome advantage over Stephen, and at Malmeſbury prepared to encounter him in a pitched battle. The great men, terrified at the proſpect of farther bloodſhed,

bloodshed, set about a treaty of accommodation; this was facilitated by the death of Eustace, during the course of the treaty. In a general assembly of the nobility and prelates at Winchester, it was finally determined, that William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne, and his patrimonial estate in England, on the demise of his father; that Stephen should retain the crown during his life, and that Henry should succeed him. Thus the states, so far from considering Stephen as an usurper, and as such expelling him, confirmed him in the throne; but setting aside William his son and heir, they elected Henry, to whom they took the oath of allegiance.

A. D. 1154.] Soon after this arrangement had taken place, Stephen made a tour through the country, and was every where received with the warmest demonstrations of respect and loyalty by the people, who were now emerging from their late dreadful calamities. The king published an edict for restraining the enormities occasioned by the late confusion, and punishing all violences and robberies, which had long been suffered with impunity. Tranquillity was now restored throughout England; and her former miseries added to the enjoyment of her future happiness. Many who had left the country through it's distresses now returned, and brought with them the arts, sciences, and manufactures.

Henry went over to Normandy; and while Stephen was engaged in the salutary work of reformation, he was seized with a fit of the iliac passion at Canterbury, where he expired on the 25th of October, in the fiftieth year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign.

This prince is allowed by his enemies to possess every qualification to promote the happiness and prosperity of his people; but measures which Henry the First had taken to secure the crown to his daughter Matilda, and the ambition of her and her son Henry to obtain the crown against the will of the people, who had no idea of a woman reigning, and therefore elected Stephen, involved the country in unexampled miseries. Appeals to Rome became common in every ecclesiastical controversy, though prohibited by the English laws; and the pope, taking advantage of the civil wars, advanced in his usurpations.

CHAPTER III.

Accession of Henry—Transactions during his Reign—Contest with Becket—Conquest of Ireland—Siege of Rouen—Rebellion—Death of Henry, &c.

WHEN Henry heard of the death of Stephen, he was besieging a castle on the frontiers of Normandy, and determined not to leave the place *A. D.* 1154.] till he had accomplished it, and arrived in England about a month after. He had been elected by the states eventual successor to Stephen in his life, and the people suffered too much by the civil wars during the last reign, to support the interest of William, son of Stephen. Henry therefore took quiet possession of the throne; and on the 19th of December he and his queen, Eleanor, were crowned by Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, being in the twenty-third year of his age.

The rising grandeur of the house of Anjou, or Plantagenet, excited the fears and jealousy of Louis king of France; who, though he ruled over a fertile and extensive country, was much more limited in his power than the king of England. Besides, the royal demesnes were very small; they consisted only of Paris, Orleans, Estampes, Compiegne, and a few places scattered over the northern provinces: in the rest of the kingdom, the

prince's authority was rather nominal than real; his vaſſals were entitled to make war on each other without his permiſſion, and, if they conceived themſelves injured, to turn their arms againſt their ſovereign: but the power of the Engliſh monarch was much more abſolute in his kingdom, and the diſproportion between him and his vaſſals much greater. Henry, beſides being king of England, in right of his mother was duke of Normandy and Maine; from his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine; in right of his wife, the daughter of William duke of Guienne, and repudiated wife of Louis, he held Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auverne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limoſin; he ſoon after added Brittany to his other ſtates. Theſe provinces compoſed above one-third of the whole French monarchy, and were much ſuperior in extent and opulence to thoſe territories under the immediate juriſdiction of the king.

A. D. 1155.] Soon after Henry's acceſſion to the throne of England, he diſmiſſed the mercenary ſoldiers who had been employed by Stephen, and ſent them abroad with their leader, William of Ypres. He ordered the new-erected caſtles to be demoliſhed; reſerving only a few, which belonged to his favourites; and theſe he took into his own cuſtody. By this ſtep the barons perceived he was determined to preſerve their obedience. He revoked all the grants made by king Stephen, or which had been extorted by neceſſity from his mother. He appointed a council of the moſt eminent perſons, clergy and laity, for the government of the kingdom; at the head of which he placed his mother Matilda, whoſe misfortunes had taught her wiſdom; and amongſt other members were Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, his archdeacon, who had been made chancellor, and Robert earl of Leiceſter, the chief juſticiary. But, like his grandfather, deſirous to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion in his own family, he called a general aſſembly at Wallingford, and cauſed the barons to take the oath of allegiance to his two ſons, both infants, William, who died ſoon after, and Henry, who was born this year in London. This is another proof that hereditary ſucceſſion was not at that time eſtabliſhed in England; and it is probable, that, to make this election of one or other of his ſons to be his ſucceſſor acceptable to the aſſembly, Henry engaged to continue in force the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and confirmed the charter of Henry the Firſt, his grandfather.

A. D. 1156.] Henry, having ſettled his affairs, went to France, to do homage to Louis for the fiefs which he held of him. Having done this, his attention was directed towards Anjou, of which his brother Geoffrey had taken poſſeſſion while Henry was in England, founding his claim to a part of it on the will of his father. Henry had taken an oath to fulfil this will; but as ſoon as he was crowned he applied to the pope for a diſpenſation to break it, which was granted by his holineſs. Geoffrey had been invited by the Anjouans, who diſliked to be ſubject to a king of England; but upon Henry's appearing among them they returned to their obedience, and Geoffrey relinquiſhed his claim for a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year, and took poſſeſſion of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Hoel, their prince, put into his hands. Henry returned to England the following year.

A. D. 1157.] The Welch, by their incurſions, provoked him to invade their country, and ſpread deſolation and ruin wherever he came; but upon their ſubmiſſion peace was reſtored,

A. D. 1158.] He had another ſon born to him at Oxford, named Richard. Shortly after, he cauſed himſelf to be again crowned at Wicklow, near Lincoln.

A. D. 1159.] He had another ſon born, called Geoffrey, and was crowned a third time, at Worceſter. When he and his queen came to the oblation, they laid their crown upon the altar, making a vow never again to wear them; and from that time the kings have left off appearing with that mark of regality at their ſolemn feſtivals, which before

before had been customary. About this time a new coinage was made, the money having been sadly adulterated during the late public calamities.

A. D. 1160.] Geoffrey, the king's brother, being dead, Henry laid claim to the county of Nantz as his heir, though he only held it by voluntary election of the people; but Conan duke of Brittany had taken possession of it, as having been a part of his principality, and only separated lately by rebellion. Henry, however, collected a large army, and went over to France; but the season not permitting him to come to immediate action, he paid a visit to the king, for the purpose of securing his neutrality; and they agreed that young Henry, who was only five years old, should be affianced to Margaret of France, an infant in her cradle. Henry having secured himself against opposition from this quarter, marched with his army into Brittany; and Conan, being unable to make resistance, gave him possession of the county of Nantz. The king, by his address, obtained farther advantages from this incident; for he concluded a treaty of marriage between his third son, Geoffrey, and Constantia, daughter and sole heiress of Conan, both of them infants. About seven years after, the duke of Brittany died; and Henry, as guardian of his son and daughter-in-law, took possession of that principality, and annexed it to his other dominions.

Henry, whose ambition was boundless, determined now to claim the earldom of Thoulouse in right of his wife, whose mother was the only issue of William fourth count of Thoulouse; and would have inherited his dominions, but William, desirous of continuing his succession in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Gilles, by a contract of sale. Raymond, grandson of the former, was at present in possession. Louis had claimed it in right of Eleanor, while she was his wife; but on a compromise between him and Raymond, Louis gave it up.

A. D. 1161.] Henry, having married Eleanor, revived the claim, and raised a large army to enforce it. Raymond applied to the king of France for assistance; who, though he had been an unconcerned spectator of the aggrandisement of Henry hitherto, determined now to check his ambition; and, after a conflict in which many lives were lost, a peace was accomplished, without ever mentioning the affair of Thoulouse. Gisors and part of the Vexin being the dowry of Margaret of France, was by agreement consigned to the Knights Templars, on condition of being delivered to Henry after the celebration of the nuptials. The princess having been brought to England to receive her education, the king, that he might have a pretence for demanding the place, ordered the marriage to be solemnized, though the prince was but seven, and the princess three years old; and he engaged the grand master of the Templars, by large presents, as was generally suspected, to put him in possession of the fortress of Gisors. Louis was so provoked at this fraudulent conduct, that he banished the Templars, and would have gone to war with the king of England, but was prevented through the mediation of pope Alexander the Third, who was then in France. The year before, these two kings went to meet his holiness at the castle of Torci, on the Loire, when he was driven from Rome by the anti-pope, Victor the Fourth; and so great was their respect, that both dismounted to receive him; and each taking hold of one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot, and conducted him, in this submissive manner, into the castle.

A. D. 1162.] Henry, on his return to England, directed his attention towards the encroachments of Rome: these had grown with a rapidity not to be brooked by a prince of his high spirit; he had long cherished the design of repressing them; and to facilitate the design, he had advanced to the dignity of metropolitan, Becket, his chancellor, in whom he thought he could safely confide.

Thomas à Becket, the first man of English descent who since the Norman Conquest had risen to any considerable station, was

born

born of reputable parents in the city of London. He early inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, and obtained from that prelate conſiderable preferment. This enabled him to purſue, at Bologne, the ſtudy of civil and canon law; and on his return he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury. He was afterwards employed at the court of Rome; and on Henry's acceſſion, he ſoon acquired the confidence and friendſhip of that monarch. He was raiſed to the dignity of chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom; he was alſo made provoſt of Beverly, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower: he was intruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon. His expences correſponded with his preferments, and exceeded any thing which had been hitherto known in England. A great number of knights were retained in his ſervice; the moſt illuſtrious barons were proud of being received at his table; and the king himſelf frequently vouchſafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was ſplendid and opulent, his amuſements and occupations were gay: as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think it unbecoming his character to employ his leiſure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip. He expoſed his perſon in ſeveral military actions; he carried over, at his own charge, ſeven hundred knights, to attend the king in his war at Thouloufe; and in an embaſſy to France, he aſtoniſhed that court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Becket being acquainted with, and always ſeeming to approve, the king's intentions of reſtraining the pretenſions of the church, appeared the fitteſt perſon, on the death of Theobald, for the high ſtation of metropolitan; but no ſooner was he inſtalled in that dignity, than he altered his demeanor and conduct. He maintained in his retinue and attendants alone his ancient pomp and luſtre; in his own perſon he affected the greateſt auſterity; he wore ſackcloth next his ſkin, changed it ſeldom, and uſually ate the coarſeſt bread, and drank water; he ſeemed perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures; his aſpect wore the appearance of ſerioufneſs and ſecret devotion; and all men of penetration plainly ſaw that he was meditating ſome great deſign, and that the ambition and oſtentation of his character had ſome new and more dangerous object in view.

The primate making himſelf, as was the cuſtom in ſpiritual courts, both judge and party, ventured to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt William de Eynsford, a military tenant to the crown, who had preſumed to aſſert his right of preſentation to a living of which he was patron; though, in compliance with the royal mandate, he afterwards, but with reluctance, abſolved Eynsford. This bold and early ſtep, however, was an example to Henry of the reſiſtance he was to expect.

The king, notwithſtanding, was far from relinquiſhing his deſign of retrenching the clerical uſurpations. The ſchiſm for the papacy which divided all Europe, afforded him an opportunity favourable to his projects. Among other inventions to obtain money, the clergy had induced the neceſſity of penance as an atonement for ſin; and the ſums of money received by the prieſts in lieu of theſe penances, are ſaid to have exceeded the amount of the king's revenue. To eaſe his people of ſo heavy an impoſition, Henry demanded that a civil officer of his appointment ſhould be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts, and ſhould, for the future, give his conſent to every compoſition which was made with ſinners for their ſpiritual offences.

Clergymen in that age had renounced all immediate ſubordination to the magiſtrate; and as many of them were of low character, crimes of the blackeſt dye were committed with impunity by them. An hundred murders, ſince the king's acceſſion, had been perpetrated by men in holy orders. A clerk of Worceſterſhire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had proceeded to murder the father; the general indignation againſt

againſt the crime, moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuſe which had become ſo palpable: he required that the clerk ſhould be delivered up, and receive condign puniſhment from the magiſtrate. Becket inſiſted on the privileges of the church, and maintained no greater puniſhment could be inflicted on the criminal than degradation. Henry, exaſperated, ſummoned an aſſembly of the prelates of England; he demanded whether they were willing to ſubmit it to the ancient laws of the kingdom; and though at firſt they endeavoured to evade the queſtion, by the exception *of their own order*, they yielded ſoon after to his menaces. Becket, however, for a long time remained inflexible; and at laſt rather complied in conſequence of the deſires of the court of Rome, than of the king's menaces.

A. D. 1164.] Henry, not content with a declaration in general terms, reſolved to define expreſsly thoſe laws to which he required obedience; and, to mark the limits between the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, he ſummoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he referred the great and important queſtion.

The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reaſons which he urged, or by his ſuperior authority; the biſhops were overawed by the general combination againſt them; and the following laws, commonly called The Conſtitutions of Clarendon, were voted without oppoſition by this aſſembly.

I. All ſuits about the preſentation and advowſon of churches, ſhall be determined in the king's court.

II. Churches of the king's fee cannot be given away in perpetuity without his conſent.

III. Clergymen accuſed of any crime whatever ſhall appear in the king's court, and plead to ſuch articles as the court ſhall require; and in caſe a clerk is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to loſe his privilege, and be protected by the church no longer.

IV. No archbiſhops, biſhops, or parſons, may go out of the realm without the king's licence.

V. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be obliged to make oath or give ſecurity to continue upon the place where they live.

VI. Laymen ought not to be accuſed in the eccleſiaſtical court, but by legal and reputable promoters and witneſſes, and in the preſence of the biſhop. And if the offenders be ſuch that nobody either will or dare accuſe them, the ſheriff, at the biſhop's inſtance, ſhall cauſe twelve legal men, of the town or vicinage, to make oath before the biſhop, that they will declare the truth of the matter, according to the beſt of their knowledge.

VII. None, either of the king's tenants in capite, or of his miniſterial officers, may be excommunicated, nor any of their lands put under an interdict, unleſs application be firſt made to the king.

VIII. If appeals ariſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, they are to be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop, and from the biſhop to the archbiſhop. In failure of juſtice from the archbiſhop, recourſe muſt be had to the king, that, by his precept, the ſuit may be determined in the archbiſhop's court; nor ſhall it be lawful to proceed further without the king's conſent.

IX. If a ſuit ariſe between a clergyman and a layman, about a tenement, which the firſt pretends to be held by frank-almoine, and the latter maintains it to be a lay-fee, the tenure ſhall be tried before the king's juſticiary, by the verdict of twelve legal men, ſummoned, according to the cuſtom of the court, by the order of the king's chief juſtice; and if the tenement is found to be held in frank-almoine, the ſuit ſhall be tried in the eccleſiaſtical court; but if the verdict brings it in a lay-fee, the ſuit ſhall be carried on in the king's court, unleſs they both hold of the ſame lord, either ſpiritual or temporal, in which caſe it ſhall be tried in his court.

X. If any inhabitant of a city, caſtle, borough,

rough, or demeſne manor of the king, be cited for any crime by the archdeacon or biſhop, and will not make ſatisfaction upon their ſummons, they may interdict him from divine ſervice; but they ought not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the place be made acquainted therewith, that he may oblige the perſon to make ſatisfaction to the church.

XI. All archbiſhops and biſhops, and other clergymen, are to look upon their eſtates as baronies, and ſhall appear before the king's juſtices and officers, to anſwer the duties of their tenure, and ſhall obſerve and perform all the royal cuſtoms, rights, and ſervices, and ſhall hold themſelves as other barons, obliged to be preſent at judicial proceedings in the king's court, till ſentence comes to be given againſt life or limb.

XII. When any archbiſhopric, biſhopric, abbey, or priory, of royal foundation or patronage, becomes vacant, the king ſhall enter thereupon, and receive all the iſſues and profits thereof, as of his own demeſne lands; and when he ſhall think fit that ſuch church be provided for, the king ſhall ſend his mandate to the chief perſons of the chapter or convent, and the election ſhall be made in the king's chapel, with the king's conſent, and by the advice of ſuch dignitaries of the realm as the king ſhall call together for that purpoſe; and the perſon ſo elected ſhall there, before his conſecration, do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for life, limb, and earthly honour, ſaving his order.

XIII. If any of the chief nobility of the realm do violently oppoſe the archbiſhop, or biſhop, or archdeacon, in doing juſtice on themſelves, or on their tenants, the king ſhall take cognizance of the matter, and oblige him to ſubmit to juſtice. And if any one deny the king his rights, and decline ſtanding to the judgment of the court, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and archdeacons, ſhall employ their authority and cenſures to oblige him to make the king ſatisfaction.

XIV. The goods and chattels of ſuch as have forfeited to the king, ſhall not be detained in any church or church-yard, to ſecure them from being ſeized according to law.

XV. All actions and ſuits for debt, due either upon oath or ſolemn promiſe, or otherwiſe contracted, ſhall be tried in the king's court.

XVI. The ſons of villains, or copyholders, are not to be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor where they were known to be born.

Henry, by thus reducing the ancient cuſtoms of the realm to writing, endeavoured to prevent all future diſputes with regard to them; and by paſſing ſo many eccleſiaſtical ordinances in a national and civil aſſembly, he fully eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of the legiſlature above all ſpiritual canons. Apprehenſive, however, that the biſhops might retract their conſent to theſe conſtitutions, he required them to ſet their ſeals to them. Becket, of all the prelates, alone oppoſed his will; but finding himſelf deſerted even by his brethren, he at length gave way, and engaged by oath to obſerve them. The ratification of the pope was ſtill thought requiſite; but though Alexander owed the higheſt obligations to Henry, he rejected the conſtitutions of Clarendon, which he ſaw would eſtabliſh England independent of the papal power; and only offered, for the ſake of peace, to ratify ſix articles, and thoſe the leaſt important.

When Becket underſtood the determination of the Roman pontiff, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for his compliance, and endeavoured to engage the other biſhops to adhere to their common rights, in which he repreſented the intereſt and honour of God to be concerned. To make him feel his reſentment, Henry excited a proſecution againſt him for ſome land that he held; and when the primate excuſed himſelf, on account of indiſpoſition, from appearing, that prince ſummoned a great council at Northampton, in which he was arraigned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court.

The

The primate defended himſelf with vigour; he urged that he had diſcovered no contempt of the king's court, but, on the contrary, by ſending four knights to excuſe his abſence, had virtually acknowledged it's authority; that even ſhould it be found that he had been guilty of non-appearance, the laws had offered a very ſlight fine to that offence; and that as he was an inhabitant of Kent, where his archiepiſcopal palace was ſeated, he was by law entitled to ſome greater indulgence than uſual, in the rate of his fine. But theſe pleas were over-ruled; the barons voted whatever ſentence Henry was pleaſed to dictate; the biſhops, though they regarded Becket as the champion of their privileges, concurred with the majority; the primate was declared guilty of contempt of the king's court, and all his goods and chattels were at the king's mercy.

On the third day Henry required Becket to give in the accounts of his adminiſtration, while chancellor; he eſtimated the ballance due at forty-four thouſand marks, and demanded ſureties for it. In this emergency, ſeveral of the primate's friends adviſed him to reſign his ſee, on condition of receiving an acquittal; others were of opinion, that he ought to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the king's mercy: but the daring ſpirit of Becket rejected theſe timid councils; he determined to brave his enemies. After celebrating maſs, where he had previouſly ordered that the entroit to the communion ſervice ſhould begin with theſe words, "Princes ſat and ſpake againſt me," arrayed in the ſacred veſtments, and bearing the croſs aloft in his hands, he entered the royal apartments. The king, aſtoniſhed at this parade, ſent ſome of the prelates to remonſtrate with him on his audacious behaviour. They reminded him of his ſubſcription to the conſtitutions of Clarendon: he anſwered, that he had indeed ſubſcribed them legally, with good faith, and "without fraud and reſerve;" but in theſe words was virtually implied a ſalvo for the rights of their order; that the conſtitutions had been ſolemnly annulled by the pope; that a determined reſolution was evidently embraced to oppreſs the church; that he plainly ſaw that he was the victim, who, by his ruin, muſt prepare the way for the abrogation of all ſpiritual immunities: he therefore put himſelf and his ſee under the protection of the ſupreme pontiff; and that however terrible the indignation of Henry might be, his ſword could only kill the body, while that of the church, intruſted into the hands of the primate, could deſtroy the ſoul, and ſend it to hell.

Though an appeal to the pope, in a civil cauſe, was a matter new and unprecedented, ſtill Becket reſolutely perſevered in it: he refuſed to hear the ſentence which the barons and ſheriffs had paſſed on the king's claim; and, having in vain aſked permiſſion to leave Northampton, he withdrew ſecretly to the ſea-coaſt, and found a veſſel which ſecretly conveyed him to Gravelines.

A. D. 1164.] The king of France received him with every mark of regard; while the pope turned away with coldneſs from a magnificent embaſſy, which Henry ſent to accuſe the primate; and even abſolved Becket from his oath, aſſigning to him a reſidence in the convent of Pontagney, where he was enabled, by the liberality of the French monarch, to live in magnificence. In return, Becket reſigned into the hands of Alexander the ſee of Canterbury, to which he affirmed he had been uncanonically elected by the authority of the royal mandate; and the pope, beſides inveſting him anew with theſe dignities, pretended to abrogate, by a bull, the ſentence which the great council of England had paſſed againſt him.

Henry, in the mean time, to provide againſt the conſequences of the breach which impended between his kingdom and the apoſtolic ſee, inhibited, under ſevere penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbiſhop: he declared it treaſonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom; and puniſhable, in ſecular clergymen, by the loſs of their eyes and caſtration, irregulars by amputation of their feet, and irlaics with death.

In like manner Becket not only iſſued a cenſure,

cenſure, excommunicating the king's chief miniſters by name, but alſo abrogated and annulled the conſtitutions of Clarendon; and declared that he ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry himſelf, ſolely that the prince by a timely repentance might avoid the blow.

A. D. 1165. In the latter part of this year, about thirty men and women, of a ſect called publicans, who rejected baptiſm, the euchariſt, and marriage, having refuſed to acknowledge themſelves in an error, were delivered over to the ſecular power, and the king ordered them to be whipped, and branded on the forehead, the ringleader alſo on the chin; and by a proclamation all perſons were forbidden to admit them into their houſes, or ſupply them with any of the neceſſaries of life; ſo that the whole of theſe unfortunate people periſhed with cold and famine, during the winter.

A. D. 1169. The king, though much perplexed, happily eſcaped all dangerous conſequences, by flattering Alexander with the proſpect of a ſpeedy reconciliation between himſelf and Becket: and the interval enabled both the king and pope, to perceive that neither of them could expect a final and deciſive victory over the other; and that they had more to fear, than to hope from the duration of the controverſy. Though the former might guard England againſt the contagion of ſuperſtitious prejudices, his French provinces lay open to the attack of a dangerous rival; and the latter engaged in war with the emperor Frederic, dreaded leſt Henry ſhould join the party of his enemy: yet, even under theſe circumſtances ſeveral of their negociations proved ineffectual: in one of theſe conferences, at which the French king was preſent, Henry ſaid to that monarch; "There have been many kings of England, ſome of greater, ſome of leſs authority than myſelf: there have alſo been many archbiſhops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of reſpect: let Becket but act towards me with the ſame ſubmiſſion which the greateſt of his predeceſſors have paid to the leaſt of mine, and there ſhall be no controverſy between us." Louis was ſo ſtruck with this ſtate of the caſe, and with an offer which Henry made to ſubmit his cauſe to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning the primate, and withdrawing his friendſhip from him during ſome time: but the bigotry of that prince, and his common animoſity againſt Henry, ſoon reſtored Becket to his favour.

At laſt all parties were reconciled; and the king allowed Becket to return, on conditions both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. He was not required to give up any rights of the church, or reſign any of thoſe pretenſions which had been the original ground of the controverſy. It was agreed that all theſe queſtions ſhould be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents ſhould, without making farther ſubmiſſion, be reſtored to all their livings, and that even the poſſeſſors of ſuch benefices as depended on the ſee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's abſence, ſhould be expelled, and Becket have liberty to ſupply the vacancies. In return for conceſſions which entrenched ſo deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of ſeeing his miniſters abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if thoſe hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid on all his dominions.

A. D. 1170. While the king dreaded the ſentence of excommunication, he had thought it prudent to aſſociate his ſon prince Henry in the royalty: the ceremony had been performed by the hands of Roger, archbiſhop of York; but Becket pretended, as archbiſhop of Canterbury, he had the ſole right to officiate, and had incited the king of France to proteſt againſt the coronation of young Henry, unleſs the princeſs, his daughter, ſhould at the ſame time receive the royal unction. Louis was, however, appeaſed by the promiſe of Henry, that the ceremony ſhould be renewed in the perſons of the prince and princeſs; and could any thing have ſatisfied Becket, he would have been con-

contented with the acknowledgments of Roger, and an aſſurance of recovering his rights by officiating at the ſecond coronation: but he reſolved to make the injury he pretended to have ſuffered, a pretence for taking revenge on his enemies. In the name of the pope, he ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the biſhops of London and Saliſbury: in the ſame ſentence he included Robert de Broc and Nigel Sackville, with many others, who had either aſſiſted at the coronation of the prince, or had been active in the late perſecution of the clergy: theſe croſſed the ſeas to Baieux, where the king then reſided: and their complainants informed Henry that all his late negociations would not prevent an immediate conteſt between the civil and ſpiritual powers.

The archbiſhop of York remarked to him, that ſo long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity: the king himſelf being vehemently agitated, burſt forth into an exclamation againſt his ſervants, whoſe want of zeal, he ſaid, had ſo long left him ſo expoſed to the enterpriſes of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his houſehold, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking theſe paſſionate expreſſions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and ſwearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, ſecretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expreſſions which they had dropped, gave a ſuſpicion of their deſign; and the king diſpatched a meſſenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate: but theſe orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpoſe. The four aſſaſſins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the ſame time at Saltwood, near Canterbury, and being there joined by ſome aſſiſtants, they proceeded in great haſte to the archiepiſcopal palace. They found the primate, who truſted entirely to the ſacredneſs of his character, very ſlenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches againſt him, he was ſo incapable of fear, that, without uſing any precautions againſt their violence, he immediately went to St. Benedict's church to hear veſpers. They followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, and having cloven his head with many blows, retired without meeting any oppoſition. Such was the tragical end of Thomas à Becket, one of the moſt factious and turbulent prelates, that ever endeavoured to raiſe the authority of the church on the ruins of the civil government. Whatever might be his regard to forms and ceremonies, his conduct evinces an abſolute deſtitution of the genuine influence of true religion, which forcibly inculcates humility and humanity, qualities of which his haughty and obdurate ſoul could never be ſuſceptible.

He had deſerved too well of the court of Rome, not to be ranked in the catalogue of ſaints and martyrs: accordingly, upon the common report of ſome pretended miracles, the ignorant and deluded mob, who had before branded him with the name of traitor, now lamented him as a ſaint, running in crowds to the church, dipping their fingers in his blood, and croſſing their foreheads, vainly perſuaded, that the blood of this holy martyr had a ſanctifying efficacy. Two volumes were produced of miracles ſuppoſed to be wrought by the invocation of his name.

Nor did pope Alexander fail to carry on the illuſion; for having canonized him about two years after his death, a bull was directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointing the twenty-ninth of December to be kept as an annual feſtival, in commemoration of Becket's martyrdom.

The perpetrators of the fact retired to the caſtle of Knareſborough, where they remained a whole year ſecluded from all ſociety; but at length, ſubmitting to the pope's judgment, by command of the king, they repaired to Rome, and were ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

It was Henry's intention to have Becket arreſted, and he had taken ſome ſteps towards executing that deſign, but the news of his murder diſconcerted all his meaſures, and

forced him to compliances, which, if that prelate had been alive, he could never have extorted from him, with all his ſpiritual artillery. The king of France, ever ready to avail himſelf of the misfortunes of his neighbours, wrote to the pope, preſſing him to unſheath St. Peter's ſword, and revenge this ſacrilegious murder; and the archbiſhop of Sens, by virtue of his legatine authority in France, laid all Henry's foreign dominions under an interdict. The count of Blois repreſented the breach of faith on the part of Henry, with reſpect to his agreement, atteſting, that he promiſed to give Becket ſatisfaction, for having infringed on his prerogative, by permitting his ſon to be crowned in his abſence.

King Henry, who was now at Argentan, affected with the news of this tragical event, ſhut himſelf up from the light of day, and from all commerce from his ſervants; he even refuſed, during three days, all food and ſuſtenance. The courtiers, apprehending dangerous effects from his deſpair, were at laſt obliged to break in upon his ſolitude; and they employed every topic of conſolation, induced him to accept of nouriſhment, and occupied his leiſure in taking precautions againſt the conſequences which he ſo juſtly apprehended from the murder of Becket.

Henry's chief buſineſs now was to convince the pope of his innocence, or rather to diſſuade him from proceeding to extremities againſt England. The archbiſhop of Rouen, the biſhops of Worceſter and Evreux, with five perſons of inferior qaality, were immediately diſpatched to Rome. They were with difficulty admitted to an audience; and the rage of Alexander was not appeaſed until they made oath, before the whole conſiſtory, of their ſovereign's innocence, and engaged that he would make every ſubmiſſion that ſhould be required.

A. D. 1171.] All the threats of the Vatican being now eluded, Henry undertook an expedition againſt Ireland. That iſland, about the middle of the twelfth century, beſides ſeveral ſmall tribes, contained the principal ſovereignties of Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught; and as it had been uſual for the one or the other to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly ſome prince, who ſeemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland; Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even in his own territory, could not unite the people in any meaſures, either for the eſtabliſhment of order, or for defence againſt foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved, by the proſpect of theſe advantages, to attempt the ſubjecting of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people, who, being always confined to their own iſland, had never given reaſon of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpoſe he had recourſe to Rome, which aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms and empires; and not foreſeeing the dangerous diſputes which he was one day to maintain with that ſee, he helped, for preſent, or rather for an imaginary convenience, to give ſanctions to claims which were now become dangerous to all ſovereigns. Adrian III. who then filled the papal chair, was by birth an Engliſhman; and being on that account the more diſpoſed to oblige Henry, he was eaſily perſuaded to act as maſter of the world, and to make, without any hazard or expence, the acquiſition of a great iſland to his ſpiritual juriſdiction. The Iriſh had, by preceding miſſions from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to chriſtianity; and, what the pope regarded as the ſureſt mark of their imperfect converſion, they followed the doctrines of their firſt teachers, and had never acknowledged any ſubjection to the ſee of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in the year 1156, iſſued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premiſing that this prince had ever ſhewn an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increaſe the number of his ſaints, and elect in heaven, he repreſents his deſign of ſubduing Ireland as derived from the ſame pious motives: he conſiders his care of previouſly applying for the apoſtolic ſanction,

as

as a ſure earneſt of ſucceſs and victory; and having eſtabliſhed it as a point inconteſtible, that all chriſtian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to ſow among them the ſeeds of the goſpel, which might in the laſt day fructify to their eternal ſalvation: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedneſs of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every houſe, a penny to the ſee of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the iſland, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their ſovereign, and inveſts with full power all ſuch godly inſtruments as he ſhould think proper to employ in an enterpriſe thus calculated for the glory of God, and the ſalvation of the ſouls of men. Henry, though armed with this authority, did not immediately put his deſign in execution; but being detained by more intereſting buſineſs on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

Previous to this, Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, had rendered himſelf obnoxious, by his licentious tyranny, and had been expelled his dominions by a confederacy, of which the king of Connaught was the chief. The exiled prince applied to Henry for ſuccour, who furniſhed him with letters patent, by which he empowered his ſubjects to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot engaged with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul; who ſtipulated, for this aſſiſtance, the hand of his daughter Eva, and a promiſe that he ſhould be declared heir to his territories. While Richard was aſſembling his vaſſals, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, conſtable of Abertevi, and Maurice Fitzgerald, he alſo engaged them in his ſervice, and obtained their promiſe of invading Ireland: he himſelf immediately croſſed the ſeas, concealed himſelf in a monaſtery that he had founded, and prepared every thing for the reception of his Engliſh allies.

Fitz-Stephens was the firſt adventurer that landed in Ireland; he brought only thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers; but this ſmall body being brave men, not unacquainted with diſcipline, and completely armed, a thing almoſt unknown in Ireland, ſtruck a great terror into the uncivilized inhabitants, and ſeemed to menace them with a ſignal revolution. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergaſt, who about the ſame time brought over ten knights and ſixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephens to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and, after gaining an advantage, he made himſelf maſter of the place. Soon after, Fitzgerald arrived with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and an hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, compoſed a force ſuperior to any then in Ireland.

Roderic, the chief monarch of the iſland, was foiled in different actions; the prince of Oſſory was obliged to ſubmit, and give hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being reſtored to his kingdom of Leinſter, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aſpired to the ſole dominion over the Iriſh; for which purpoſe he ſent over a meſſenger to the earl of Strigul, challenging the performance of his promiſe, and diſplaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not ſatisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his ſubjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permiſſion, prepared himſelf for the execution of his deſigns. He firſt ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thouſand Iriſh that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard himſelf, who brought over two hundred horſe, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious Engliſh, they made themſelves maſters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by aſſault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural ſon, who had been left as a hoſtage in his hands; and Richard, marrying

rying Eva, became ſoon after, by the death of Dermot, maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderic and the other Iriſh princes were alarmed at the danger, and, combining together, beſieged Dublin with an army of thirty thouſand men; but earl Richard, making a ſudden ſally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chaſed them off the field, and purſued them with great ſlaughter.

Thus, by the wanton ambition of Henry, this country became ſubject to England; but as the Iriſh did not patiently endure this authority, it was neceſſary to give deſpotic powers to thoſe leaders who commanded a few men amidſt ſuch hoſtile multitudes; and the ſame arbitrary meaſures were purſued as upon the conqueſt of England, but with greater diſadvantages to the Iriſh, becauſe the chief ſeat of government was not among them. Mutual animoſities were generated between the new adventurers and the ancient inhabitants; and in the end the ſufferings of the lower order among the Iriſh became great beyond deſcription, without any real advantage to the Engliſh nation, and only that the king of one country might be king of the other.

Henry, perceiving the progreſs of his own ſubjects with a jealous eye, ſent orders to recall the Engliſh, and prepared to attack Ireland in perſon. He landed at the head of five hundred knights; the adventurers appeaſed him by offering to hold their acquiſitions in vaſſalage to his crown; the ſpirits of the Iriſh were broken; nothing remained but to receive their ſubmiſſion; the whole iſland was formally annexed to the Engliſh crown; and Henry, after a few months ſtay, returned to England in triumph.

A. D. 1172.] The legates, to whom the trial of Henry's conduct, in the murder of Becket, was committed, now menaced him if he protracted his appearance before them; he therefore haſtily repaired to Normandy, and was ſo fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them. He declared upon oath, inſtead of commanding, he was grieved at the death of the archbiſhop; but as it had probably been occaſioned by his expreſſions, he promiſed he would pardon and reſtore to their livings ſuch as had been baniſhed for adhering to Becket; that the ſea of Canterbury ſhould be reinſtated in all it's ancient poſſeſſions; that he would ſupport two hundred knights during a year's ſervice in the Holy Land; that he would take the croſs, and, if the pope required, march againſt the infidels of Spain or Paleſtine; that he would not inſiſt on the obſervance of ſuch cuſtoms, derogatory to eccleſiaſtical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time, nor obſtruct appeals to the pope in eccleſiaſtical cauſes: but as Henry had always maintained, that the laws eſtabliſhed at Clarendon contained not any new claims, but the ancient cuſtoms of the kingdom, he was ſtill at liberty, notwithſtanding the articles of this agreement, to aſſert his pretenſions.

This dangerous controverſy being at an end, the domeſtic and political proſperity of Henry ſeemed firmly eſtabliſhed. He had appointed Henry, his eldeſt ſon, to be his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; territories which lay contiguous, and which, by that means, might eaſily lend to each other mutual aſſiſtance, both againſt inteſtine commotions and foreign invaſions. Richard, his ſecond ſon, was inveſted in the duchy of Guienne and county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his third ſon, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany; and the new conqueſt of Ireland was deſtined for the appanage of John, his fourth ſon. He had alſo negociated, in favour of this laſt prince, a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy and Maurienne; and was to receive, as her dowry, conſiderable demeſnes in Piedmont, Savoy, Breſſe, and Dauphiny. But this exaltation of his family excited the jealouſy of all his neighbours, who made thoſe very ſons, whoſe fortunes

fortunes he had ſo anxiouſly eſtabliſhed, the means of diſturbing his government, and embittering his future life.

His eldeſt ſon, who was riſing to man's eſtate, began to diſplay his character, and aſpire to independence. It is ſaid that, at his coronation, his father, in order to give the greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table, and obſerved to his ſon, that never king was more royally ſerved. "It is nothing extraordinary," ſaid young Henry, to one of the courtiers, "for the ſon of a count to ſerve the ſon of a king." This ſaying was conſidered as a ſymptom of his aſpiring temper; and his conduct ſoon after juſtified the obſervation.

He was crowned a ſecond time, agreeable to a promiſe made to the king of France, by the archbiſhop of Rouen, together with the princeſs Margaret, his ſpouſe. This was the firſt and laſt coronation of a ſon during the life of his father ſince the heptarchy.

A. D. 1173.] Young Henry being permitted to viſit Louis at Paris, the French king took this opportunity of perſuading his ſon-in-law, that by the ceremony of the coronation he had acquired a title to ſovereignty. Accordingly the prince, on his return, deſired the king to reſign to him either the crown of England, or the duchy of Normandy; and on his being refuſed, not only diſcovered great diſcontent, but ſpoke of his father in the moſt undutiful manner, and ſoon after retired to Paris, where he was protected by Louis.

Henry, alarmed at this event, which ſhocked his natural affection, had now the proſpect of dangerous intrigues, or what was worſe, a war, which, with whatever ſucceſs it was attended, muſt turn out extremely diſagreeable. At the ſame time he was informed of new misfortunes. Queen Eleanor, who had diſguſted Louis, her firſt huſband, and raiſed his jealouſy, was, in her turn, jealous of Henry's amour with the fair Roſamond, daughter of lord Clifford; and communicating her diſcontent to her two younger ſons, Geoffrey and Richard, perſuaded them that they alſo were intitled to the preſent poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned to them; ſhe alſo prevailed on them to fly ſecretly to the court of France, and had even put on man's clothes, in order to eſcape to the ſame court, when ſhe was ſeized by her huſband's orders, and confined. Thus Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment three boys, ſcarcely arrived at the age of puberty, requiring a monarch, in the full vigour of life, to quit the throne, and place them on it.

Thus embarraſſed, Henry, with ſome reluctance, had recourſe to Rome; but though Alexander, well pleaſed to exert his power in ſo juſtifiable a cauſe, launched againſt the enemies of the king the thunders of the Vatican, it was ſoon found theſe weapons had not the ſame force as when employed in a ſpiritual controverſy; and Henry was obliged to ſeek more effectual auxiliaries in the tribes of banditti, who, under the names of Brebancons, or Cottereaux, proffered their ſwords to thoſe who would moſt freely pay them.

Henry, at the head of twenty thouſand of theſe hardy but lawleſs ruffians, and the few troops that he had brought from Ireland, marched to the relief of Verneuil, which the king of France had inveſted, in conjunction with the young prince. He was prevailed on to liſten to an inſidious offer of accommodation, while the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender: he revenged, however, the fraud, by a ſucceſsful attack on the rear of the French; he cruſhed the inſurgents in Brittany; and continued his negociations in the midſt of victory. Though he inſiſted on retaining the ſovereign authority in all his dominions, he offered to young Henry half the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſurety in that kingdom; or, if he rather choſe to reſide in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; and promiſed to reſign Brittany to Geoffrey; yet theſe terms were rejected by the confederates, who depended on the league they had concerted with the king of Scotland, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons of England: in conſequence of which the king of Scotland entered and ravaged Northumberland; but his

progreſs was checked by Richard de Lucy, whom Richard had left guardian of the realm; and he was glad to retreat within his own dominions, and to ſubſcribe a ceſſation of arms. This truce enabled the guardian to march ſouthward, and encounter the earl of Leiceſter, who, with an army of Flemings, had landed in Suffolk. The Flemings, who were moſtly weavers and artificers, were broken in an inſtant; ten thouſand of them were put to the ſword, and the earl of Leiceſter and his counteſs taken priſoners.

A. D. 1174.] The Engliſh malcontents, encouraged by the king's own ſons, determined, notwithſtanding this defeat, to perſevere in their enterpriſe. The earl of Ferrars, Roger de Mowbray, Hamo de Maſcie, together with many friends of the earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, roſe in arms. The fidelity of the earls of Clare and Glouceſter was ſuſpected; and the guardian, though vigorouſly ſupported by Geoffrey biſhop of Lincoln, the king's natural ſon by the fair Roſamond, found it difficult to defend himſelf on all quarters, from ſo many open and concealed enemies. The more to augment the confuſion, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, broke into the northern provinces with an army of eighty thouſand men; which, though undiſciplined and diſorderly, and better fitted for committing devaſtation than for executing any military enterpriſe, was become dangerous from the preſent factious and turbulent ſpirit of the kingdom. Henry, who had baffled all his enemies in France, and had put his frontiers in a poſture of defence, now found England the ſeat of danger; and he determined by his preſence to overawe the malcontents, or by his courage and conduct to ſubdue them. He landed at Southampton; and knowing the influence of ſuperſtition over the minds of the people, he haſtened to Canterbury, in order to make atonement to the aſhes of Thomas à Becket, and tender his ſubmiſſions to a dead enemy. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the church of Canterbury, he diſmounted, walked barefoot towards it, proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaints, remained in faſting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. Not content with this hypocritical devotion towards a man who when living had been the object of his moſt inveterate animoſity, he ſubmitted to a penance ſtill more ſingular and humiliating. He aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put a ſcourge of diſcipline into the hands of each, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes which theſe eccleſiaſtics ſucceſſively inflicted upon him. Next day he received abſolution; and departing for London, was informed of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots; and which being gained, as was reported, on the very day of his abſolution, was regarded as the earneſt of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and the deceaſed primate.

The king of Scotland had pitched his camp near Alnwick; and, confiding in the ſtrength of his ſituation, had detached the greateſt part of his troops to ravage the northern provinces. While he repoſed in careleſs ſecurity, he was ſuddenly attacked by Ralpho de Glenville, the king's juſticiary; who, informed of his negligence, in one night had performed from Newcaſtle a march of above thirty miles, and at dawn of day ruſhed upon the Scots at the head of a ſmall but determined band of cavalry. In the firſt ſhock, William himſelf was taken priſoner; and his troops, informed of his calamity, fled with precipitation. The diſperſed ravagers made the beſt of their way to their own country; and diſcord ariſing among them, they proceeded even to mutual hoſtilities, and ſuffered more from each other's ſword, than from that of the enemy.

The earl of Ferrars and Roger de Mowbray threw themſelves on the king's mercy; the inferior conſpirators followed their example; and in a few weeks England was reſtored to tranquillity.

Henry immediately haſtened to the defence of his Norman dominions; his preſence ſaved Rouen, which had been beſieged, and nearly ſurprized, by the French; and Louis,

Louis, who dreaded that he might improve his ſucceſſes, and penetrate into the heart of France, conſented to a ceſſation of arms, and engaged with ſincerity in a treaty of peace.

Near Tours the ſons of Henry were reconciled to their father. The conditions they obtained were leſs advantageous than thoſe which had been formerly offered them; adequate penſions for their ſupport, and ſome caſtles for their reſidence, together with an indemnity for their adherents, were the only indulgences granted them.

The principal loſer among thoſe who had embraced the cauſe of theſe young princes, was the young king of Scotland. Henry delivered from confinement, without exacting any ranſom, about nine hundred knights whom he had taken priſoners; but it coſt William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He ſtipulated to do homage to Henry for Scotland, and all his other poſſeſſions; he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom ſhould alſo do homage; that the biſhops ſhould take an oath of fealty; that both ſhould ſwear to adhere to the king of England againſt their native prince, if the latter ſhould break his engagements; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands, till the performance of articles. This ſevere and humiliating treaty was executed in it's full vigour. William, being releaſed, brought up his barons, prelates, and abbots, and they did homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord. The Engliſh monarch ſtretched ſtill farther the rigour of the conditions which he exacted; he engaged the king and ſtates of Scotland to make a perpetual ceſſion of the fortreſſes of Berwick and Roxburgh, and to allow the caſtle of Edinburgh to remain in his hands for a limited time.

Before Henry left Normandy, his eldeſt ſon ſtayed at Rouen, while he went into Anjou, in which time ſeveral meſſengers were ſent from Louis, to perſuade the young prince not to venture to go into England with the king, as his father, when he ſhould have him in his power there, would confine him in priſon; and ſo much was he terrified, that when Henry ſent orders to him to come to him at Caen, from whence they were to go and take ſhipping at Barfleur for England, he refuſed to obey. The king being informed of the reaſons which produced this reluctance, aſſured him he had nothing to fear. Thus encouraged, he threw himſelf at his father's feet, in the preſence of many Engliſh and Norman nobles, and, with a great effuſion of tears, implored his forgiveneſs of all he had done to offend him, before the war, in the war, or after the war; and moſt earneſtly begged, that, as his father and lord, he would receive from him homage, and an oath of allegiance; adding, that till he permitted him, as he had done his two brothers, at their humble requeſt, to give him theſe pledges of future loyalty, he ſhould never believe his indignation againſt him entirely removed. Henry, touched with this mark of his filial piety and contrition, conſented; upon which he did homage, and not only took the oath of allegiance, but voluntarily ſwore, that he would be guided in the whole ordering of his houſhold, and all other affairs, by his father's advice; and as long as he lived, would do no harm to thoſe vaſſals who had ſerved his father in this war, on account of that ſervice; but would honour and promote them, as men who had been faithful both to their king and to him.

A. D. 1175.] This and ſome other affairs being ended, they went to Barfleur, and embarking there, ſailed to Portſmouth, where, to the inexpreſſible joy of all Henry's good ſubjects, they landed together on the 9th of May, and for ſome time after dined together every day, and lay every night in the ſame bed.

A. D. 1176.] Henry now employed himſelf, for ſeveral years, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in guarding againſt thoſe inconveniences which unavoidably aroſe from the paſt convulſions of the ſtate, or the political inſtitutions of the age.

He

He cauſed ſevere penalties to be enacted againſt murder, robbery, and coining, which were to be puniſhed by cutting off the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary accommodation for crimes appears to have been entirely aboliſhed by the rigour of this ſtatute. Though the ſuperſtitious trials by ordeals, by fire and water, had been condemned by the church, they ſtill ſubſiſted. By one of the laws promoted by Henry, a perſon accuſed of murder, or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the county, ſhould, though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm.

Notwithſtanding Henry was ſenſible of the great abſurdity of determining cauſes by combat, he did not venture to aboliſh it entirely; he, however, allowed either of the parties to demand a trial by a jury of twelve freeholders. The latter rational method of trial had been fixed by the laws of Alfred; but, from the barbarous and ſuperſtitious genius of the age, the trial by battle had become a general method of deciding all important controverſies.

England was divided into four circuits, and three itinerant juſtices appointed to each, to decide the cauſes in the counties; theſe were either prelates or noblemen. This was the firſt plan which reduced the civil policy of England to any certain method of juſtice, for the lower order of the people, after the Conqueſt.

The king not only revived the ſtatute of his grandfather, Henry the Firſt, which enacted, that if out of any wreck on his coaſts one man had eſcaped alive, the whole cargo ſhould be ſaved for the benefit of the owners; but extended the humanity of this law, declaring, that if on the coaſt of the Engliſh ſea, or of Pictou, or the iſle of Oleron, or of Gaſcony, any ſhip ſhould be diſtreſſed or endangered, and no man ſhould eſcape from thence alive, yet if any *beaſt* ſhould eſcape, or be found therein alive, the goods ſhall be reſtored to the owners. He alſo exerted himſelf in demoliſhing the fortified caſtles of the nobility, both in England, and in his foreign dominions.

Soon after his return to England, Henry iſſued a proclamation, enjoining the people, according to their rank and circumſtances, to provide themſelves with arms. Every perſon poſſeſſed of a knight's fee, was obliged, for each fee, to have a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance; every free layman, poſſeſſed of effects to the value of ſixteen marks, was bound to have the ſame ſort of armour; every one that poſſeſſed ten marks, was to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; all the burgeſſes, and the whole community of freemen, were obliged to have an iron cap, a lance, and a wambais, that is, a coat lined with wool, tow, or ſuch like material; nor could any lord take ſuch arms from his vaſſal, on any pretence whatever. It was alſo enacted, that whoever refuſed to comply with theſe articles ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of their limbs, and not of their lands or goods.

A. D. 1180.] The ſucceſs which had attended Henry in his wars, had for ſeveral years diſcouraged his neighbours from forming any attempts againſt him. Louis had expired, and his ſon Philip was but in his ſixteenth year when he aſcended the throne. Henry, inſtead of endeavouring to embarraſs his adminiſtration, employed himſelf in compoſing the quarrels of the royal family of France, and in mediating a reconciliation between Philip, his mother, and his uncle. Theſe ſervices were but ill requited by Philip, who, when he came to man's eſtate, encouraged the ſons of Henry in their undutiful behaviour.

A. D. 1182.] Prince Henry, being refuſed the ſovereignty of Normandy, had fled from the court of England to that of France; he had hardly renewed his ſubmiſſion, before Richard declared himſelf independent in Guienne; and he could ſcarcely be reduced to obedience, before Henry diſcovered his eldeſt ſon had engaged in a freſh conſpiracy. But the intrigues of that prince were broken by the ſtroke of death; he was ſeized with a fever at Martel, a caſtle near Turenne, to which he had retired in diſcontent. Conſcious of his approaching diſſolution, he

ſent

ſent a meſſage to his father, who was not far diſtant, expreſſed his contrition for his faults, and intreated the favour of a viſit. Henry, apprehenſive that his ſickneſs was feigned, durſt not truſt himſelf in his hands; but when he received intelligence of his death, he was affected with the deepeſt ſorrow. This prince died June 11.

A. D. 1183.] The conduct of his ſurviving children afforded the king no conſolation for the loſs of his eldeſt; by that event Richard was become heir to all his dominions, and the king intended that John, his third ſurviving ſon, and favourite, ſhould inherit Guienne as his appanage; but Richard refuſed his conſent, fled into that duchy, and even made preparations for carrying on war, as well againſt his father, as againſt his brother Geoffrey, who was now put in poſſeſſion of Brittany.

A. D. 1184.] Henry ſent for Eleanor his queen, the heireſs of Guienne, and required Richard to deliver up to her the dominion of theſe territories; which that prince, either dreading an inſurrection of the Gaſcons in her favour, or retaining ſome ſenſe of duty towards her, readily performed; and he peaceably returned to his father's court. No ſooner was this quarrel accommodated, than Geoffrey, the moſt vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, broke out into violence; demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Brittany; and, on meeting with a refuſal, fled to the court of France, and levied forces againſt his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his ſon's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris. The widow of Geoffrey, ſoon after his deceaſe, was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Arthur, and was inveſted in the duchy of Britanny, under the guardianſhip of his grandfather, who, as duke of Normandy, was alſo ſuperior lord of that territory. Philip, as lord paramount, diſputed for ſome time his title to this wardſhip; but was obliged to yield to the inclinations of the Bretons, who preferred the government of Henry.

A. D. 1185.] But the rivalſhip of theſe potent princes was ſuſpended by a general paſſion for the relief of the Holy Land. From the throne of Egypt, Saladin had extended his conqueſts over the eaſt, had reduced Jeruſalem, and almoſt entirely ſubdued the kingdom of Antioch. The weſtern chriſtians were aſtoniſhed at receiving this diſmal intelligence. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of an inheritance in heaven, who did not vindicate, from the infidels, the inheritance of God on earth. In a conference between Henry and Philip, this topic was enforced by William archbiſhop of Tyre; theſe two monarchs conſented to take the croſs; and by their efforts many flattered themſelves the enterprize would be attended with a happy termination.

A. D. 1189.] New obſtacles, however, occurred before this cruſade was put in motion. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a ſecret confederacy with Richard, whoſe impatient temper aſpired to immediate dominion. The partial hoſtilities which had taken place between the kings of England and France, might have been adjuſted in the conference they held at Giſors; but the private views and leagues of Philip were revealed in the demand that Richard ſhould eſpouſe his ſiſter Alice, to whom he had been already affianced, ſhould be crowned king of England, and ſhould be inveſted immediately in his father's tranſmarine dominions. The refuſal of Henry has been attributed to his own paſſion for Alice.

The king was ſoon ſenſible of the diſadvantages he laboured under in a conteſt with the united power of France, and the influence of the heir to his own dominions. Ferté-Bernard fell into the hands of the enemy; Mans was next taken by aſſault; and Henry, who had thrown himſelf into that place, eſcaped with difficulty. Each day brought him accounts of the cowardice or infidelity of his governors; and his ſpirit, ſubdued by this reverſe of fortune, ſubmitted to the rigorous terms which, under the me-

diation of the duke of Burgundy, were offered to him. He agreed that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Alice, and ſhould receive the homage of all his ſubjects, both in England and his tranſmarine dominions: he engaged to pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France, as a compenſation for the charges of the war; and he ſuffered his own barons to promiſe, in caſe of his violating the treaty, to join Philip and Richard againſt him.

To add to the king's mortification in ſubſcribing theſe humiliating conditions, he found that his fourth ſon, John, (who had been hitherto his favourite,) had ſecretly entered into the unnatural confederacy that Richard had formed againſt him. This led him to curſe the day in which he received his miſerable being, and to beſtow on his ungrateful children a malediction which he could never be prevailed on to retract. The agitation of his mind threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Henry, like moſt of his predeceſſors ſince the Conqueſt, paſſed the greater part of his time on the continent. In Normandy he was attended by Engliſh gentry, in England by the Normans. Both nations acted in the government as if they were the ſame people, and on many occaſions the legiſlatures ſeem not to be diſtinguiſhed; and after the conqueſt of Ireland, many of the barons and members of that country were ſummoned to ſerve in the Engliſh parliament. As the king and all the Engliſh barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people acquired the aſcendant. The more homely but more ſenſible manners of the Saxons were exchanged for the affectations of chivalry, and the ſubtilties of the ſchool philoſophy, the feudal ideas of the civil government, and the Romiſh ſentiments in religion. But the barons, perceiving that their brethren on the continent were more independent of the prince, aſpired to the ſame liberty. The memory alſo of a more equal government under the Saxon princes, which remained with the Engliſh, ſerved to diffuſe the ſpirit of liberty, and made the barons both deſirous of more independence to themſelves, and willing to indulge the people. This revolution in ſentiment produced convulſions in the ſtate, and an evident alteration in the maxims of government, in ſucceeding reigns.

About the end of this reign, the cuſtom was introduced of the eldeſt ſon ſucceeding to the eſtate of his anceſtor, to the excluſion of his younger brothers. This rule ſtrengthened the claim of hereditary ſucceſſion to the crown, and ſerved not a little to claſs the regal office among articles of heritable property.

This prince eſtabliſhed ſeveral wiſe regulations for the better adminiſtration of the police; but he was, unfortunately, haughty, ambitious, and cruel; and ſo laſcivious, that he attempted the chaſtity of every woman who fell in his way, not excepting his ſon's wife. He, like his predeceſſors, promiſed to enforce the Saxon laws; but, like them, was regardleſs of oaths and treaties, when they interfered with his royal will: he found the good people of England eaſily duped; and promiſed favours, when he wanted their aſſiſtance, which he never attempted to perform, after having received it. Yet by ſome he is accounted one of the beſt kings that ever ſat on the Engliſh throne; perhaps it is becauſe, on compariſon, he was not the worſt.

Henry left only two legitimate ſons; Richard, who ſucceeded him, and John, who inherited no territory, and who thence was commonly denominated *Lackland*. Of his three daughters, Maud married Henry duke of Saxony; Eleanor, Alphonſo king of Caſtile; and Iſen, William king of Sicily.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Richard's Acceſſion—Maſſacre of the Jews at his Coronation—Preparations for the Cruſade—Tranſactions in Sicily, &c.—Diſorders in England—The King's Captivity, Death, &c.

IN conſequence of the treaty, Richard ſucceeded his father without competition or oppoſition, but began his reign with an act of tyranny and oppreſſion which afforded but a melancholy proſpect of his future government. Immediately after his father's funeral, he arreſted and put in chains Stephen de Tours, the late king's ſeneſchal, till he delivered up not only the treaſure committed to his care, but all his own perſonal property: he next ordered him to be divorced from his wife, alledging his inferiority of rank; (Stephen being a man of low birth, though of great talents;) and declared that he would, by his own authority, diſſolve all ſuch unequal marriages: but as Richard was well aſſured of the abilities and fidelity of Stephen, he retained him in his ſervice, and allowed him to manage the revenues of Anjou. He releaſed his mother from her long confinement, and appointed her regent in England till his arrival; and as popularity was requiſite to Richard's deſigns, he directed her to begin her adminiſtration with an act of general indemnity; accordingly the priſons gave up their captives, and the laws their forfeits: ſhe alſo cauſed all the freemen throughout the kingdom to take the oath of allegiance.

A. D. 1189.]

Richard having ſettled his affairs in Normandy, returned to England, and was crowned at Weſtminſter abbey. When Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury adminiſtered to him the uſual oaths, he reminded him that every prince, ſince the Conqueror, had taken theſe oaths, but not one had performed them; he therefore conjured him to be mindful of them. Richard promiſed punctually to perform them, and immediately violated his oath and promiſes, made under theſe ſolemn circumſtances, by ſelling all the crown lands, liberties, charters, caſtles, and employments. To Hugh biſhop of Durham, he ſold the earldom of Northumberland; to William Longchamp, prime miniſter, the office of chancellor. Ralph de Glanville, almoſt the only honeſt man in office, finding the king deaf to all juſt advice, reſigned his employment, which was that of chief juſticiary, in whoſe hands was lodged the whole execution of the laws; this was ſold to Hugh biſhop of Durham, for one thouſand marks. For ten thouſand marks he ſold the vaſſalage of Scotland, together with the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Berwick. And ſo groſs was his venality, that on ſome perſons remonſtrating with him on the ill conſequences of theſe ſales, he publicly declared, "he would ſell the city of London, if he could find a purchaſer."

The Engliſh, of all ranks and ſtations, were oppreſſed by numerous exactions. Menaces were employed, both againſt the innocent and guilty, in order to extort money from them; and where a pretence was wanting againſt the rich, the king obliged them, by fear of his diſpleaſure, to lend him ſums which he knew it would never be in his power to repay.

By ſuch mean and unjuſt methods Richard raiſed a ſum much larger than any of his predeceſſors ever poſſeſſed; his father had, beſide, left him a treaſure of above an hundred thouſand marks. Theſe vaſt ſums were raiſed for proſecuting the war to the Holy Land.

The Jews, by their induſtry and frugality, had got poſſeſſion of almoſt all the ready money in the kingdom, through the idleneſs and

and profuſion of the Engliſh. This was lent out at exorbitant intereſt, and their avarice, and extortion had rendered them generally odious; this was augmented by the rage againſt infidels. The king had iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting their appearing at his coronation; notwithſtanding, ſome of them attended (probably as a deputation) to ſhew their loyalty, and brought him large preſents from their nation. Preſuming, in the confidence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined, they were diſcovered, and expoſed to the inſults of the by-ſtanders; who proceeded to ſuch lengths, that the poor Iſraelites were obliged to fly; and the people purſuing them, a rumour was ſpread, that the king had iſſued orders to maſſacre all the Jews. A command ſo horrible and inconſiſtent with humanity, the prejudices of the people rendered ſo agreeable, that it was inſtantly executed on all who fell into their hands. Thoſe who ſtaid at home were expoſed to equal danger; the populace, moved by rapacity and a bloody zeal, broke into their houſes, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners. Where the Jews barricaded the doors, and boldly defended themſelves, they ſet the houſes on fire, and ruſhed through the flames to gratify their thirſt of blood and plunder. The licentiouſneſs of the city mob, which the ſovereign power could with difficulty reſtrain, was then continued on the houſes of the rich citizens, who, notwithſtanding their being chriſtians, were next attacked and plundered, till wearineſs and ſatiety at length put an end to the diſorder: yet when Glanville, the juſticiary, was empowered by the king to find out the authors of theſe crimes, ſo many conſiderable citizens were found to be involved in the guilt, that it was thought moſt prudent to drop the proſecution, and very few ſuffered on this occaſion.

The inhabitants of the other cities of England, hearing of this ſlaughter of the Jews, imitated the dreadful example. At York they fled to the caſtle, where for ſome time they bravely defended themſelves againſt the mob, and the high ſheriff, who headed them; but having neither numbers nor proviſions to hold out, they deliberated on the meaſures which ſhould be purſued at this critical juncture; when one of them, with the courage of a Roman, ſaid, "Let us, as we have no hopes of eſcaping, ſet fire to the caſtle, and fall on the ſwords of one another, rather than die ignominiouſly by the hands of uncircumciſed chriſtians." The advice was followed, and executed with the moſt deſperate reſolution, by murdering their own wives and children, caſting the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace; and then ſetting fire to the houſes, they periſhed in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, filled with joy, ran to the cathedral, where the bonds were kept, and made a ſolemn bonfire of thoſe papers before the altar. Thus was the coronation of this king attended with the moſt horrid ſcenes of deſolation and ſlaughter.

A. D. 1190.] The repeated calamities attending the cruſade, now induced the kings of England and France to proceed to the Holy Land by ſea; to take proviſions with them; and, by means of their ſhips, to preſerve an open communication with their own kingdoms. They appointed to rendezvous in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy; where the two armies being arrived, on the 29th of June, their united forces amounted to an hundred thouſand men. The two kings there repeated their promiſes of friendſhip, pledged their faith not to invade the dominions of each other during the cruſade, mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the ſame effect, and ſubjected themſelves to excommunication ſhould they ever violate this ſolemn engagement. Then ſeparating, Philip marched towards Genoa, and Richard towards Marſeilles, in order to meet their fleets, which were appointed to rendezvous in thoſe harbours. They put to ſea on the 14th of September, and about the ſame time were forced, by ſtreſs of weather, to land in Meſſina in Sicily, where they ſtayed all the winter.

A. D.

A. D. 1191.] Tancred, who ruled over Sicily and Naples, was the natural ſon of William the Second, the laſt king, who had uſurped the ſceptre from the princeſs Conſtantia, the wife of the emperor Henry the Sixth, and the only legitimate ſurviving deſcendant of Roger, the firſt ſovereign of thoſe ſtates who had been honoured with the royal title. Alarmed at the approach of the cruſaders, by his addreſs he had endeavoured to conciliate both Richard and Philip; but a quarrel had ariſen between the Meſſineſe and the Engliſh; the former were chaſed into their capital by the latter, and the ſtandard of England was erected, by the command of Richard, on the walls of Meſſina. Philip, who conſidered that place as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the inſult. Tancred, who wiſhed, for his own ſecurity, to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice that might have been attended with fatal conſequences. He ſhewed Richard a letter which appeared to be ſigned by Philip, which he pretended was delivered to him by the duke of Burgundy; in which that prince deſired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the Engliſh, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in putting them to the ſword. Richard gave credit to the information, but complained of this treachery to Philip, who denied the letter, and charged Tancred with forgery and falſehood; on which Richard appeared to be entirely ſatisfied. But though this difference was accommodated, new cauſes of diſguſt occurred: Richard refuſed to conſummate his marriage with Alice; and is ſuppoſed to have urged, as the reaſon, the illicit commerce of that princeſs with his father. Philip was obliged to acquieſce under this determination. The king of England eſpouſed Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre; and the two princes, waving their immediate jealouſies, proceeded to the Holy Land.

On the 12th of April the Engliſh fleet, leaving the port of Meſſina, met with a furious tempeſt; and the ſquadron, in which the two princeſſes were embarked, was driven on the coaſt of Cyprus, and ſome of the veſſels were wrecked on that iſland. Iſaac prince of Cyprus, who aſſumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ſhips that were ſtranded, threw the ſeamen and paſſengers into priſon, and even refuſed to the princeſſes liberty, in their dangerous ſituation, of entering the harbour. But Richard, who arrived ſoon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He diſembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant, who oppoſed his landing; entered the capital by ſtorm; gained next day a ſecond victory; obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion; and eſtabliſhed governors over the iſland. The Greek prince, being thrown into priſon, and loaded with irons, complained of the little regard with which he was treated; upon which Richard ordered ſilver fetters to be made for him; and this emperor, pleaſed with the diſtinction, expreſſed a ſenſe of his conqueror's generoſity.

The chriſtians, animated by the arrival of Philip and Richard, now carried the ſiege of Acre with redoubled ardour. But the harmony of the chiefs was of ſhort duration; the title of king of Jeruſalem was diſputed by Guy of Luſignan, and Conrade marquis of Montferrat. The former was ſupported by Richard, the latter by Philip; and the oppoſite views of theſe great monarchs brought faction and diſſention into the chriſtian army. The diſtreſs of the garriſon allowed them not to avail themſelves of theſe diſtractions, and famine compelled the Saracens at length to ſurrender.

Philip now declared his reſolution of returning to France: he pleaded his bad ſtate of health as an excuſe for his deſertion of the common cauſe. He left, however, to Richard ten thouſand troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and engaged by oath not to commence hoſtilities againſt that prince's dominions during his abſence; but he had no ſooner reached Italy, than he applied, it is pretended, to the pope, for a diſpenſation from this vow; and when denied that requeſt, he ſtill proceeded, though

ſecretly, in a project of which the preſent ſituation of England gave him hopes of ſucceſs.

An open jealouſy had broken out between Longchamp and the biſhop of Durham, whom Richard had intruſted with the adminiſtration of that kingdom. The firſt, armed with the legatine power, heſitated not to arreſt his colleague. He had ventured on this act of violence before the king had quitted Europe; and Richard, diſpleaſed with his arrogance, had appointed the archbiſhop of Rouen and the earl of Strigul his counſellors; and commanded Longchamp to undertake no meaſure of importance without their concurrence. But ſuch general terror had this man impreſſed, that the new counſellors ventured not to produce their commiſſion. Longchamp had at length the temerity to throw into priſon Geoffrey archbiſhop of York. This laſt act rouzed from his inactivity prince John, who ſummoned the guardian before a council of the nobility and prelates. Longchamp, conſcious of his guilt, fled beyond ſeas; and though deprived of his office of chancellor and juſticiary, in his quality of legate he continued ſtill to diſturb the government.

A. D. 1192.] Philip not only promoted his intrigues, but entered into a correſpondence with John. He promiſed him the hand of his ſiſter Alice, and excited him to ſeize Richard's tranſmarine dominions; and that turbulent prince was only prevented by the vigilance of the queen dowager, and the menaces of the council, from croſſing the ſeas, to kindle the flames of civil war.

Richard, in the mean time, was gathering laurels in the eaſt. The aſſaſſination of the marquis of Montferrat afforded Philip an opportunity of aſperſing the character of a rival, whoſe martial atchievements he was incapable of emulating. Though it was well known in Paleſtine, that the marquis had fallen a victim to the reſentment of a petty prince of Aſia, commonly called *The Old Man of the Mountain*, yet Philip heſitated not to impute the murder to the king of England. The heroic actions of Richard were the beſt apology for his conduct. He defeated Saladin, with the ſlaughter of forty thouſand infidels; he recovered Aſcalon, and advanced within ſight of Jeruſalem. But long abſence, fatigue, and want, had abated the ardour of the cruſaders; every one, except the king of England, expreſſed a deſire of returning into Europe. Richard was forced to yield to their importunities; and he concluded a truce with Saladin, by which the chriſtians were left in poſſeſſion of Acre, and were allowed a free pilgrimage to Jeruſalem.

Richard, well knowing the intrigues of Philip, was afraid, on his return, to paſs through France, and therefore ſailed to the Adriatic; but being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, he endeavoured, in diſguiſe, to purſue his route through Germany. At Vienna he was arreſted (Dec. 20.) by the orders of the duke of Auſtria, to whom he had given ſome diſguſt at the ſiege of Acre, and by that prince was ſold to the emperor Henry VI. who, on account of the alliance he had formed with Tancred king of Sicily, looked upon him as an enemy.

A. D. 1193-4.] Amidſt the general diſtraction which the intelligence of the king's captivity had occaſioned in England, prince John had eſcaped to the continent, and concluded a treaty with Philip, by which he ſtipulated to deliver to the latter a great part of Normandy, and received in return the inveſtiture of all Richard's tranſmarine dominions.

Philip, who took advantage of the king's confinement, immediately invaded Normandy; but though, by the treachery of John's adherents, he was admitted into Giſors, Pacey, and Ivrée, and over-run the counties of Eu and Aumale, he was by the gallantry of the earl of Leiceſter repulſed from the walls of Rouen; nor was John more ſucceſsful in his attempt in England. Though he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Windſor and Wallingford, he found the barons and people every where averſe to him.

He

He was obliged to retire again to France, where both he and Philip ſhortly after concluded a truce with the regency of England.

Richard, all this while, ſuffered every kind of inſult and indignity in Germany. He was accuſed of the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, and was produced as a criminal before the diet of Worms. But his ſpirits were unbroken by adverſity, and he vindicated himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the German princes, who loudly exclaimed againſt the emperor. Their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the pope, who could not refuſe to interpoſe in behalf of a prince who ſtill bore the honourable badge of the croſs. Henry yielded to their united influence, and conſented to reſtore Richard to his freedom for the ſum of 150,000 marks, or 300,000l. of our preſent money; part of which was to be immediately paid, and for the reſt ſixty-ſeven hoſtages were to be given.

A. D. 1194.] The captivity of the ſuperior lord was one of the caſes provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vaſſals were, in that event, obliged to give an aid for his ranſom. Twenty ſhillings was therefore levied on each knight's fee in England. With the requiſite ſum queen Eleanor and the archbiſhop of Rouen ſet out for Germany, paid an hundred thouſand marks to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria, and delivered hoſtages for the reſt; and Richard, reſtored to freedom, in a rapid journey, and proſperous voyage, reached England March 20, and was again crowned at Wincheſter, as if he intended to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity.

When Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his confederate John in the following terms: "Take care of yourſelf—the devil is broken looſe!" The latter was, however, anxious to diſengage himſelf from an aſſociate whoſe fortunes ſeemed declining. Richard had compelled the king of France to raiſe the ſiege of Verneüil, had made himſelf maſter of Loches and Beaumont, and had routed the French cavalry at Fretteval. John threw himſelf at the feet, and implored the mercy of his victorious brother. "I forgive you," ſaid the king; "and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget your injuries, as you will my pardon." Yet John was incapable of returning to his duty without committing a baſeneſs; and when he delivered to his brother Evreux, which had been entruſted to him by the king of France, he inhumanly maſſacred the garriſon, whom he had deceitfully invited to an entertainment.

A. D. 1196.] During five years from the return of Richard, the mutual weakneſs and enmity of the kings of France and England engaged them in a ſeries of faithleſs negociations and deſultory warfare; and the cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, had endeavoured to change a truce for five years into a more durable peace, when the deſign was broken by the death of the king.

A. D. 1199.] In order to extort from Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, a treaſure which he had found, Richard, as ſuperior lord, had beſieged that nobleman in the caſtle of Chalos. As he approached to ſurvey the works, one Bertrand Gourdon, an archer, pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the aſſault, took the place, and hanged all the garriſon, except Gourdon, for whom he ſent. When brought before him, Richard, ſenſible that he was drawing near an end, ſaid, "Wretch! what have I ever done to you, to induce you to ſeek my life?"—"You have," replied the priſoner, "killed, with your own hands, my father and my two brothers. I am now in your power: you may inflict the ſevereſt torments on me, but I ſhall endure them with pleaſure, provided I can think I have been ſo happy as to rid the world of a tyrant." The mind of Richard was ſoftened by the approach of death; he acknowledged the magnanimity of Gourdon; he ordered him to be releaſed, and a ſum of money to be given him; but one of his generals, unknown to him, ſeized the unhappy man, and hanged him, having previouſly flayed him alive. Richard died in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-ſecond of his age.

The

The wars in which Richard was engaged were expenſive beyond all calculation, and therefore required vaſt ſums of money to proſecute them.

While the king was abroad, the power was entirely in the hands of the great, and the poor were exceedingly oppreſſed. A tax was levied, *A. D.* 1196, which fell wholly upon them. Remonſtrances were vain, their complaints and ſufferings were unnoticed, and a few of them became *what is termed ſeditious*; but Hubert Walter archbiſhop of Canterbury, and at the ſame time chief juſticiary and regent of the kingdom, collected a force, and went againſt them. They were defeated; and William Fitzoſborn, better known by the name of Longbeard, their leader, was taken priſoner, and convicted. He was dragged through the ſtreets of London at a horſe's tail, and hung in chains, with nine of his companions. This is the firſt inſtance we meet with in Engliſh hiſtory, of an effort to ameliorate the condition of the lower ranks; we need not, therefore, be ſurprized at the odium which is caſt on the memory of William Longbeard, by prieſts, courtiers, and ſome hiſtorians; the people, however, long conſidered him as their martyr.

Though ſome marks of Richard's poetical genius remain, and he was ranked among the *Troubadores*, the moſt ſhining part of his character are his military talents; and his perſonal courage gained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or *the Lion-hearted*. He left behind him no iſſue; and, by his laſt will, he declared John his heir.

CHAPTER V.

John's Acceſſion—War with France—Murder of Arthur—The Kingdom under an Interdict—Reſignation of the Crown to the Pope's Nuncio—The Barons riſe to recover their Liberties—Magna Charta—Civil Wars—John's Death, &c.

THE rights of primogeniture and hereditary ſucceſſion were innovations founded on the feudal ſyſtem, and utterly inconſiſtent with the independent ſpirit and free genius of our anceſtors. In the age of which we are now treating, theſe principles had made ſome progreſs, but were not thoroughly eſtabliſhed. According to theſe principles, Arthur duke of Brittany, ſon of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John, would have ſucceeded; and when Richard went to the wars of Paleſtine, he appointed his nephew Arthur to be his ſucceſſor, ſetting aſide his brother John: but John did not acquieſce in that deſtination; for, upon his gaining the aſcendant in the Engliſh miniſtry, he prevailed on the barons to ſwear that they would maintain the right of his ſucceſſion; and Richard, on his return, did not oppoſe this election of the barons; he even confirmed it by his laſt will, in which he declared John heir to all his dominions. On the death of Richard, and while John was employed on the continent in ſecuring his brother's treaſure, and taking poſſeſſion of Normandy, his friends exerted themſelves for his intereſt in England, and received the oath of fealty from the citizens, burghers, corporations, and military tenants of the crown. But the prelates and nobility, tenacious of their liberty, retired to their caſtles, which they fortified, and ſtored with proviſions. Hubert, the regent, and his colleagues, in order to obviate their doubts, and comply with their reaſonable demands, ſummoned a general aſſembly at Northampton; where they aſſured them of John's favour and protection, and ſo largely expatiated on his generoſity and munificence, that their ſuffrages were all united in his behalf, no law having hitherto been paſſed to determine

A. D. 1199.]

determine the mode of ſucceſſion; and they took the oath of fealty on certain *conditions*, which they *ſtipulated* for their own ſecurity.

John having ſent his mother Eleanor into Poictou and Guienne, where her right was inconteſtible, and readily acknowledged, he returned to England, and was crowned at Weſtminſter abbey by Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a full aſſembly of the prelates and nobility; where he took the uſual oaths to maintain the peace of the church and people, to reſtrain rapine and other iniquities, and to be governed by equity and mercy in all his deciſions. After the ceremony, he confirmed Hubert in the office of chancellor, and created William Mareſchall and Geoffrey Fitz-peter earls of Pembroke and Eſſex; and diſtinctions of honour and advantage were conferred on other barons.

But the doctrine of hereditary ſucceſſion had made greater progreſs in France than in England; the barons of the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, immediately declared in favour of Arthur, and applied for aſſiſtance to the French monarch, as their ſuperior lord. Philip embraced the cauſe of the duke of Brittany, who was only twelve years old, and ſent him to Paris to be educated, with his own ſon Louis. John having taken the neceſſary precautions for ſecuring the peace of England, went over to Normandy, for the purpoſe of recovering the revolted provinces.

Nothing enabled him to bring this war to an happy iſſue, ſo much as the ſelfiſh intriguing character of Philip, who, by the authority he exerciſed in the provinces which had declared for Arthur, awakened the jealouſy of Conſtantia, the mother of that prince. More apprehenſive of a faithleſs ally than of an open enemy, ſhe ſecretly carried off her ſon from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, reſtored the provinces which had adhered to him, and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was regarded as a fief of Normandy.

Aware that he could not carry on the war with ſucceſs, Philip conſented to a treaty with John, in which the limits of their territories were adjuſted; and to render their union more permanent, the king of England gave his niece, Blanche of Caſtile, in marriage to prince Louis, Philip's eldeſt ſon, and with her the baronies of Iſſoudun and Graçia, and other fiefs in Berri.

A. D. 1200.] Thus ſecure, as he imagined, on the ſide of France, John indulged his paſſion for Iſabella, the daughter of the count of Angouleme. Though his queen was ſtill alive, and Iſabella was betrothed to the count of Marche, the ardour of the king overcame every obſtacle; he prevailed on the count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her huſband; and having procured a divorce from his wife, he eſpouſed Iſabella, regardleſs of the menaces of the pope.

A. D. 1202.] The count of Marche, provoked for the loſs of his young bride, joining with his brother, the count D'Eu, ſecretly excited to arms the malcontents of Poictou and Normandy; and when John croſſed the ſeas, he found he had not only his own ſubjects to contend with, but the power of France. Dangers multiplied on every ſide; his barons were diſaffected, and the duke of Brittany, who was riſing to man's eſtate, joined the king of France and the revolted nobles. Impatient of military renown, he had entered Poictou with a ſmall army, and had inveſted the queen-dowager Eleanor, in Mirabeau, when he was ſurprized in his camp by John, his troops diſperſed, and himſelf made a captive.

A. D. 1203.] In vain having endeavoured to perſuade his nephew to renounce the French alliance, the king determined to put him to death. The circumſtances that attended this crime are enveloped in darkneſs. According to the moſt probable account, John ſent a ruffian with the bloody commiſſion to the caſtle of Falaiſe; but Hubert, conſtable of the caſtle, feigning he would execute the mandate himſelf, iſſued the report that the young prince was dead. Finding the Britons reſolved to avenge his

murder, he thought it prudent to avow that the duke of Brittany was ſtill alive. This diſcovery proved fatal to the young prince. John removed him to the caſtle of Rouen; and coming thither in the night time, commanded him to be brought before him. Arthur, aware of his danger, and ſubdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, begged for mercy: but the tyrant, making no reply, ſtabbed him with his own hands, and threw his body into the Seine, having cauſed a ſtone to be faſtened to it.

This cruel deed excited univerſal horror; and as John had in his hands Eleanor, the ſiſter to Arthur, the Britons choſe for their ſovereign Alice, the younger daughter of Conſtantia by a ſecond marriage. They ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Philip, who received their application with pleaſure, ſummoned John to a trial; and, on his non-appearance, declared him to have forfeited all his ſeigniories and fiefs in France to his ſuperior lord.

Philip then extended his conqueſts along the banks of the Loire, while John conſumed his hours in paſtimes and amuſements in Rouen. "Let the French go on," ſaid he; "I will retake in a day what it has coſt them years to acquire:" yet, inſtead of fulfilling his vaunt, he meanly claimed the protection of the Roman pontiff. But Philip was not to be ſtopped by the authority of the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1204.] Inſtead of retiring at the command of the pope's legates, he laid ſiege to Chateau Gaillard, the moſt conſiderable fortreſs on the frontiers of Normandy. It was defended for above a twelvemonth, by Roger de Laci, with great vigour; but the earl of Pembroke was repulſed in an attempt to relieve it, and the garriſon were overpowered in a night aſſault.

A. D. 1205.] After the bulwark of Normandy was ſubdued, the whole province lay open to the invaders. Rouen alone maintained ſome reſiſtance, and the citizens demanded thirty days to advertiſe their prince of their danger. Upon the expiration of that term they opened their gates; and Philip, not ſatisfied with this acquiſition, carried his victorious arms into the weſtern provinces, and ſoon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou.

A. D. 1206.] In order to recover his tranſmarine dominions, the king had now landed with a conſiderable army at Rochelle; but on the approach of Philip, he deſerted his troops, and returned to England covered with ſhame. In an age when perſonal valour was regarded as the chief accompliſhment, ſuch conduct in a ſovereign expoſed him to peculiar contempt; and though he obtained a ſhort reſpite from war, by a truce for two years with the French monarch, that interval was ſtill more diſgraceful to him, by the encroachments and arrogance of the church.

A. D. 1207.] Pope Innocent the Third, who now filled the papal chair, being of a lofty and enterpriſing genius, took advantage of the irreſolution and imbecility of this infamous prince; he availed himſelf of a diſpute which had ariſen from an irregular election for the ſee of Canterbury, and claimed himſelf the right of nominating the primate of England. He commanded the monks or canons of Chriſt-church, who had hitherto poſſeſſed that important privilege, to chooſe, on pain of excommunication, cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman by birth, but attached to the ſee of Rome. In vain the monks repreſented that an election, without a previous writ from the king, would be highly irregular. One only had the courage to perſevere in his oppoſition; and the reſt, overcome by the menaces of the pope, gave their acquieſcence.

The king, inflamed with the utmoſt rage, when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome, expelled from the monaſtery the prior and the monks of Chriſt-church, and ordered them to depart the kingdom; but being threatened with the reſentment of Innocent, he burſt out into violent invectives, and ſwore, that if the pope preſumed to lay his kingdom under an interdict, he would ſend to him all the biſhops and clergy

in

in England, and confiſcate all their eſtates. Theſe ſallies of paſſion were far from ſhaking the reſolution of the Roman pontiff, who, ſenſible that the king had loſt the confidence of his people, after ſome delay, fulminated againſt him the ſentence of an interdict, having previouſly tempted him with four gold rings, ſet round with precious ſtones; which were repreſented as invaluable, on account of the myſteries they contained.

The dread of this ſentence ſtruck with irreſiſtible force the ſenſes of a ſuperſtitious people. The nation was of a ſudden deprived of all exterior exerciſe of it's religion; the altars were deſpoiled of their ornaments; maſs was celebrated with ſhut doors, and none but the prieſts were admitted to that holy inſtitution; the dead, inſtead of being interred in conſecrated ground, were thrown into ditches, or buried in the common fields; marriage was ſolemnized in church-yards; and every circumſtance carried ſymptoms of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and of the moſt immediate apprehenſion of divine anger.

John, that he might oppoſe *his* temporal to *their* ſpiritual terrors, confiſcated the eſtates of all the clergy who obeyed the interdict; he treated with the utmoſt rigour all Langton's adherents, and every one that ſhewed any diſpoſition to obey the commands of Rome. Though ſome of the clergy yielded to his threats, and celebrated divine ſervice, they complied with reluctance, and were regarded, both by themſelves and the people, as men who ſacrificed their conſciences to temporal intereſts. At the ſame time, to diſtreſs the clergy, and expoſe them to ridicule, he threw all their concubines into priſon.

A. D. 1210.] While affairs were in this violent ſituation, the king attempted military expeditions againſt Scotland, Ireland, and the Welch; and he commonly prevailed, more from the weakneſs of his enemies, than his own valour or abilities: but the luſtre of theſe enterpriſes was obſcured by the tyranny of his government; he inſulted his nobles, diſhonoured their families by his licentious amours, and, conſcious of their hatred, obliged them to deliver to him their ſons, or neareſt relations, as hoſtages for their fidelity.

A. D. 1213.] As the ſentence of interdict had not produced the deſired effect, the pope proceeded to that of excommunication. John, however, ſtill perſevered in his contumacy, and nothing remained but the ſentence of depoſition; and Innocent reſolved to dart this laſt thunderbolt againſt the refractory monarch. Accordingly he abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance, and declared the king to have forfeited, by his contumacy, his crown; but as this ſentence required an armed force to execute it, he caſt his eyes on the king of France, and offered him the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England.

Notwithſtanding it behoved all princes to reſiſt the exorbitant pretenſions of the Roman pontiff, Philip could not reſiſt this tempting prize. He levied a great army, and collected in the ports of Normandy and Picardy 1700 veſſels. To oppoſe him, John levied at Dover 60,000 men; a force ſufficient, had they been animated with zeal; but the minds of the common people were impreſſed by ſuperſtition, and thoſe of the barons alienated by the arrogance of the tyrant. The difficulties of John were augmented by his cowardice and incapacity. Inſtead of braving, he reſolved to yield to the tempeſt; and in a conference with Pandulf, the pope's legate, he acquieſced in all the exorbitant demands of Innocent. He promiſed to acknowledge Langton for primate, to reſtore the exiled clergy, to make them full reſtitution for their goods, and compenſation for their damages, and to receive into favour every one who had been outlawed or impriſoned for his adherence to the pope. Four barons joined with the king in ſwearing to this treaty.

The ignominy of the king was ſtill extended. Pandulf required him, as the proof of his obedience, to reſign his kingdom to the church. Under the agonies of fear, John

paſſed

paſſed a charter, in which he declared he had, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, reſigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent, and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair. He agreed to hold thoſe churches as feudatories of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thouſand marks. He did homage to Pandulf in the moſt abject manner; he came diſarmed into the legate's preſence, who was ſeated on a throne; he flung himſelf on his knees before him; he ſwore fealty to the pope; and he paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom, as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elated by the triumph of ſacerdotal power, could not forbear diſcovering extravagant ſymptoms of exultation; and he even trampled on the money that was laid at his feet, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom.

This mere ſhadow of a ſovereign, notwithſtanding his diſgrace, ſtill entertained the ſame diſpoſition to tyrannize over his ſubjects. One Peter of Pomfret, an hermit, had foretold that the king this very year ſhould loſe his crown. John determined to puniſh him as an impoſtor; and though the man pleaded that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had loſt the royal and independent crown which he formerly wore, the defence was ſuppoſed to aggravate his guilt; he was dragged at horſes' tails, and hanged with his ſon on a gibbet.

John's baſeneſs, however, could not elude danger. Philip heard with indignation that England was placed under the protection of the ſee of Rome; he complained of being fruſtrated in an expedition which had coſt him above ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; and he declared his intentions to perſevere, notwithſtanding the inhibitions of the legate. But the vigour and activity of the earl of Saliſbury, John's natural brother, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, were more effectual than the menaces of Pandulf; he ſurprized the French veſſels in their harbours, and by the deſtruction of the greater part of them compelled Philip to abandon the undertaking.

John, inſenſible of his paſt diſgrace, and elated with this ſucceſs, reſolved, in his turn, to invade France, and recover all the provinces Philip had formerly wreſted from him. This expedition he propoſed to the barons already aſſembled for the defence of their country: but they had no proſpect of ſucceſs in an enterpriſe conducted by ſuch a leader; therefore pretending that their time of ſervice was elapſed, and their proviſions conſumed, they refuſed to ſecond this undertaking. John, however, being now reſolute, embarked with a few of his followers, and ſailed to Jerſey, weakly imagining that the barons would be aſhamed to ſtay behind; but finding himſelf miſtaken, he returned to England, and, raiſing ſome troops, threatened to be revenged on his nobles for their deſertion. But his menaces were baffled by the interpoſition of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The ſeveral anathemas pronounced againſt John, were now revoked with the ſame gradual progreſs with which they had been iſſued; but the interdict was not taken off until forty thouſand marks were paid to the clergy, as a compenſation for the injury they had ſuſtained; and the king, at the time he made this reparation, renewed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and by a new charter, ſealed with gold, his profeſſions of homage and obedience to the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1214.] From the province of Poictou, which acknowledged his authority, John attempted to penetrate into France; but the intelligence of the deciſive victory which Philip obtained at Bovines over an hundred and fifty thouſand Germans, led by the emperor Otho, inſpired him with humbler thoughts; his hopes were confined to ruling peaceably over England; but even this was denied him, and a more humiliating ſcene of calamity ſtill awaited him, which he did not expect.

John, equally odious and contemptible, both in his public and private life, gave a general diſcontent to all ranks of men, by his endleſs exactions and impoſitions; and raiſed ſuch a ſpirit, that the barons reſolved to demand

mand the reſtoration of their privileges. This deſign was promoted by Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, though obtruded on the nation by the ſee of Rome, was an Engliſhman, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a moſt glorious patriot in the cauſe of liberty. He had formed a plan for reforming the government, and prepared the way for the execution of it, by inſerting thoſe ſingular clauſes, in the oath he had adminiſtered to the king, before he would abſolve him from the ſentence of excommunication. Soon after, at a private meeting of ſome of the principal barons at London, he laid before them a copy of Henry the Firſt's charter, which he ſaid he had happily found in a monaſtery, and exhorted them to inſiſt on it's being renewed; on which the barons ſwore that they would loſe their lives, rather than not comply with ſo reaſonable, ſo honourable, and juſt a demand. The confederacy ſoon ſpread, and comprehended moſt of the barons in England; on which the primate, under colour of devotion, ſummoned a more numerous meeting at St. Edmondſbury, where he again produced the charter, renewed his exhortations to proceed with unanimity and vigour, and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt light, the tyranny to which they had been long ſubject, and from which they were now to free themſelves and their poſterity. The barons, animated by his eloquence, incited by the ſenſe of the injuries they had ſuffered, and encouraged by the power and numbers of thoſe who were preſent, ſolemnly ſwore before the high altar to be faithful to each other, to inſiſt on their demands, and to make an endleſs war on the king till their undoubted privileges were granted; and agreed, that at Chriſtmas they would preſent their petition to the king in a body. They then ſeparated, after mutually promiſing to enliſt men, to purchaſe arms, and to ſupply their caſtles with proviſions.

A. D. 1215.] On the 6th of January, after having prepared themſelves to maintain their engagements by arms, they appeared in London, and required the king, in conſequence of his oath before the primate, to renew the charter of Henry, and confirm the laws of St. Edward; a delay was aſked, and granted; and the interval was employed by John to influence the pope in his favour. Innocent, who foreſaw that if the adminiſtration fell into the hands of an high-ſpirited nobility, they would vindicate the independence of their country, while he adviſed the king to grant ſuch demands as ſhould appear reaſonable, expreſſed his diſapprobation of the conduct of the barons, and exhorted the prelates to put an end to civil diſcord by a timely interpoſition.

With more indifference than might have been expected, the barons heard the diſpleaſure of the court of Rome: the menaces of the Vatican, unleſs ſeconded by the Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, appeared not formidable; and many cauſes concurred to looſen the attachment of the latter to the apoſtolic ſee. The pope aſſumed a deſpotic power over all the churches; their cuſtoms and immunities were treated with diſdain; the whole adminiſtration of the church was centered in the court of Rome; all preferments ran, of courſe, in the ſame channel; and the neceſſity of limiting theſe pretenſions was found abſolutely neceſſary by the provincial clergy.

The mal-content barons, acquainted with theſe circumſtances, were not deterred by Innocent's letters from purſuing their deſigns. As ſoon as the time they had granted to the king was expired, they met at Stamford, and then collected their forces, conſiſting of above two thouſand knights, beſides retainers and inferior perſons without number. Elated with their power, they advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the place where the court then reſided, and ſent to the king a ſchedule containing their principal demands. John had no ſooner peruſed it, than he burſt into a furious paſſion, ſwearing he would never grant ſuch liberties as muſt reduce himſelf to ſlavery and contempt.

The confederated nobles, informed of his anſwer, determined to rely on their ſwords, and commenced their operations; they beſieged the caſtle of Northampton, were admitted

mitted into that of Bedford, occupied Ware, and entered into London without oppoſition; they laid waſte the royal parks and palaces, and compelled the other barons to join them, on pain of ravaging their eſtates.

The king was left at Odiham in Hampſhire, with a poor retinue of only ſeven knights. In this extremity, he tried every expedient that artifice could ſuggeſt; "he counterfeited the ſeals of all the Engliſh biſhops, and wrote in their names to all the courts of chriſtendom, accuſing the Engliſh of apoſtacy, inviting them to take up arms againſt them, and aſſuring them not only of the pope's approbation and the Engliſh monarch's aſſent, but likewiſe promiſing the eſtates of the rebellious barons as a reward." (*Matthew Paris*, p. 214.) But as this act of treachery was unſucceſsful, and he failed in forming a combination, to bring upon his ſuffering country the vengeance of Europe, he ſolicited the earl of Pembroke, who by his prudent conduct had acquired that authority which integrity ever claims, to mediate between him and an highly injured and incenſed people. The earl and two other meſſengers ſet out from Windſor (where the king then was) to London, where they had an interview with the barons, and laid before them the king's propoſition; which was, to refer the final deciſion to eight barons, four to be choſen by the confederates, and four by himſelf; and to make the pope umpire. This was immediately rejected; the barons knew too well the partiality of Innocent to accept of him as umpire, or indeed to interfere in the affair at all. John therefore found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſubmitting at diſcretion, and empowered the earl of Pembroke to promiſe, in his name, that he would grant all the demands of his ſubjects. Commiſſioners were appointed, and a conference took place between the king and the barons at Runne-mede, between Windſor and Staines. The two parties encamped ſeparately, like open enemies; and, after a debate of a few days, the king ſigned and ſealed the charter which was required of him, commonly called The Great Charter; and another, called The Charter of the Foreſts. There is no original of the laſt extant, and as it relates to cuſtoms and privileges now out of uſe, we will not trouble the reader with it; but as the firſt either granted or ſecured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom, we will give it entirely, as taken from an original preſerved in the Cottonian library, the ſeal of which is a little damaged.

The CHARTER OF LIBERTIES, *or the* GREAT CHARTER, *granted by King John to his Subjects, in the Year* 1215.

JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries of the foreſts, ſheriffs, governors, and officers, and to all bailiffs, and other his faithful ſubjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the preſence of God, and for the health of our ſoul and the ſouls of all our anceſtors and heirs, and to the honour of God, and the exaltation of holy church, and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbiſhop of Dublin, William biſhop of London, Peter of Winchester, Jocelin of Bath and Glaſtonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worceſter, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rocheſter, biſhops, and maſter Pandulph, the pope's ſubdeacon and ancient ſervant, brother Aymeric, maſter of the Temple in England, and the noble perſons William Mareſchall earl of Pembroke, William earl of Saliſbury, William earl of Warren, William earl of Arundel, Alan de Galloway, conſtable of Scotland, Warin Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herebert, and Hubert de Burgh, ſeneſchal of Poictou, Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz Herebert, Thomas Baſſet, Alan Baſſet, Philip Albiney, Robert de Ropele, John Mareſchall, John Fitz Hugh, and other our liege men, have, in the firſt place, granted

granted to God, and by this our preſent charter confirmed, for us and our heirs for ever:

I. That the church of England ſhall be free, and enjoy her rights entire, and her liberties inviolable; and we will have them ſo obſerved, that it may appear from hence, that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned chief and indiſpenſible to the Engliſh church, and which we granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. before the diſcord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free-will, which charter we ſhall obſerve, and we do will it to be faithfully obſerved by our heirs for ever.

II. We alſo grant to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the under-written liberties, to have and to hold, them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

III. If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at the time of his death his heir ſhall be of full age, and owes a relief, he ſhall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to ſay, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred ſhillings at moſt; and whoever oweth leſs, ſhall give leſs, according to the ancient cuſtom of fees.

IV. But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be under age, and ſhall be in ward, when he comes of age he ſhall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.

V. The warden of the land of ſuch heir who ſhall be under age, ſhall not take of the land of ſuch heir other than reaſonable iſſues, reaſonable cuſtoms, and reaſonable ſervices, and that without deſtruction and waſte of the tenants or effects; and if we ſhall commit the guardianſhip of thoſe lands to the ſheriff, or any other who is anſwerable to us for the iſſues of the land, and if he ſhall make deſtruction and waſte upon the wardlands, we will compel him to give ſatisfaction, and the land ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the iſſues to us, or to him whom we ſhall aſſign them: and if we ſhall give or ſell to any one the wardſhip of any ſuch lands, and if he makes deſtruction or waſte upon them, he ſhall loſe the wardſhip itſelf, which ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall in like manner be anſwerable to us as aforeſaid.

VI. But the warden, ſo long as he ſhall have the wardſhip of the land, ſhall keep up the houſes, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the iſſues of the ſame land, and ſhall reſtore to the heir, when he comes of full age, his whole land ſtocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage ſhall require, and the iſſues of the land can reaſonably bear.

VII. Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement, ſo as that before matrimony ſhall be contracted, thoſe who are neareſt in blood to the heir ſhall be made acquainted with it.

VIII. A widow, after the death of her huſband, ſhall forthwith, and without difficulty, have her marriage and inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her huſband and ſhe held at the day of his death; and ſhe may remain in the manſion-houſe of her huſband forty days after his death, within which term her dower ſhall be aſſigned.

IX. No widow ſhall be diſtrained to marry herſelf ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without a huſband; but yet ſhe ſhall give ſecurity that ſhe will not marry without our aſſent, if ſhe holds of us; or without the conſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe holds of another.

X. Neither we nor our bailiffs ſhall ſeize any land or rent for any debt, ſo long as there ſhall be chattels of the debtors upon the premiſſes ſufficient to pay the debt; nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor be diſtrained ſo long as the principal debtor is ſufficient for the payment of the debt.

XI. And if the principal debtor ſhall fail in

in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it, then the ſureties ſhall anſwer the debt; and if they will, they ſhall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the debt which they paid for him, unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew himſelf acquitted thereof againſt the ſaid ſureties.

XII. If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews, more or leſs, and dies before the debt be ſatisfied, there ſhall be no intereſt paid for that debt, ſo long as the heir is under age, of whomſoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hand, we will only take the chattel mentioned in the charter of inſtrument.

XIII. And if any one ſhall die indebted to the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceaſed left children under age, they ſhall have neceſſaries provided for them according to the tenement or real eſtate of the deceaſed; and out of the reſidue the debt ſhall be paid, ſaving, however, the ſervice of the lords. In like manner let it be with the debts due to other perſons than Jews.

XIV. No ſcutage or aid ſhall be impoſed in our kingdom, unleſs by the common council of our kingdom; except for ranſoming our perſon, making our eldeſt ſon a knight, and one for marrying our eldeſt daughter; and for theſe there ſhall be paid only a reaſonable aid.

XV. In like manner it ſhall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and the city of London ſhall have all it's ancient liberties and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by water.

XVI. Furthermore, we will and grant that all other cities, and boroughs, and towns, and ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free cuſtoms. And for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the aſſeſſment of their aids, except in the three caſes aforeſaid.

XVII. And for the aſſeſſing of ſcutages, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm, ſingly by our letters.

XVIII. And farthermore, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned in general, by our ſheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a certain day, that is to ſay, forty days before their meeting at leaſt, and to a certain place; and in all letters of ſuch ſummons we will declare the cauſe of the ſummons.

XIX. And ſummons being thus made, the buſineſs of the day ſhall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent, although all that were ſummoned come not.

XX. We will not, for the future, grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, unleſs to ranſom his body, and to make his eldeſt ſon a knight, and once to marry his eldeſt daughter; and for this there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable aid.

XXI. No man ſhall be diſtrained to perform more ſervice for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence.

XXII. Common pleas ſhall not follow our court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place. Trials upon the writs of novel diſſeiſin, and of mort d'anceſter, and of darreine preſentment, ſhall not be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner: we, or, if we ſhall be out of the realm, our chief juſticiary, ſhall ſend two juſticiaries through every county four times a year, who, with four knights choſen out of every ſhire by the people, ſhall hold the ſaid aſſizes, in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed.

XXIII. And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the aſſizes in each county, ſo many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the aſſizes aforeſaid, ſhall be appointed to decide them as is neceſſary, according as there is more or leſs buſineſs.

XXIV. A freeman ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great crime, in proportion to the heinouſneſs of it, ſaving to him his contenement; and after the ſame manner a merchant, ſaving to him his merchandize.

XXV. And

XXV. And a villain ſhall be amerced after the ſame manner, ſaving to him his wainage, if he falls under our mercy; and none of the aforeſaid amerciaments ſhall be aſſeſſed but by the oath of honeſt men of the neighbourhood.

XXVI. Earls and barons ſhall not be amerced but by their peers, and according to the degree of the offence.

XXVII. No eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforeſaid, and not according to the value of his eccleſiaſtical benefice.

XXVIII. Neither a town nor any tenant ſhall be diſtrained to make bridges over rivers, unleſs that anciently and of right they are bound to do it.

XXIX. No ſheriff, conſtable, coroners, or other our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings, ſhall ſtand at the old ferm, without any increaſe, except in our demeſne manors.

XXXI. If any one holding of us a lay-fee dies, and the ſheriff or our bailiff ſhew our letters patent of ſummons concerning the debt due to us from the deceaſed, it ſhall be lawful for the ſheriff or our bailiff to attach and regiſter the chattels of the deceaſed found upon his lay-fee to the value of the debt, by the view of lawful men, ſo as nothing be removed until our whole debt be paid; and the reſt ſhall be left to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the deceaſed: and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels ſhall remain to the deceaſed, ſaving to his wife and children their reaſonable ſhares.

XXXII. If any free man ſhall die inteſtate, his chattels ſhall be diſtributed by the hands of his neareſt relations and friends by view of the church; ſaving to every one his debts which the deceaſed owed to him.

XXXIII. No conſtable or bailiff of our's ſhall take corn or other chattels, of any man, unleſs he preſently give him money for it, or hath reſpite of payment by the good-will of the ſeller.

XXXIV. No conſtable ſhall diſtrain any knight to give money for caſtle-guard, if he himſelf will do it in his perſon, or by another able man, in caſe he cannot do it through any reaſonable cauſe.

XXXV. And if we lead him or ſend him into the army, he ſhall be free from ſuch guard for the time he ſhall be in the army by our command.

XXXVI. No ſheriff or bailiff of our's, or any other, ſhall take horſes or carts of any free man for carriage, but by the good-will of the ſaid free man.

XXXVII. Neither ſhall we or our bailiffs take any man's timber for our caſtles, or other uſes, unleſs by the conſent of the owner of the timber.

XXXVIII. We will retain the lands of thoſe that are convicted of felony only one year and a day, and then they ſhall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

XXXIX. All wears for the time to come ſhall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the ſea-coaſt.

XL. The writ which is called præcipe for the future ſhall not be made out to any one of any tenement, whereby a free man may loſe his court.

XLI. There ſhall be one meaſure of wine, and one of ale, through our whole realm; and one meaſure of corn, that is to ſay, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruſſets, and haberjects, that is to ſay, two ells within the liſts: as to weights, they ſhall be as the meaſures.

XLII. From henceforward nothing ſhall be given or taken for a writ of inquiſition of life or limbs, but it ſhall be granted gratis, and not denied.

XLIII. If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or ſocage, or burgage, and holds lands of another by military ſervice, we will not have the wardſhip of the heir or land, which is of another man's fee, by reaſon of what he holds of us by fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage;

nor will we have the wardſhip of the fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage, unleſs the fee-farm is bound to perform military ſervice.

XLIV. We will not have the wardſhip of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another, by military ſervice, by reaſon of any petit ſerjeantry he holds of us, as by the ſervice of giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

XLV. No bailiff for the future ſhall put any man to his law *(his oath)* upon his ſingle word, without credible witneſſes to prove it.

XLVI. No freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed, or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any ways deſtroyed; nor will we paſs upon him, or commit him to priſon, unleſs by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XLVII. We will ſell to no man, we will deny no man, nor delay right nor juſtice.

XLVIII. All merchants ſhall have ſafe and ſecure conduct to go out of, and to come into England, and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by land as by water, for buying and ſelling by the ancient and allowed cuſtoms, without any evil *(heavy)* tolls, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us.

XLIX. And if there be found any ſuch in our land in the beginning of the war, they ſhall be attached without damage to their bodies or goods, until it be known unto us, or our chief juſticiary, how our merchants are treated in the nation at war with us; and if our's be ſafe there, the others ſhall be ſafe in our dominions.

L. It ſhall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return ſafely and ſecurely, by land or by water, ſaving his allegiance to us, unleſs in time of war by ſome ſhort ſpace for the common benefit of the realm; except priſoners and outlaws, according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who ſhall be in ſuch condition as is above mentioned.

LI. If any man holds of any eſcheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaſter, or of other eſcheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir ſhall give no other relief, and perform no other ſervice to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in poſſeſſion of the baron; we will hold it after the ſame manner as the baron held it.

LII. Thoſe men who dwell without the foreſt, from henceforth ſhall not come before our juſticiaries of the foreſt upon common ſummons, but ſuch as are impleaded or are pledges for any that were attached for ſomething concerning the foreſt.

LIII. We will not make any juſticiaries, conſtables, ſheriffs, or bailiffs, but ſuch as are knowing in the law of the realm, and are diſpoſed duly to obſerve it.

LIV. All barons who are founders of abbeys, and have charters of the kings of England for the advowſon, or are entitled to it by ancient tenure, may have the cuſtody of them when vacant, as they ought to have.

LV. All woods that have been taken into the foreſts in our time ſhall forthwith be laid out again, unleſs they were our demeſne woods; and the ſame ſhall be done with the rivers that have been taken or fenced in by us during our reign.

LVI. All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, warrens, foreſters and warreners, ſheriffs and their officers, rivers and their keepers, ſhall forthwith be enquired into in each county, by twelve knights ſworn of the ſame ſhire, choſen by creditable perſons in the ſame county, and upon oath; and within forty days after the ſaid inqueſt, be utterly aboliſhed, ſo as never to be reſtored.*

LVII. We will immediately give up all hoſtages and writings delivered unto us by our Engliſh ſubjects, as ſecurities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful ſervice.

LVIII. We will entirely remove from our bailiwics the relations of Gerard de Athyes, ſo that for the future they ſhall have no bailiwic in England: we will alſo remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the Chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martyn, and his brothers, Philip Mark, and his brothers, and his nephew Geoffrey, and their whole retinue.

LIX. As

LIX. As ſoon as peace is reſtored, we will ſend out of the kingdom all foreign ſoldiers, croſsbowmen, and ſtipendiaries, who are come with horſes and arms to the prejudice of our people.

LX. If any one has been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, of his lands, caſtles, liberties, or right, we will forthwith reſtore them to him; and if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, let the matter be decided by the five-and-twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preſervation of the peace.

LXI. As for all thoſe things of which any perſon has, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived, either by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we have in our hands, or are poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we ſhall have a reſpite till the term uſually allowed the croiſes, exeepting thoſe things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inqueſt hath been made by our order before we undertook the cruſade; but when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will immediately cauſe full juſtice to be adminiſtered therein.

LXII. The ſame reſpite we ſhall have[b] for diſafforeſting the foreſts which Henry our father and our brother Richard have afforeſted; and for the wardſhip of the lands which are in another's fee, in the ſame manner as we have hitherto enjoyed thoſe wardſhips, by reaſon of a fee held of us by knight's ſervice; and for the abbeys founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee ſays he has a right; and when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we ſhould not perform it, we will immediately do full juſtice to all the complainants in this behalf.

LXIII. No man ſhall be taken or impriſoned upon the appeal of a woman for the death of any other perſon than her huſband.

LXIV. All unjuſt and illegal fines made with us, and all amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly and contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be entirely forgiven, or elſe be left to the deciſion of the five-and-twenty barons hereafter mentioned for the preſervation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the aforeſaid Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others whom he ſhall think fit to take along with him; and if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs ſhall, notwithſtanding, go on without him; but ſo that if one or more of the aforeſaid five-and-twenty barons be plaintiffs in the ſame cauſe, they ſhall be ſet aſide as to what concerns this particular affair, and others be choſen in their room out of the ſaid five-and-twenty, and ſworn by the reſt to decide the matter.

LXV. If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed the Welch of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, they ſhall be immediately reſtored to them; and if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, the matter ſhall be determined in the Marche by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, for tenements of the Marche according to the law of the Marche; the ſame ſhall the Welch do to us and our ſubjects.

LXVI. As for all thoſe things of which a Welchman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſſeiſed or deprived[c] by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are poſſeſſed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we ſhall have a reſpite till the time generally allowed the croiſes, excepting thoſe things about which a ſuit is depending, or whereof an inqueſt has been made by our order before we undertook the cruſade: but when we return, or if we ſtay at home without performing our pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full juſtice, according to the laws of the Welch and of the parts before-mentioned.

LXVII. We will without delay diſmiſs the ſon of Llewellyn and all the Welch hoſtages, and releaſe them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preſervation of the peace.

LXVIII. We

LXVIII. We ſhall treat with Alexander king of Scots concerning the reſtoring his ſiſters and hoſtages, and his right and liberties, in the ſame form and manner as we ſhall do to the reſt of our barons of England, unleſs by the charters, which we have from his father, William late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwiſe; and this ſhall be left to the determination of his peers in our court.

LXIX. All the aforeſaid cuſtoms and liberties, which we have granted, to be holden in our kingdom as much as it belongs to us, towards our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity ſhall obſerve, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents.

LXX. And whereas, for the honour of God and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the diſcord that has ariſen between us and our barons, we have granted all theſe things aforeſaid; willing to render them firm and laſting,[d] we do give and grant our ſubjects the underwritten ſecurity, namely, that the barons may chooſe five-and-twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient, who ſhall take care, with all their might, to hold and obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and by this our preſent charter confirmed; ſo as that if we, our juſticiary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall in any circumſtance fail in the performance of them towards any perſon, or ſhall break through any of theſe articles of peace and ſecurity, and the offence is notified to four barons choſen out of the five-and-twenty before-mentioned, the ſaid four barons ſhall repair to us, or our juſticiary, if we are out of the realm, and, laying open the grievance, ſhall petition to have it redreſſed without delay; and if it is not redreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redreſſed by our juſticiary, within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our juſticiary, if we ſhould be out of the realm, the four barons aforeſaid ſhall lay the cauſe before the reſt of the five-and-twenty barons; and the ſaid five-and-twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, ſhall diſtrain and diſtreſs us all the ways poſſible, by ſeizing our caſtles, lands, poſſeſſions, and in other manner they can, till the grievance is redreſſed according to their pleaſure, ſaving harmleſs our own perſon, and the perſon of our queen, and children; and when it is redreſſed, they ſhall obey us, as before.

LXXI. And any perſon whatſoever in the kingdom may ſwear that he will obey the orders of the five-and-twenty barons aforeſaid in the execution of the premiſes, and that he will diſtreſs us jointly with them to the utmoſt of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that ſhall pleaſe to ſwear to them, and never ſhall hinder any perſon from taking the ſame oath.

LXXII. As for all thoſe of our ſubjects who will not, of their own accord, ſwear to join the five-and-twenty barons in diſtraining and diſtreſſing us, we will iſſue order to make them take the ſame oath as is aforeſaid.

LXXIII. And if any one of the five-and-twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way from carrying the things aforeſaid in execution, the reſt of the ſaid five-and-twenty barons may chooſe another in his room at their diſcretion, who ſhall be ſworn in in like manner as the reſt.

LXXIV. In all things that are committed to the execution of theſe five-and-twenty-barons, if, when they are all aſſembled together, they ſhould happen to diſagree about any matter, and ſome of them, when ſummoned, will not or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of thoſe that are preſent, ſhall be reputed as firm and valid as if all the five-and-twenty had given their conſent; and the aforeſaid five-and-twenty ſhall ſwear that all the premiſes they ſhall faithfully obſerve, and cauſe with all their power to be obſerved.

LXXV. And we will not, by ourſelves or by any other, procure any thing whereby any of theſe conceſſions and liberties be revoked or leſſened; and if any ſuch thing be obtained,

obtained, let it be null and void; neither ſhall we ever make uſe of it, either by ourſelves or any other.

LXXVI. And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, that hath ariſen between us and our ſubjects, of the clergy and laity, from the firſt breaking out of the diſſention between us, we do fully remit and forgive: moreover, all treſpaſſes occaſioned by the ſaid diſſention, from Eaſter in the ſixteenth year of our reign till the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive.

LXXVII. We have moreover granted them our letters patent teſtimonial of Stephen lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry lord archbiſhop of Dublin, and the biſhops aforeſaid, as alſo of maſter Pandulph, for the ſecurity and conceſſions aforeſaid.

LXXVIII. Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforeſaid liberties, rights, and conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themſelves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, for ever, as is aforeſaid.

LXXIX. It is alſo ſworn, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforeſaid ſhall faithfully and ſincerely be obſerved.

Given under our hand, in the preſence of the witneſſes above named, and many others, in the meadow called Runingmede, between Windeleſore and Stanes, the fifteenth day of June, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

[a] So as we are firſt acquainted therewith, or our juſticiary, if we ſhould not be in England.

[b] And in the ſame manner about adminiſtering juſtice, deafforeſting the foreſts, or letting them continue.

[c] Either in England or Wales.

[d] For ever.

By ſect. 1. of Magna Charta is aſcertained the free election of the miniſters of the church, without the royal *congé d'elire*, or any other impediment. This right is now violated; no biſhop can be appointed without the royal *congé*, and every benefice is filled by private patronage. However this article is exceedingly vague, in not determining who are the electors.

Sect. 14. ſecures the people from being taxed without the conſent of parliament, except in the caſes ſpecified.

Sect. 15. ſecures to the city of London it's ancient privileges.

Sect. 16. ſecures to all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports, their privileges, and for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the aſſeſſment of their aids; that is, according to Dr. Brady, they ſhall ſend repreſentatives. If this be not the true meaning of "holding the common council of the kingdom," it can have none at all. Yet Mr. Hume (*Appendix, No.* 2.) ſeems to aſk, with an air of triumph, when ſpeaking of the Commons, "Can it be ſuppoſed that men of ſo little weight or importance poſſeſſed a negative voice againſt the king and the barons?" and that "the Houſe of Commons never performed one ſingle legiſlative act ſo conſiderable as to be once mentioned." This is a mere play upon words, unworthy of ſo great a man; for the Commons did not act ſeparately from the other members of the great council, and therefore could not "perform any ſingle legiſlative act." The royal negative, or, in other words, the king acting without the conſent, or againſt the will, of the great council, was an act of tyranny which gave riſe to the Great Charter, and it's renewal in the reign of Henry III. Mr. Hume ſays, "Magna Charta enumerates the perſons entitled to a ſeat in that aſſembly, without any mention of the Commons;" but it can only be the Commons who come from "the cities, boroughs, towns, and ports, for holding the common council of the kingdom," as mentioned in this article, in contradiſtinction to ſect. 17, which provides for the manner

of ſummoning the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, and great barons: and likewiſe ſect. 18, which provides for the ſummoning thoſe who hold immediately from the crown. It is true there is ſome ambiguity in the 16th article, becauſe it neither expreſſes the mode of election, or ſummoning the Commons to the great council; but nothing is more inconteſtible, than that here was a proviſion for their attendance.

Sect. 19. regulates the meeting of the great council.

Sect. 22. determines that all cauſes ſhall be tried within their reſpective counties four times a year, by ſtationary courts, and not follow the king's perſon.

Sect. 24. and 25. determine that free-men, (which here means free-holders,) merchants, and villains, (*i. e.* farmers,) are to be amerced (*i. e.* fined) according to their offence; but ſo as to leave the firſt a competence for his ſubſiſtence, and to the others the full means of purſuing their buſineſs; and this fine is to be impoſed on them by the oath of the jury who try the cauſe. This article is conſtantly violated by the judges, who have uſurped the powers of the jury, and whoſe fines are ſo arbitrary and oppreſſive, that the defendant is often completely ruined, and impriſoned for life.

Sect. 70. This article is completely ſubverſive of the ridiculous doctrine, that the king can do no wrong; and by the appointment of twenty-five barons, who ſhould be choſen by the other barons, it is provided, that in caſe of the king's violating this charter, the ſaid twenty-five barons are to take an oath from the people that they will obey them; and if any ſhall refuſe, they are authoriſed to compel them. In caſe of the king's refuſing to do juſtice, they are to diſtreſs him by every poſſible means, ſaving his perſon and family harmleſs, even to dethroning him, and chooſing another in his place; as had very near been done by John, and Louis, ſon of the king of France, elected in his ſtead, on account of his having violated this charter; but his ſudden death, and the imperious conduct of Louis, prevented it's final accompliſhment. Thus was eſtabliſhed by law, a principle founded on nature, *the right of reſiſtance to oppreſſion.*

The articles enumerated are thoſe in which we are intereſted at this time; the others relate to cuſtoms quite out of uſe.

This charter is a copy of that which was obtained from Henry the Firſt; but by his pious care, and that of his ſucceſſors, only one ſolitary copy was to be found; all the reſt had been deſtroyed, though one was lodged in every monaſtery in the kingdom.

To this charter Engliſhmen are fond to look, as the foundation of Engliſh liberty; and ſome imagine that it contains the ſubſtance of the Anglo-Saxon laws; but whoever examines it, will perceive, that it's proviſions are founded on the feudal ſyſtem; and though it contained ſome few regulations for the better ſecuring the liberty and happineſs of the people, yet even theſe have proved ſo vague and illuſory, that it is not from them, but the common rights of mankind, and the cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, that Engliſhmen muſt deduce their conſtitution and their liberties.

The names of the conſervators were, the earls of Clare, Albemarle, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, Hereford, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, William Mareſchal the younger, Robert Fitz-Walter, Gilbert de Clare, Euſtace de Veſey, Gilbert Delaval, William de Moubray, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mombezon, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Ros, the conſtable of Cheſter, William de Aubenie, Richard de Perci, William Malet, John Fitz-Robert, William de Lanvaly, Hugh de Bigod, and Roger de Montfichet.

By this convention they were really inveſted with the ſovereignty of the nation, and made ſuperior to the king in the exerciſe of the executive power: for as there was no circumſtance of government which, either directly or indirectly, might not bear a relation to the obſervance or ſecurity of the Great Charter, there could ſcarcely occur

occur any incident in which they might not lawfully interpoſe their authority.

However paſſively the king might appear to ſubmit to theſe reſtrictions, by diſmiſſing his foreign forces, and iſſuing writs to all the ſheriffs, directing them to conſtrain every one to take the oath of obedience to the twenty-five barons, he only diſſembled; he grew ſullen and reſerved; he ſhunned the ſociety of his courtiers; and retired into the iſle of Wight, where he meditated the moſt fatal vengeance againſt his enemies. He ſent agents abroad ſecretly to enliſt foreign ſoldiers, and invite the rapacious Brabançons into his ſervice, offering them the ſpoils of England, and the forfeitures of the barons who had riſen in arms againſt him. He ſent a meſſenger to the pope, to lay before him the Great Charter, which he had been compelled to ſign, and to ſolicit his aſſiſtance in recovering his independence, and oppoſing the barons.

Innocent, who now conſidered himſelf as feudal lord of the realm of England, was incenſed at the audacity of the barons, who, notwithſtanding their pretended appeal to his authority, had preſumed, without his conſent, to impoſe ſuch terms on a prince, who, by reſigning his independence to him, had placed himſelf under his immediate protection. He therefore iſſued a bull, in which, "from the plenitude of apoſtolic power, and the authority which God had committed to him to build and deſtroy kingdoms, to plant and overthrow," he abrogated the charter, prohibited the barons from exacting the obſervance of it, and even the king himſelf from regarding it; abſolving him and his ſubjects from all the oaths they had been conſtrained to take, and denouncing a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all who perſevered in maintaining pretenſions ſo treaſonable and iniquitous.

At the ſame time with this bull came John's foreign forces; whereupon he immediately ventured to throw off the maſk, and recalled all the privileges he had granted to his ſubjects, and which he had ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve. But the thunder of Rome had now leſs force than when it was directed againſt him. Langton refuſed to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication againſt the barons; and though he was cited to attend a general council at Rome, and was there ſuſpended for his diſobedience to the pope, and for his ſecretly correſponding with the king's enemies; though a new ſentence of excommunication was iſſued againſt the principal barons, in which their names were mentioned, yet the king found that his barons, his people, and even his clergy, ſtill continued their confederacy againſt him.

No ſooner had the barons obtained the Great Charter, than, lulled in a fatal ſecurity, they took no meaſures for re-aſſembling their armies, in caſe the king ſhould introduce a foreign force. Hence John was maſter of the field, and began by inveſting Rocheſter caſtle, which was bravely defended by William de Albiney, at the head of an hundred and forty knights, with their retainers, but was at laſt reduced by famine. The king was ſo enraged at this reſiſtance, that he reſolved to hang the governor and all the garriſon; but being informed that repriſals would be made, by which he himſelf would ſuffer, he was ſatisfied with ſacrificing, in this inhuman manner, all the inferior priſoners. The captivity of William de Albiney, who was the beſt officer among the barons, was ſuch a loſs, that from thenceforward no regular oppoſition was made to the progreſs of the royal arms. The barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged tyrant, ſpread devaſtation over the face of the kingdom; the conſternation and miſery of the inhabitants were inexpreſſible; and nothing was ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles, ſucceſſively reduced to aſhes. Melford, Morpeth, Alnwick, and Werk, were burnt; and Roxburgh, Haddington, and Dunbar, underwent the ſame fate; John himſelf, like a barbarous ruffian, ſetting fire, with his own hands to every houſe in which he had lodged. The mercenary ſoldiers even put thoſe who fell into their hands to the torture, to make them diſcover their concealed treaſures. The barons

and

and their partizans made repriſals on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the crown. The king proceeded through the whole kingdom, from Dover to Berwick, conſidered every eſtate that was not his immediate property as the object of military execution, and laid waſte the provinces on each ſide of him.

A. D. 1216.] The barons, reduced to this deſperate extremity, employed a remedy no leſs deſperate, and offered the king of France to acknowledge Louis, his eldeſt ſon, as their ſovereign, provided he would protect them from the violence of the tyrant. The proſpect of ſuch a prize rendered Philip regardleſs to the menaces of the court of Rome, which threatened him with excommunication if he attacked a prince under the protection of the holy ſee; notwithſtanding he refuſed to intruſt his ſon and heir to the caprice of the Engliſh barons, without ſome pledge for his ſafety; accordingly he demanded of them twenty-five of the moſt illuſtrious nobles, and no ſooner had he received theſe hoſtages, than he ſent over Louis with a numerous army.

The firſt effect of that young prince's appearance in England was the deſertion of John's foreign troops, who, being moſtly levied in Flanders, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy. The barons either haſtened to join the ſtandard of Louis, or threw open to him the gates of their caſtles. Dover alone reſiſted his arms. But the union between the Engliſh and the French was of ſhort duration; the preference of Louis to the latter ſoon excited the jealouſy of the former. A French nobleman, the viſcount Melun, as it is ſaid, revealed alſo on his death-bed, to ſome of the Engliſh barons, who were his friends, the ſecret intentions of Louis to exterminate them and their families. This ſtory was univerſally reported and believed, ſeveral of the nobles again deſerted to John's party, and the French prince had reaſon to dread a ſudden reverſe of fortune: the king, with a conſiderable army was advancing towards him; but paſſing from Lynn to Lincolnſhire, his road lay along the ſea-ſhore, which was overflowed at high water; and not chooſing the proper time for his journey, he loſt in the inundation all his carriages, treaſure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction for this diſaſter, and vexation from the diſtracted ſtate of affairs, increaſed the ſickneſs under which he then laboured; and though he reached the caſtle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his diſtemper ſoon put an end to his life: he expired in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, leaving two legitimate ſons, Henry and Richard, the elder of whom was only nine years old.

Observations *on the* Feudal System.

When the northern nations ſubdued the Roman provinces, the natives remained among them. To ſecure themſelves againſt revolt, it became neceſſary to eſtabliſh a military government. They ſeized, therefore, the conquered lands, a portion of which was aſſigned for the ſupport of the prince and government; the other parts, under the title of fiefs, were diſtributed among the chiefs, for ſervices done or expected; theſe again parcelled them out among their retainers. All theſe grants might be reſumed at pleaſure, and were made on the expreſs condition that the poſſeſſor ſhould hold himſelf in readineſs to take the field for the defence of the country. But ſome of theſe conquerors, diſdaining to hold by a tenure ſo precarious, ſeized lands for themſelves, which being hereditary and independent, enabled them to maintain their native liberty. Theſe were called allodial lands, and at firſt conſidered as preferable to feudal poſſeſſions; but the progreſſive changes introduced into public and private law, made them of inferior value; each allodial proprietor, therefore, reſigned his poſſeſſion into the hands of the king, or ſome powerful nobleman, and received them back with the condition of feudal ſervice.

According to the principles of the feudal law,

law, the king was the ſupreme lord of the landed property, either mediately or immediately; and as the tenure of thoſe who held lands was at firſt precarious, it ſeemed equitable, that thoſe who had been at the trouble to cultivate the fields, ſhould receive the fruits of their labour; from hence fiefs ſoon became annual. In conſequence of progreſſive improvements, theſe grants were extended to a term of years, and next for life. Fiefs at length became hereditary, and the idea of property ſtole in gradually upon that of military pay. While the chief daily advanced new pretenſions to ſecure the poſſeſſion of his ſuperior fief, his vaſſals expected to find the ſame advantage, in acquiring ſtability to their ſubordinate ones; and they oppoſed the intruſion of a new lord, who would be inclined to beſtow their lands upon his own favourites and retainers, to their excluſion. From hence there was a ſtrong connection between the chief and his vaſſals, and the authority of the ſovereign gradually decayed; while each noble, fortified in his own territory by their attachment, became too powerful to be expelled by an order from the throne, and ſecured by law what he had acquired by uſurpation. The union of the civil juriſdiction with the military power, ſerved greatly to ſtrengthen this connection and dependence of the vaſſal upon his chief; and the profits ariſing from puniſhments, which were then chiefly pecuniary, was another reaſon for his deſiring to retain the judicial power. When fiefs became hereditary, this authority, which was eſſential to it, deſcended to poſterity. The authority of the lord was abſolute over his vaſſals, and they conſidered themſelves equally bound to defend him in his private quarrels as in his foreign wars: by theſe means he was rendered independent of the king, whoſe authority was more nominal than real, and on whom he frequently made war, if the king refuſed to gratify his will. After this manner the vaſt fabric of feudal ſubordination became quite ſolid and comprehenſive.

As the ancient inhabitants of England were exterminated by the Saxons, when they conquered the country they preſerved their own liberty; the magiſtrates and military officers depended on the general will of the nation. The appropriation of land for the maintenance of the public ſervice was ſmall, and only poſſeſſed during pleaſure, by thoſe who were intruſted with the command. Theſe conditions could not ſatisfy the Norman barons who followed the fortune of William; they had no idea of any other ſpecies of civil government but the feudal ſyſtem; and as they enjoyed more independent poſſeſſions and juriſdictions in their own country, William was obliged, in the new diſtribution of land, to copy the tenures which were now become univerſal on the continent, and England ſuddenly became a feudal kingdom.

William had ſtipulated with the people for the reſervation of the Saxon laws; but he deprived them of arms, and eſtabliſhed a deſpotic government. He deſtroyed their towns and villages for his amuſement; and as the people did not patiently endure his oppreſſion, the country was greatly depopulated through their reſiſtance and his revenge. He eſtabliſhed the moſt odious and oppreſſive taxes; one was a tax of ſix ſhillings on every hide of land, which was three times the amount of the ordinary Dane-gelt. He directed commiſſioners to make out a rent-roll, for the more effectually levying theſe taxes, and aſcertaining the value and quantity of land in the poſſeſſion of every individual in the kingdom. Under the pretence of a threatened invaſion from Denmark, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he brought over an army of Normans and Bretons: theſe licentious free-booters were quartered on the inhabitants; and he compelled the landholders to give up their poſſeſſions univerſally, and receive them back on the condition of military ſervice. As the Engliſh nobility were nearly all of them deprived of their lands, which were divided among his Norman followers, and all the power put into their hands, they became, if poſſible, more oppreſſive than the king; and every inſtance of reſiſtance to their depre-

dations, on the part of the people, was followed by freſh acts of cruelty and injuſtice.

By theſe means a great part of the people were brought into abſolute ſlavery, or villainage; they were confined to the manor; they could acquire no property of their own; they were the abſolute property of their lord. The other inhabitants of the country paid their rent in ſervices, which were in a great meaſure arbitrary; and they could expect no redreſs of injuries in the baron's court, from men who thought they had a right to oppreſs and tyrannize over them. The towns were ſituated either within the demeſnes of the king, or the lands of the great barons, and were almoſt entirely ſubjected to the will of their maſter. The low ſtate of commerce kept the inhabitants poor and contemptible, and the political inſtitutions were calculated to render that poverty perpetual. If any merchant or manufacturer roſe by induſtry to a degree of opulence, he found himſelf but the more expoſed to injuries, from the envy and avidity of the nobles.

The public revenues conſiſted firſt in the crown lands, or royal demeſnes, which were very extenſive, and comprehended, beſide a great number of manors, moſt of the chief cities of the kingdom. The king was never content with ſtated rents, but levied heavy talliages on the inhabitants who lived within his demeſnes. He exacted tolls on all goods ſold in the markets; articles of merchandiſe likewiſe paid part of their value in the cuſtoms; paſſage over bridges and on rivers was loaded with tolls at pleaſure: the boroughs bought the liberty of farming theſe impoſitions, and new ſums were often exacted for the renewal of their charters.

The land being held on the condition of attending the king in his wars, this ſervice was commuted, in the reign of Henry II. by making a compoſition in money, called ſcutage, in lieu of perſonal ſervice. This ſum was precarious and uncertain; and it was a uſual artifice of the king to pretend an expedition, that he might be entitled to levy the ſcutage. Dane-gelt was another land-tax, arbitrarily levied by the early Norman kings. Moneyage was alſo a general land-tax, of one ſhilling every three years, paid to the king, to induce him not to debaſe the coin. Indeed theſe taxes were ſo arbitrary and oppreſſive, that in the reign of William II. the farmers abandoned tillage, and a famine enſued.

Eſcheats were another ſource of power and revenue. If a baron died without iſſue, his eſtate reverted to the crown, and augmented the king's poſſeſſions. Eſcheats alſo enſued in conſequence of crimes; a vaſſal refuſing or neglecting to do fealty to his ſuperior lord likewiſe forfeited his eſtate.

On the death of a baron the king immediately ſeized his eſtate, which was not reſtored to the heir till he made a compoſition; this was called a *relief*. Theſe compoſitions were often arbitrary and exorbitant. If the heir was a minor, the king retained the whole profits of the eſtate till his majority, allowing what ſum he thought proper for his education; this was called *wardſhip*. Neither male nor female heirs could marry without the conſent of the king, or their ſuperior lord, for which they were obliged to pay large ſums.

Aids, which were originally mere benevolences, or free gifts, were another branch of the revenue: theſe were granted on particular emergencies; but they ſoon ceaſed to be voluntary and diſcretionary, and the king arbitrarily demanded by force what ſums he thought proper, though they ſtill retained the name of gifts.

Amerciaments, or fines, were another branch of the revenue; and there is nothing in which the government appeared more capricious or oppreſſive than the inventions which were fallen upon for the extorting of money from the ſubject. Juſtice was avowedly bought and ſold; even the king's court was open to none who brought not bribes to the king for the expedition, delay, ſuſpenſion, and perverſion of juſtice; and the public regiſters of the royal revenue remain as perpetual monuments of the iniquity and tyranny of the times. In the rolls of the Exchequer it is inſerted, that the county of Norfolk

Norfolk paid a ſum that they might be fairly dealt with; the borough of Yarmouth, that the king's charter, which they had for their liberties, might not be violated; and Walter de Burton paid for free law, if accuſed of wounding another.

Sometimes the king received a portion of the debts, which he, as the executor of juſtice, ſhould enable a plaintiff to recover. Theophania de Weſtland agreed to pay the half of two hundred and twelve marks, that ſhe might recover that ſum againſt James de Fughleſton.

The commerce of the kingdom was ſo much under the controul of the king, that he erected gilds, corporations, and monopolies, wherever he pleaſed; and levied large ſums of money for theſe excluſive privileges. Individuals alſo were obliged to pay for liberty to follow their reſpective callings.

In ſhort, the ingenious devices which the kings have fallen upon to get money from the people are ſo numerous, as appears by the records of the Exchequer, that there was no occurrence in life, however trifling, that did not furniſh a pretext for extorting money; or the people were obliged to advance it, to obtain favour or juſtice.

But the people ſuffered ſtill more by fines for crimes and treſpaſſes. Moſt offences were atoned for by money; and whenever that was wanted, crimes were multiplied and conjured up to ſuit the occcaſion. Fines were impoſed without any rule or ſtatute, and frequently were ſo exceedingly heavy, even for the ſlighteſt treſpaſſes, as to be the total ruin of the unfortunate victim.

The foreſt laws were a great ſource of oppreſſion. The king poſſeſſed ſixty-eight foreſts, thirteen chaces, and ſeven hundred and eighty-one parks, in different parts of England; and as the Engliſh and Normans were extremely fond of hunting, theſe were only ſo many ſnares laid for the people, by which they were allured into treſpaſſes, and brought within the reach of arbitrary and rigorous laws, which the king thought proper to enact by his own authority.

Notwithſtanding this general ſyſtem of oppreſſion, the Jews, by induſtry, enterpriſe, and œconomy, found means to acquire wealth. As this was chiefly obtained by uſury, they became extremely odious to the people, who moreover hated them on account of their religion. Their wealth expoſed them to the immeaſurable rapacity of the king and his miniſters, and the moſt barefaced acts of tyranny and oppreſſion were practiſed againſt them. Beſide many indignities to which they were continually expoſed, they were once all thrown into priſon, and ſixty-ſix thouſand marks exacted for their liberty. At another time Iſaac paid alone five thouſand one hundred marks, Brun three thouſand, Jurnet two thouſand, Bennett five hundred, Licorica, the widow of David, the Jew, of Oxford, was required to pay ſix thouſand marks, and obliged to find ſix of the richeſt Jews to be her ſecurities. Henry III. borrowed five thouſand marks from the earl of Cornwall, and conſigned to him all the Jews in England for repayment. The revenue ariſing from exactions on this nation was ſo conſiderable, that there was a particular court of Exchequer ſet apart for managing it.

Though all the princes of the Norman line had ſworn to maintain the laws, and adminiſter juſtice with equity, the hiſtory of the times, and the proviſions of Magna Charta, fully ſhew that they were accuſtomed to impriſon, baniſh, and attaint the freemen of the kingdom, by their ſole authority, without proceſs of law.

From the power which the nobles acquired under the feudal ſyſtem, every baron conſidered himſelf as a kind of ſovereign within his territory; he had his juſticiary, conſtable, mareſchal, chamberlain, ſeneſchal, and chancellor, as well as the king; like him he kept his court, and exacted talliages from the free citizens who lived within his barony, and his authority was generally more oppreſſive and tyrannical than that of the ſovereign.

The right of primogeniture, which was derived from the feudal law, by eſtabliſhing an unequal diviſion of property, reduced the younger branches of the family to a ſervile dependence

dependence upon the elder, and ſtrengthened the pretenſions in favour of an hereditary monarch and ariſtocracy.

When England was conquered by the Normans, though William had ſworn to maintain the Saxon laws, he was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than he began to violate them. The offices of magiſtracy, and the conſtitution of the legiſlature, among other things, underwent an entire change. Inſtead of the great council of the nation being filled by the repreſentatives of the people, as it was in the Saxon times, it was now filled, according to the feudal principles, by the great barons, and thoſe tenants who held their lands immediately from the crown, *in capite*, by knight's ſervice; who, as vaſſals, were obliged to attend the king in his council. The archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots, had likewiſe a ſeat; which they held by a double title, that of ancient preſcription, and their right of baronage, as holding of the king *in capite* by military ſervice. During the ſhock occaſioned by the Conqueſt the boroughs ſuffered ſeverely; and we are told by Brady, in his Treatiſe of the Boroughs, that they had extremely decayed between the death of the Confeſſor and the time when Domeſday-book was framed; and as there is no poſitive or probable evidence that they ſent members to the great council, we muſt admit that deputies from the boroughs made no part of the firſt Anglo-Norman parliaments. When William Rufus ſucceeded his father, to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne againſt his elder brother Robert, he was obliged to promiſe to reſtore the Saxon laws, and govern by the principles of equity. Though he had no regard to his engagements, but proved a greater tyrant than his father, yet the government became more eſtabliſhed; and as the country enjoyed a little more peace, the inhabitants of boroughs began to acquire a property and importance in this reign which they had not during the laſt.

Henry, on his acceſſion to the throne, ſtipulated with the people for the reſtoration of the Saxon laws; and as his elder brother, Robert, was ſtill living, who might ſupplant him, he thought it expedient to grant a charter which afforded many advantages to the people. Though, like his predeceſſors, he never fulfilled his promiſes, yet the circumſtances of the Commons continued advancing, through ſome wiſe regulations which took place during his reign; and he ſeveral times called all the people together, to approve or reject his inſtitutions.

Stephen on his acceſſion made large conceſſions to the people, who acquired ſtill more importance in the ſtruggle between him and Henry II.

Henry, having ſucceeded to the throne, renewed the charter of his grandfather, and improved the juriſprudence of the country: but Henry was ambitious, and in the conteſt for power between him and the barons, each was ſolicitous to bind the Commons to their intereſt, who by this means came in for a greater ſhare of influence.

When the barons met on Runne-mede, and preſented the preliminary articles to king John for the formation of the Great Charter, he added theſe words, which make the 16th ſection—and alſo the three following, which determine the quality of the other members of the great council, manner, and times of meeting—" Moreover we will that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free cuſtoms. And for holding the common council of the kingdom, for impoſing aids, &c." Thus, by ſecuring to the Commons a voice in parliament by this charter, he formed a check upon the exorbitant power of the barons, and procured for the people more than was by them intended. Burgeſſes had met in parliament before, but now their right was clearly aſcertained by law; and though their attendance, and that of the leſſer barons, was generally excuſed, on account of the great expence, and the public buſineſs tranſacted by the king and the great barons alone, which is the reaſon we ſeldom hear of any others being in parliament; yet, on occaſions of great importance, thoſe who found it convenient

convenient attended, of which ſeveral inſtances occur; and when any objection has been made, particular boroughs have claimed it as a matter of right and ancient cuſtom.

This charter being a compoſition between the king and the barons, neither of them conſulted any intereſt but their own; if the people derived advantage from it, that was rather the effect of accident, or neceſſity, than deſign, and neither of the parties conſidered themſelves as bound to abide by it. Accordingly we find the king make a declaration of his diſapprobation of it, collect a force, and go to war with the barons for the purpoſe of freeing himſelf from it's reſtraints. And when this charter was renewed in the ſucceeding reign, though the barons could have preſcribed what terms they pleaſed, they choſe to leave out thoſe articles which ſecured the liberty of the ſubject, and among them the clauſe which provides for the boroughs *holding the common council of the kingdom*, and three following articles, which had been inſerted by John.

It is not, therefore, from a charter ſo vague in itſelf, many of whoſe clauſes were annulled by the ſame authority, and many of the ſame men who enacted it, whoſe remaining proviſions have been conſtantly violated by the party in power ever ſince, which was never underſtood by the nation, and never had the general conſent of the people, that Engliſhmen had to derive their conſtitution and their liberties.

It has been ſaid, that by this charter the people obtained a reſtoration of the Saxon laws, the thing which they had ſo long and ſo eagerly coveted; but from the hiſtory of the Saxon period, and thoſe fragments of their laws which have eſcaped the wreck of time, and the violence of the firſt Norman depredators; and from certain cuſtoms, too ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds of the people to be obliterated by any time or force; from the charter itſelf, and the character of the men who prepared it; it is obvious a reſtoration of the Saxon laws was neither granted nor intended. The great body of the people remained in the ſame ſtate of vaſſalage as before, without property or ſecurity; and the ſmall ſhare which was granted to the Commons in the legiſlature was ſo vaguely expreſſed, that it might be revoked at pleaſure; inſtead of that *free*, *equal*, and *univerſal right* which had been exerciſed by their anceſtors before the Conqueſt.

The Great Charter contained no new eſtabliſhment of courts, magiſtrates, or ſenates; it only corrected ſome of thoſe evils, which had grown to ſuch an enormous height under the feudal ſyſtem, as threatened the total overthrow of the government.

CHAPTER VI.

Henry crowned—Earl of Pembroke appointed Guardian—Commotions—Diſcontent of the Barons—Grievances occaſioned by the Pope—The King's Brother made King of the Romans—Civil Wars—Death of the King, &c.

THE Engliſh having ſuffered ſo much from the partiality of their former kings to foreigners, excited their jealouſy againſt Louis, who had been ſo impolitic as to beſtow places of honour and confidence upon his countrymen, in preference to the natives; in conſequence of which many had deſerted to John. The earl of Pembroke had invariably adhered to the royal cauſe, and, as mareſchal of England, had the ſupreme command of the army, and was at the head of the ſtate. On the death of John, he boldly ſeized the government for Henry, who was then but nine years old; perſuaded that, through the diſcontent which prevailed among the partizans of Louis, many

would desert him, and support the cause of Henry, as the only means of delivering the country from the influence of a foreign faction. He therefore called a council of the barons, and placing young Henry amidst them, addressed the audience in his behalf. "My dear countrymen," said he, "though we expressed a just resentment against the father of this prince, because his conduct was iniquitous, this little child is free from the imputation of his father's guilt. Punishment can be inflicted, with justice, but on the offender; and reason and revelation combine to instruct us that the son shall not bear the iniquity of his father: we ought, therefore, to compassionate the cause of this infant king, and zealously to unite in driving Louis, son to the king of France, with his people, out of our land. Thus shall we revive the ancient glory of our country, and break the reproachful chains of servile bondage."

This remonstrance had the desired effect; the suffrages of the assembly were united in his favour; and they exclaimed, "Let Henry be king! Let Henry be king!" He was accordingly crowned at Gloucester, on the 28th of October, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, in the presence of Gualo the legate, and several of the nobility.

In order to quiet the minds of the people, and attach them more generally to his interest, the young king took the customary oath, and, in particular, solemnly bound himself to perform every article of the two charters granted by his father with the greatest punctuality. The barons then took the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign, and his person was committed to the guardianship of the earl of Pembroke, who acted as regent of the kingdom.

During the lowest fortune of John, this nobleman had preserved his attachment, and was not dismayed by the dangers which assailed the throne of his son. That he might reconcile all men to the government of his pupil, he made him grant a new charter of liberties: this was in some measure altered from the former; the objection to which John had subjected himself, of obtaining the consent of the great council before he levied any aids upon the nation, was left to future deliberation; nor were the full privileges of election in the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without the royal approbation, confirmed. But it was followed by a charter of forests; which declared offences committed in the king's forests no longer capital, but only punishable by more gentle penalties, as fine and imprisonment; and which restored the power of cutting and using wood to all proprietors of land.

A. D. 1217.] The satisfaction which these charters diffused was soon felt by Louis; the personal resentment of the barons to John was buried with him in the grave; their jealousy of their new allies had daily increased, and a large detachment of the French had been routed near Lincoln, and their fleet had suffered a considerable defeat off the coast of Kent. These events determined the mal-contents, by an early submission, to prevent those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their resistance; and Louis, whose cause was now desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person; he readily consented to conclude a peace on honourable conditions, promised to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a restitution to their honours and fortunes.

A. D. 1219.] The regent did not long survive the pacification which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour; and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed. But the licentious and powerful barons, having broken the reins of subjection, could ill be restrained by laws under minority; they held by force the royal castles, they usurped the king's demesnes, they oppressed their vassals, and protected every species of banditti in their robberies and extortions.

A. D. 1220.] No man was more infamous for these practices than the earl of Albemarle. Hubert, to reduce him to obedience, had seized an opportunity of getting possession

poſſeſſion of Rockingham caſtle, which he had garriſoned with his licentious retinue; but, inſtead of ſubmitting, he ſurprized in return the caſtle of Fotheringay. Pandulf, the legate, was active in ſuppreſſing this rebellion; he excommunicated Albemarle and his adherents. The latter, alarmed at this meaſure, deſerted their chief, who ſued for mercy; but, with an impolitic lenity too frequent in thoſe times, he received a pardon, and was reſtored to his whole eſtate.

A. D. 1221.] Juſtice was executed with greater ſeverity againſt diſorders leſs premeditated which broke out in London. The citizens having gained the prize in a wreſtling-match between them and the inhabitants of Weſtminſter, one of the combatants, piqued at the glory he had loſt, and determined to revenge the diſgrace, propoſed a ſecond conteſt. The Londoners, who flocked to the place of diverſion, were ſuddenly attacked by the ſteward and a band of armed ruſtics; by whom being cruelly maimed and wounded, they were obliged to fly for refuge into the city. The citizens, provoked at this outrage, determined to take revenge; they accordingly roſe in a body, and with Conſtantine Fitz-arnulf, a popular citizen, at their head, demoliſhed ſome houſes belonging to the abbot, and returned in triumph to the city. Hubert, the juſticiary, repaired to the Tower, and ſummoned the citizens to appear, and anſwer for their conduct. Conſtantine juſtified what he had done; and as he had been a zealous partizan of the barons, he pleaded the ſtipulation in favour of the adherents of Louis. This could only operate againſt him in the opinion of the juſticiary, who had been on the oppoſite ſide, and who replied, that no benefit accrued to rioters from that ſtipulation, and that he ſhould be hanged the next morning; which was accordingly executed without form or proceſs, notwithſtanding an offer of fifteen thouſand marks of ſilver for his ranſom; and the hands and feet of many of his accomplices were cut off. Conſidering the tumultuous diſpoſition of the times, it was an act of ill-judged ſeverity, (more eſpecially as rioting was not then a very capital offence,) and had very near coſt the juſticiary his life in a riot, by order of the king, about twelve years afterwards. When the juſticiary, being in diſgrace, fled to the church of Merton, the Londoners were directed to drive him from his ſanctuary, living or dead. Recollecting the fate of Conſtantine, their favourite, they cheerfully embraced this opportunity of gratifying their revenge; but his life was ſaved by a counter order.

But, to return. The king was not ſatisfied with the puniſhment of Conſtantine and his accomplices; to gratify his reſentment ſtill farther, he diſplaced the magiſtrates, and appointed others by his ſole authority, and exacted hoſtages from the citizens for their peaceable behaviour.

Theſe deſpotic meaſures were ſo diſpleaſing to the nation in general, that in a parliament aſſembled at Oxford, (the great council about this time began to receive that appellation,) the king was peremptorily demanded to execute thoſe charters, to the obſervance of which he had ſolemnly ſworn: but ſince the death of earl Pembroke, the court had adopted new maxims; and William de Briewere, one of the council of regency, was ſo bold as to ſay openly, thoſe charters were extorted by force, and ought not to be obſerved. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, offended at this raſh reply, obſerved, that if he loved the king, he would not prevent the peace of the kingdom; neither did Henry countenance the expreſſion, but, perceiving the equity of the demand, he iſſued orders for the exact execution of the charters throughout the kingdom.

Hubert, in conſideration of the abject ſtate of the crown, now applied to the pope, to declare the king of full age. In conſequence of this declaration, he reſigned into his hands the important fortreſſes of the Tower and Dover caſtle, which had been intruſted to his care. Several of the moſt powerful barons, inſtead of imitating his example, formed the deſign of ſurpriſing London; but finding the king prepared for defence, they deſiſted; and being threatened by

by the archbiſhop and the prelate with excommunication if they perſiſted in detaining the king's caſtles, they at length gave way, and made a ſurrender of them.

A. D. 1225.] Notwithſtanding the precarious authority of the crown amidſt ſuch inteſtine commotions, Henry was obliged to enter into a war with France, and to that purpoſe applied the fifteenth which had been granted him by parliament. Henry had demanded the reſtitution of Normandy, and the other provinces wreſted from England; on which Louis VIII. who had ſucceeded his father Philip, making an eruption into Poictou, took Rochelle after a long ſiege, and ſeemed reſolved to expel the Engliſh from the few provinces they ſtill poſſeſſed. Henry ſent againſt him his uncle, the earl of Saliſbury, with his brother, prince Richard, to whom he had granted the earldom of Cornwall, which had eſcheated to the crown. Saliſbury put a ſtop to the progreſs of the arms of Louis, and confirmed the Poictevin and Gaſcon vaſſals in their allegiance.

A. D. 1226.] Richard, the king's brother, who returned to England after ſtaying two years in Guienne, was remarkably addicted to avarice, by which he became the richeſt ſubject in chriſtendom: hence his attention to heap up money ſometimes involved him in acts of violence that gave diſturbance to the government. A manor that had formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall, but before Richard was inveſted with that dignity, had been granted to Waleran de Ties. Richard claimed this manor, and expelled the proprietor by force: Waleran complained; and Henry ordered his brother to reſtore it to him. This the earl refuſed, till the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt him by the judgment of his peers. Henry repeated his orders; obſerving, that it was neceſſary to reinſtate Waleran before the cauſe could be tried. This affair, trifling as it was, had nearly produced a civil war. Richard, finding the king peremptory in his commands, joined with the young earl of Pembroke, who had married his ſiſter, and was diſpleaſed at his having been obliged to deliver up ſome royal caſtles that were in his cuſtody. Theſe engaged in their confederacy the earls of Glouceſter, Cheſter, Hereford, Warwick, Ferrers, and Warenne, all of whom were diſguſted on the ſame account; and aſſembling an army, which Henry had neither the power nor the courage to reſiſt, he was obliged to give his brother ſatisfaction, by conferring on him grants of much greater value than the manor that had occaſioned the diſturbance.

A. D. 1227.] As the king grew up to man's eſtate, he was found entirely incapable of ſupporting a proper authority. Weakly fond, fluctuating and irreſolute, he received every impreſſion from thoſe around him, whom he loved with a childiſh ductility. Without courage or activity, he was entirely unfit to engage in war; and as he had neither principle nor policy, he was ill-fitted to govern his people during peace. Influenced by Hubert, he extorted large ſums of money from London, Northampton, and the monaſteries, on frivolous pretences; but the unexpected revocation of the two charters which he had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve, but now renounced, alledging the invalidity of an act paſſed in his minority, brought on him the general odium of the people.

Hubert having ſucceeded Pembroke in the miniſtry, had ſuch an aſcendancy over the king, that he was loaded with honours and favours; he was preſented with many caſtles and manors, he married the king of Scots eldeſt ſiſter, was created earl of Kent, and made chief juſticiary for life; yet, in a ſudden caprice, Henry not only diſcarded, but expoſed him to the perſecution of his enemies. Among the frivolous crimes laid to his charge, was that of gaining the king's affection by enchantment; and ſtealing a gem from the royal treaſury that had the power of rendering the wearer invulnerable, and of ſending this ineſtimable jewel to one of the Welch princes. Hubert, in his diſtreſs, took ſanctuary in a church of Merton in Surrey; the king ordered the mayor to force him from his retreat, living or dead; he accordingly

ingly aſſembled the populace, and acquainted them with the king's meſſage, which they eagerly embraced, anxious to revenge the death of Conſtantine, whoſe fate was ſtill freſh in their memory, and having aſſembled to the amount of twenty thouſand, they went to the church, where they found him kneeling before the altar, in expectation of his fate: but the king had been prevailed upon to countermand the order; he therefore ſent a meſſenger, who arrived time enough to ſave his life. He afterwards fled to the chapel of Brentwood; the king ſent a detachment after him; they dragged him from the chapel to priſon like a common felon; but the clergy threatened to excommunicate all concerned in this violation of privilege, if Hubert was not reſtored. The king accordingly ordered him to be re-conveyed to the chapel, but directed the ſheriffs of Hertford and Eſſex to raiſe the populace of thoſe counties, and beſet the place in ſuch a manner, that he could neither eſcape nor receive ſuſtenance; ſo that he was ſoon obliged to ſurrender himſelf. He was confined in the caſtle of the Devizes; thence he made his eſcape, was baniſhed, was again received into favour, and recovered a ſhare in the king's confidence, but never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to be again inveſted with authority and power.

A. D. 1233.] Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſucceeded him in the government of the king and kingdom. He was a native of Poictou, who had been raiſed by John; and was as much diſtinguiſhed by his arbitrary principles and tyrannical conduct, as by his courage and abilities. The late king had left this prelate juſticiary and regent of the kingdom, while he made an expedition into France; and his illegal conduct during his adminiſtration, was one principal cauſe of the barons uniting in that grand combination for the recovery of their liberties, by the great charter. Though Henry was incapable of purſuing the ſame violent meaſures as his father, he had imbibed the ſame arbitrary principles; and by this miniſter's advice, ſent for a great number of Poictevins, and other foreign ſoldiers, who, he fancied, might be more ſafely truſted than the Engliſh, and might be of uſe in counterbalancing the power of the barons. On theſe ſtrangers was beſtowed every office and command; they were ſuffered to exhauſt the revenues of the crown, and to invade the rights of the people; and hence their influence and power drew on them the nation's hatred and envy.

The barons now formed a confederacy, and withdrew from parliament, under pretence of the danger to which they were expoſed from the deſigns of the Poictevins. On their being again ſummoned to attend, they anſwered, that the king ſhould diſmiſs his foreigners; and that if he did not, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on a head more worthy to wear it. However, they at laſt came to parliament; but with ſuch a retinue, that they ſeemed able to preſcribe laws to the king and his miniſtry. The biſhop of Wincheſter, however, found means to bring over to his party the earls of Cornwall, Cheſter, and Lincoln. This diſconcerted the meaſures of the confederates. Richard earl marſhal was driven into Wales, from whence he withdrew into Ireland; where, by the contrivance of the biſhop of Wincheſter, he was treacherouſly murdered. The eſtates of thoſe barons who were moſt obnoxious were confiſcated, without their being tried by their peers; and when to theſe proceedings the authority of the Great Charter was objected, Henry was wont to reply, "Why ſhould I obſerve this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?" it was very reaſonably ſaid to him, "You ought, Sir, to ſet them the example."

The biſhop of Wincheſter's miniſtry was of ſo violent a nature, as not to be longer endured; yet it's fall proceeded more from the church, than the efforts of the nobles. Edmond, the primate, attended by many other prelates, came to court; and repreſenting the pernicious meaſures of Peter, required the diſmiſſion of him and his aſſo-

ciates, under pain of excommunication. The menace was too formidable to be neglected, and the conſequent change of miniſters was attended with a moſt ſalutary change of meaſures. Ambaſſadors were ſent to conclude a peace with Llewellyn and his aſſociates; and the king himſelf repaired to Glouceſter, to forward the negociation. The Welch prince agreed to the propoſals of peace, on condition that the exiled barons, who had eſpouſed his cauſe, ſhould be indulged with a pardon, and reſtored to their eſtates; which terms were granted.

A. D. 1235-6.] Through the good offices of the pope, Henry now procured a powerful ally in the perſon of the emperor Frederic II. who demanded his ſiſter Iſabella in marriage. The propoſal was readily accepted, and the articles of the contract ſettled, and the prelates and barons granted a ſcutage, by which thirty thouſand marks were levied, as a dowry for the young princeſs, who was immediately ſent, with a ſplendid retinue, into Germany, where the nuptials were celebrated at Worms with great pomp, in preſence of a great number of perſons of the firſt rank in the empire.

Henry, having thus diſpoſed of his ſiſter, began to think of a match for himſelf, and made an overture of marriage to Eleanor, ſecond daughter to Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, who had already diſpoſed of his eldeſt daughter to the king of France. The council approving this alliance, and the father the propoſals of Henry, the young lady was conducted by the ambaſſadors into England, and the ceremony performed at Canterbury, whence they proceeded to London, which they entered with great ſplendor; and the Sunday following the queen was crowned at Weſtminſter, with a pomp exceeding any thing before known.

The weakneſs of Henry ſoon re-appeared, notwithſtanding all the pains which the new miniſtry had taken to regulate his conduct. William de Savoire, biſhop elect of Valence, uncle to the queen, had attended her to England, and was now become a great favourite with the pliant king. The Engliſh nobility, who were always remarkable for their hatred of foreign favourites, determined to cruſh this new influence, before the minion could acquire a degree of authority ſufficient to affect the welfare of the nation. With this view, in a parliament aſſembled at London, they preſented a remonſtrance to the king, who was ſo terrified at the addreſs, that he retired to the Tower, and there propoſed to finiſh the buſineſs of the ſeſſion; but the nobility, refuſing to attend in that place, Henry had foreſight enough, on this occaſion, to remove to his palace, and prevent the complaints of his people.

Notwithſtanding the foreigners were alarmed at this reſolute ſtand of the parliament, they perſevered in promoting their intereſt with the king, upon whom they prevailed to remove ſeveral patriotic noblemen from their poſts; and likewiſe to remove all alienations of the crown demeſnes, and grants made to the nobility previous to his marriage.

To corroborate theſe proceedings, the pope iſſued a bull, repreſenting thoſe grants as injurious to the honour of the crown, detrimental to the king's right of ſovereignty, abſolving Henry from the oath by which they had been confirmed, and enjoining an immediate reſumption.

This ſcheme was, however, rendered abortive by the very means they had employed to make it effectual; for when the mandate was communicated to the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, the members rejected the propoſal with contempt, alledging, that a compliance with the bull would be an acknowledgment of ſubjection to the Roman ſee, of which they conſidered the kingdom entirely independent.

A. D. 1237.] The king's ordinary revenue being by no means ſufficient to gratify the avarice of his favourites, another aſſembly was convened, and Henry repreſented to them, that as his finances were exhauſted, by the expences attending his marriage, and the queen's coronation, he deſired they would grant him a ſubſidy, for the neceſſary purpoſes of government. The aſſembly replied, that

that former ſubſidies had never been employed to the honour or advantage of the nation, but ſquandered on worthleſs foreigners, who ſupplanted his ſubjects in poſts of honour and profit, and ſeemed to vaunt themſelves in oppreſſing the people.

In order to gain his ends, he ſolemnly declared, that if they would grant a thirtieth part of their moveables, he would never aſk another ſupply that ſhould give them the leaſt cauſe of offence. In order to facilitate their compliance, he diſavowed the pope's bull, touching the reſumption of grants, declared he would inviolably obſerve the liberties of Magna Charta, and ordered ſentence of excommunication to be pronounced againſt all perſons who ſhould dare to violate that ſacred conſtitution. The aſſembly, influenced by theſe aſſurances, and the admiſſion of ſeveral Engliſh noblemen into the council, complied with his requeſt, but on condition that the money levied ſhould be depoſited in certain abbies and churches, as a fund ſacred to the neceſſities of government; not to be laviſhed on foreigners, who were no longer to rule in prejudice to his natural born ſubjects. But notwithſtanding the precautions taken by the barons, and the proteſtations made by the king, he importuned his father-in-law to come over into England, and ſuffered his foreign favourites to engroſs all places of honour and profit.

William de Valence was the perſon who poſſeſſed his chief confidence, and behaved in ſo haughty and arrogant a manner, that a rebellion would have enſued, had he not left the kingdom, on pretence of viſiting his own country; but as ſoon as he was informed that the reſentment of the barons had ſubſided, he returned to the kingdom, and renewed his former practices. Nevertheleſs, being ſtill apprehenſive of danger, he prevailed on Henry to deſire the pope would ſend over a legate, whoſe authority, added to that of the crown, might intimidate the barons, and reſtrain the mutinous ſpirit of the people. The pope readily granted Henry's requeſt; Otho was inveſted with legatine authority, and ſent over into England.

A. D. 1238.] Notwithſtanding the ſanction of the legate, the miniſtry found it neceſſary to gain over to their ſide ſome of the moſt conſiderable members of the oppoſition; particularly John earl of Lincoln, and Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter. This young nobleman paid his addreſſes to Eleanor, ſecond ſiſter of Henry, and widow of the earl of Pembroke. This lady, at the death of her huſband, had made a vow of perpetual chaſtity. The miniſtry, reſolving to engage Simon in their intereſt, perſuaded Henry to conſent to the marriage. He was ſeverely reprimanded by the archbiſhop and barons for his compliance; who, headed by the earls of Cornwall and Mareſchal, and reinforced by a number of the citizens of London, aſſembled in Southwark, repaired to court, and peremptorily inſiſted that Lincoln and Montfort ſhould be removed from the council board. Henry, alarmed at this demand, had recourſe to the good offices of the legate, who, on the promiſe of large grants, appeaſed the reſentment of Cornwall, and a truce was concluded till the firſt Monday in Lent, when all grievances were to be redreſſed, at a general council in London.

The malcontents appeared at the time and place appointed; but the earl of Cornwall being detached from the aſſociation, the grievances were but half redreſſed, and the diſpute was compromiſed by the mediation of the legate. The two earls were removed from the council; and Simon, fearing his marriage might be diſſolved by means of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, went privately to Rome, and purchaſed a confirmation of that venal court.

The legate, having effected an accommodation for a time between Henry and his barons, ſet out on a viſitation towards the north of England; and taking Oxford in his way, was ſumptuouſly entertained in Oſiney. After dinner, the ſcholars coming to pay their reſpects to his reverence, were refuſed admittance by his Italian porter; in conſequence of which a fray enſued, when thirty of them being taken, were committed cloſe priſoners

Wallingford caſtle. The legate, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment inflicted on them by the king, laid the univerſity under an interdict, and excommunicated all thoſe who had been concerned in the late riot; but at the interceſſion of the biſhops, who repreſented the affair as a mere accident, the cenſures were removed.

A. D. 1239.] The earl of Leiceſter, returning from Rome, came to court, where he was reviled in the moſt opprobrious terms by the king, who branded him with the odious appellation of traitor, and excommunicated wretch, who had debauched his wife before marriage, and afterwards, by bribery and corruption, obtained the pope's confirmation. Such an indignity offered to a nobleman of his rank, and in the preſence of the counteſs, who was the king's own ſiſter, alarmed them both to ſuch a degree, that they immediately retired to the continent.

By this time Otho, the pope's legate, had deviated from his original conduct, and ſo oppreſſed the churches and clergy, to gratify his infatiate avarice, that the biſhops complained to the pope of his exactions; and though the pontiff had twice ſent letters of revocation to the cardinal, they were ſet aſide by the king, who conſidered Otho as the chief ſupport of his adminiſtration.

A. D. 1240.] Encouraged thus by the king, the legate now procured large ſums of money from the prelates and convents, and is ſaid to have carried more caſh out of the kingdom than he left.

A. D. 1242.] Henry now declared war againſt Louis IX. and upon the invitation of his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, made an expedition into Guienne. All his attempts againſt that prince were unſucceſsful. He marched to Tailleburg, of which Louis had taken poſſeſſion; but finding the French army much ſuperior to his, he retreated with precipitation. Louis, purſuing him, fell upon his rear, and a battle enſued, in which the Engliſh, after having ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, gave way. They were then purſued to Saintes; where the count de la Marche, making a ſally to cover their retreat, the earls of Norfolk, Cornwall, Saliſbury, and Leiceſter, rallied their forces, and another battle enſued, which was fought on both ſides with equal bravery and ſucceſs. But Henry's army being greatly diminiſhed, he quitted Saintes, and made a haſty march to Pons, where leaving a good garriſon, he proceeded to Barbeſceux, and from thence to Bourdeaux. In the mean time he was deſerted by his ally, the count de la Marche, who joined the French king. That prince, after having conquered all that Henry poſſeſſed in Poictou, for which the king ſhamefully agreed to pay five thouſand pounds a year to Louis, and after having ſpent the winter in feaſting among the nobility, returned in diſgrace to England, having firſt ordered all his barons to aſſemble at Portſmouth to receive him, and given directions for his magnificent entry into London, as if he had returned from conqueſt.

The king had ſquandered away immenſe ſums at Bourdeaux; and ſome time after, his want of œconomy and abſurd liberality involved him ſo deeply in debt, that, his creditors becoming troubleſome, he ſold all his plate and jewels to ſatisfy them. On this expedient being propoſed to him, he aſked where he ſhould find purchaſers. It was anſwered, "Among the citizens of London."—"Upon my word," he replied, "if the treaſury of Auguſtus were brought to ſale, the citizens are able to purchaſe it. Thoſe clowns, who aſſume the ſtate of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to neceſſities." From thenceforward he was obſerved to be more greedy in his exactions on the citizens.

A. D. 1244.] Martin, the pope's nuncio, who was inveſted with power to excommunicate every clergyman who refuſed to comply with his demands, now demanded and obtained the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues: theſe exactions were conſtantly ſupported by the king.

In the mean time great numbers of the Italians were ſent over to be provided for, and the richeſt benefices in the kingdom were given to them. The clergy and people, exaſperated

exaſperated againſt theſe abuſes, roſe againſt the Italian prieſts, plundered their barns, ravaged their lands, and inſulted thoſe they met.

A. D. 1245.] Innocent IV. calling a general council at Lyons, in order to their joining in the excommunication of the emperor Frederic, Henry and his barons ſent over agents to complain to the council of the avarice of the court of Rome, who, among many other grievances, repreſented that the benefices of the Italian clergy in England were found to amount to ſixty thouſand marks a year, a ſum which they maintained exceeded even the royal revenue of the crown. They, however, obtained from the pope only an evaſive anſwer. The feudal ſubjection of England to the ſee of Rome being mentioned before the council, the Engliſh agents reſiſted the claim, and inſiſted that king John had no right, without the conſent of his people, to render the kingdom ſubject to ſo ignominious a ſlavery. But, notwithſtanding this, Innocent continued to exact the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues whatſoever, and a third of ſuch as were above an hundred marks a year. He claimed the goods of all clergymen who died inteſtate, and pretended a title to inherit all the produce of uſury.

A. D. 1255.] Henry, influenced by the pope, was now engaged in an enterprize attended with diſhonour, trouble, and expence. The Romiſh church had reduced the kingdom of Naples to the ſame ſtate of feudal vaſſalage which ſhe at this time exerted over England. On the death of the emperor Frederic II. the ſucceſſion of that kingdom devolved to Conradine, that monarch's grandſon; when Mainfrey, his natural ſon, formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing his own authority, under the pretence of governing the kingdom during the infancy of that prince. Pope Innocent, who had endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs the emperor Frederic of his Italian dominions, continued his hoſtilities againſt his grandſon; but finding that Mainfrey, by his vigilance and activity, diſappointed all his ſchemes, he pretended to diſpoſe of the crown of Sicily, both as ſuperior lord of that particular kingdom, and as the vicar of Chriſt, to whom were ſubject all the kingdoms of the earth. He therefore offered it to Richard earl of Cornwall, whoſe immenſe wealth, he ſuppoſed, would enable him to make head againſt Mainfrey; and Richard, having the prudence to refuſe this preſent, he applied to the king, and offered him the crown of Sicily for Edmund, his ſecond ſon. Henry, captivated by the propoſal, without either conſulting his brother or the parliament, gave the pope unlimited credit to expend on his account whatever ſums were neceſſary to complete the conqueſt of Sicily; and, to his great ſurprize, he ſuddenly found himſelf involved in an immenſe debt, which had been contracted without conſulting him. The king accordingly applied to the parliament for a ſupply of money, and promiſed, at the ſame time, a redreſs of civil and eccleſiaſtical grievances; in return they granted him a tenth of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, and a ſcutage of three marks on each knight's fee. But as they had experienced, under ſimilar circumſtances, his frequent breach of promiſe, they required that he ſhould ratify the Great Charter in a manner more ſolemn than any which he had hitherto employed. All the prelates and abbots were aſſembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them; they denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould thenceforth violate this fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the ſoul of every one who incurs this ſentence, ſo ſtink and corrupt in hell!" The king bore a part of this ceremony, and ſubjoined, "So help me God, I will keep all theſe articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a chriſtian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." Yet no ſooner was the ceremony finiſhed, than the king, corrupted by his favourites, returned to the ſame arbitrary and irregular meaſures which he was guilty of before.

A. D. 1258.] Henry's illegal adminiſtration

ſtration encouraged Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, to attempt to wreſt the power from a hand which was incapable of uſing it to the public good. This nobleman was the youngeſt ſon of Simon de Montfort, who conducted a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, a ſpecies of enthuſiaſts in the ſouth of France. The ſon had ſucceeded to a conſiderable inheritance in England, and was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Leiceſter. His addreſs gained him the affections of all orders of men, but could not protect him againſt the levity of his ſovereign; he had alternately enjoyed the favour, and been expoſed to the hatred of Henry: too great to act ſubſervient to the minions of that prince, he found more advantage in cultivating his intereſt with the public. He filled every place with complaints againſt the infringements of the Great Charter; and though a foreigner himſelf, he was more loud than any in repreſenting the ignominy of being governed by foreigners. A quarrel which he had with William de Valence, the king's half brother, determined him to give full ſcope to his unbounded ambition. He ſecretly called a meeting of the moſt powerful barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high conſtable, Richard Bigod earl Maraſchel, and the earls of Warwick and Glouceſter. To theſe he exaggerated the oppreſſions exerciſed againſt the lower orders, the violation of the barons' privileges, and the continual depredations made on the clergy; and while he magnified the generoſity of their anceſtors, who at the expence of their blood had extorted the Great Charter from the crown, he lamented their own degeneracy, which ſuffered a weak prince, guided by inſolent ſtrangers, to deprive them of the important advantage.

Accordingly the barons embraced a reſolution of redreſſing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands the adminiſtration of government. They entered the parliament clad in complete armour, with their ſwords by their ſides; and when the king, ſtruck with their unuſual appearance, aſked whether they intended to make him priſoner, Robert de Bigod replied for the reſt, "that he was not their priſoner, but their ſovereign; that they even intended to grant him large ſupplies, in order to fix his ſon on the throne of Sicily; but as he had frequently, after acknowledging his errors, allowed himſelf to be carried into the ſame path, he muſt now yield to more ſtrict regulations, and confer authority on thoſe who are willing and able to redreſs the national grievances." Henry, partly allured by the hopes of ſupply, and partly intimidated at the martial appearance of the barons, acquieſced, and ſummoned another parliament at Oxford, to take the new plan of government into conſideration.

From the confuſion that attended, this was afterwards denominated the *mad parliament*; wherein twelve barons, to whom were added twelve more from the king's miniſters, were choſen. To theſe twenty-four unlimited authority was granted to reform the ſtate; and the king ſwore to maintain whatever ordinances ſhould be enacted for that purpoſe. The election being over, the four-and-twenty drew up ſome articles, to which the parliament reſerved to themſelves a power to add, from time to time, ſuch others as ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the good of the ſtate. Theſe were in ſubſtance as follow:

I. That the king ſhould confirm the Great Charter, which he had ſworn ſo often to obſerve without any effect.

II. That the office of chief juſticiary ſhould be given to a perſon of capacity and integrity, that would adminiſter juſtice, as well to the poor as the rich, without diſtinction.

III. That the chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices, and other officers, and public miniſters, ſhould be choſen by the four-and-twenty.

IV. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhall be left to the care of the four-and-twenty, who ſhould intruſt them with ſuch as were well affected to the ſtate.

V. That it ſhould be death for any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, to oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be ordained by the four-and-twenty.

VI. That

VI. That the parliament ſhould meet at leaſt once every year, to make ſuch ſtatutes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom.

It was likewiſe enacted, that four knights ſhould be choſen by each county in England, to make enquiry into the grievances of the people, and that theſe ſhould attend the enſuing parliament, in order to lay before that aſſembly the ſtate of their particular counties. The above articles were called the Statutes or Proviſions of Oxford; and not only the king, but prince Edward, the heir to the crown, ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved. Theſe articles met at firſt with ſome oppoſition, particularly from the foreigners, among whom were the king's four half-brothers and the queen's relations, who were ſuppoſed to be the authors of the national grievances, and whom Henry had now no longer any power to protect. The four brothers, after making a fruitleſs oppoſition, were ſo ſenſible of their danger, that they fled, and were eagerly purſued by the barons.

The barons now removed all the principal officers of the crown, and advanced either themſelves, or their friends and relations to their places; they even diſpoſed of the offices of the king's houſehold, and of the government of all the caſtles, which were intruſted to thoſe in whom they could confide. The parliament then ſent commiſſioners to the citizens of London, to join in their aſſociation. This was eaſily obtained, they having greater reaſon to complain of the king than any other perſons in the kingdom. The foreigners were then ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment; and the king, ſtripped of his authority, found himſelf obliged to aſſent to whatever the governors were pleaſed to preſcribe.

A. D. 1259.] The barons, apprehenſive of ſome diſturbances on the part of France, determined to eſtabliſh a ſolid peace with Louis IX. whoſe countenance and ſupport might counterbalance any efforts made by the king and his friends for retrieving the prerogative, and Montfort undertook to conduct the negociation. Accordingly that nobleman repaired to France, and, in order to facilitate the deſign, propoſed to ſacrifice all Henry's rights to Normandy and Anjou. The French monarch accepted the propoſal with great alacrity, and concluded a treaty, which Henry was obliged to ſign. That weak puſillanimous prince was compelled to viſit the French king at Abbeville, where, in an aſſembly of the ſtates of France, he diſclaimed all title to Normandy and Anjou, while Louis ceded in his favour all the Limouſin and Perigord, together with all that he poſſeſſed on the other ſide of the Garonne, on condition of his ſubmitting to do homage, and ſitting among the peers of France, as duke of Guienne.

A. D. 1260.] Though the barons appeared to be hitherto ſtrictly united, a ſecret diſguſt aroſe in the minds of ſome of them, on account of too great authority of the earl of Leiceſter; the earl of Glouceſter, in particular, endeavoured to form a party againſt him. He firſt began with privately cenſuring his conduct, and ſpreading a report, that he had agreed with prince Edward to place him on his father's throne. This reaching the ears of the king, who was then at St. Omer's, he was ſo terrified, that he did not dare to return to England. But Edward juſtified himſelf in ſo clear and reſpectful a manner, that he entirely effaced his father's ſuſpicions. The earl of Glouceſter, finding that theſe indirect methods of attacking the earl of Leiceſter were unſucceſsful, accuſed him of many miſdemeanors, and demanded a day to be fixed for hearing his accuſations againſt him; but finding that nobleman's intereſt too powerful to hope for ſucceſs, he prudently dropped the proſecution.

Henry, anxious to take advantage of this diſagreement among the barons, ſolicited the pope to abſolve him from the oath he had taken to obſerve the ſtatutes of Oxford. The pontiff readily granted the requeſt, but dying before the diſpenſation could be expedited, he was obliged to wait till the papal chair was filled by his ſucceſſor, Urban IV.

who

who made no difficulty in complying with his demand.

The king no ſooner received the pope's abſolution, than throwing aſide the maſque he had occaſionally aſſumed, he aſſembled the parliament, and declared, that as they had not complied with their promiſe made to him on his ſigning the ſtatutes of Oxford, he thought himſelf abſolved from the oath he had there taken, adding, that he would no longer ſuffer counſellors to be impoſed upon him, but was determined to aſſert the dignity of his prerogative. He then retired to the Tower, which he had previouſly ſecured, ſeized on all the money in the mint, and publiſhed a proclamation diſcarding the officers appointed by the four-and-twenty, and nominating others in their room.

When prince Edward, then at Paris, heard of theſe tranſactions, he determined to return to England, in order to prevent the dreadful conſequences of a civil war. Henry was equally ſurprized and afflicted, when he underſtood that the prince blamed him for violating his oath; and his perplexity was farther increaſed, when he heard, that unleſs he would voluntarily remove from his perſon the counſellors who adviſed him to oppoſe the parliament, they would effect that removal by compulſion. Alarmed at this intelligence, he relapſed into his uſual timidity and irreſolution. Not being able to determine what courſe was moſt proper to take for his ſecurity, he took no notice of the meſſage, but remained in the Tower, apprehending that his perſon would not otherwiſe be ſafe.

A. D. 1262.] In this confuſed ſtate of things, the king of the Romans interpoſed his good offices, and happily effected an accommodation. He prevailed on his brother to confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford; and, on the other hand, perſuaded the barons to relax in thoſe articles which were moſt diſagreeable to the king. The earl of Leiceſter, ſtill refractory, proteſted againſt the peace, and retired immediately to France.

After the ratification of the agreement, the king paſſed over to the continent, to regulate the affairs of Guienne, and was ſeized with a dangerous diſorder at Bourdeaux, which detained him much longer than he intended.

On the death of the earl of Glouceſter, Leiceſter's party renewed their oppoſition, which ſo alarmed Henry, that he immediately ſet ſail for England. On his arrival they preſented an addreſs, inſiſting on the confirmation of the Oxford ſtatutes, according to a late agreement; which, to their great aſtoniſhment, the king not only refuſed, but called them rebels, and menaced them with ſevere penalties.

A. D. 1263.] The earl of Leiceſter having entered into a confederacy with Llewellen prince of Wales, when informed that prince Edward had marched to oppoſe the Welch, ſecretly paſſed over into England, collected his partiſans, and commenced an open reſiſtance.

At London the populace, encouraged by Thomas Fitz-Richard, the mayor, roſe in a tumult. The luſt of plunder and deſtruction firſt prompted them to attack the Jews, who were pillaged and maſſacred to the number of five hundred perſons. The Lombard bankers and rich citizens were likewiſe victims to their rapacity. The queen, afraid to remain in the Tower, went on board a barge, to proceed by water to Windſor; but on approaching London bridge, was obliged, in order to avoid the rage of the mob, who endeavoured, by throwing in large ſtones, to ſink the barge, to return with great difficulty: ſhe was afterwards conveyed, by night, to the palace of the biſhop of London, at St. Paul's.

The king of the Romans again interpoſed his good offices, in order to prevent, if poſſible, the effuſion of blood; and a negociation was ſet on foot, under the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Lincoln, John de Arlington, and William de Wilton.

Leiceſter, by this time, had engaged the cinque ports in his intereſt, and then advanced with his army towards London; when the king, dreading the conſequences of

of a ſiege, agreed to ſuch terms as the revolters thought proper to impoſe, and a treaty was concluded, importing, That the fortified places in the kingdom ſhould be put into the hands of the barons; that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould be inviolably obſerved; that all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom, except ſuch as might be permitted to ſtay by the unanimous conſent of the barons; and that none but natural-born ſubjects, approved by the barons, ſhould be concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs.

Immediately after the concluſion of this peace, the office of juſticiary was beſtowed on Hugh d'Eſpenſer, the ſeals were delivered to Nicholas de Ely, and the earl of Leiceſter was made high ſteward.

Prince Edward was now employed in defending the prerogatives of his family. The number of his friends, and the clamour of the people for peace, obliged the earl of Leiceſter to conſent to a ſecond negociation; and it was agreed by both ſides to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France.

At Amiens, accordingly, in the preſence of the ſtates of France, of the king of England, and of Peter de Montfort, Leiceſter's ſon, this great cauſe was brought to trial. But the terms of reconciliation propoſed being deemed too favourable to the king, Leiceſter rejected them, and returned abruptly to England, whither he was followed by Henry, whoſe queen thought it moſt expedient to remain at the court of France.

A. D. 1264.] The king and the prince finding a civil war inevitable, ſummoned to their ſtandard their friends and vaſſals. They carried by aſſault Northampton, were admitted into Leiceſter and Nottingham, and compelled the barons to raiſe the ſiege of Rocheſter: but Leiceſter only retreated that he might protect the capital; and having been reinforced by a great body of Londoners, he determined to ſtake the fate of the nation on a deciſive battle. He had nearly ſurpriſed the royaliſts in their quarters at Lewes in Suſſex; but prince Edward, who marſhalled the army of the king, ruſhed with the van upon the Londoners, who, from their ignorance of diſcipline, and want of experience, were ill fitted to make reſiſtance; they were broken in an inſtant, and chaced off the field for many miles. When Edward returned from the purſuit in triumph, he was aſtoniſhed to find the ground covered with the dead bodies of his friends. During his abſence, Leiceſter had attacked and defeated the main body, commanded by Henry and the king of the Romans; he had taken priſoners both thoſe princes; and Edward, intrepid amidſt the greateſt diſaſters, in vain exhorted his followers to revenge the death of their friends; they were dejected by this unexpected reverſe of fortune; the earl of Warrenne, and ſeveral other noblemen, haſtened to the ſea-coaſt, and eſcaped to the continent; whereupon the prince was obliged to ſubmit to Leiceſter's terms. He ſtipulated that Edward, and Henry d'Allmaine, the ſon of the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves pledges, in lieu of the two kings; that all other priſoners, on both ſides, ſhould be releaſed; and that, under the direction of the king of France, three perſons ſhould be choſen, to make what regulations they ſhould deem neceſſary for the ſettlement of the kingdom.

This treaty being ſigned and confirmed, they ſent orders to the governors of all the caſtles to releaſe the priſoners, and the garriſon at Tunbridge was diſbanded. Montfort, however, detained the king of the Romans, his ſon, the gallant Philip Baſſet, and other priſoners of quality. He then arreſted and impriſoned all the king's adherents. Leiceſter, who now became deſpotic, in order to prevent any oppoſition to his meaſures, iſſued writs in the king's name, aſſigning the guardianſhip of all the counties to ſuch perſons as he thought proper to appoint. Having gained this point, he perſuaded the king to ſign the new writs, empowering the barons to elect four knights in every county, to ſit and repreſent it in the enſuing parliament; and it was reſolved, that the parliament

ſhould nominate three commiſſioners, of approved ſagacity and diſcretion, empowered to chooſe a council of nine noblemen, to whom the adminiſtration of public affairs ſhould be committed, but might be changed occaſionally, by the king, with the conſent of the barons; that if the commiſſioners ſhould diſagree, touching the choice of counſellors, the diſpute ſhould be referred to the majority; that the deliberations of the nine ſhould be executed with the approbation of ſix of the number; but if that could not be procured, the affairs ſhould be decided by the three great commiſſioners, with the conſent of the barons; and that the nomination of all officers ſhould be at the diſpoſition of the nine counſellors; and laſtly, that theſe regulations ſhould prevail till altered or annulled by parliament. The three commiſſioners were the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter, who continued to govern the kingdom on this new model; having extorted the approbation of the king and prince Edward, by threatening them both with perpetual impriſonment.

A. D. 1265.] Leiceſter, now to ingratiate himſelf further with the people, ſummoned a new parliament in London. Beſides the barons, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each ſhire, and two deputies from the boroughs. It has been aſſerted, that this is the firſt time we hear of any repreſentatives being ſent to parliament from the boroughs; but there are many paſſages in the hiſtorians of thoſe times, which prove that an order of men did attend, who could be no other than the deputies of the boroughs, even under the firſt Norman kings, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel.

The ſeſſion was no ſooner opened, than Leiceſter, hoping to cruſh his rival, accuſed Glouceſter of having afforded protection to the lords of the Welch marches, and demanded hoſtages for his fidelity; but the earl, inſtead of complying with his demand, quitted the aſſembly abruptly, and retired to the weſt, with a ſtrong body of his followers, among whom was John Giffard, one of the braveſt noblemen in England, whom Leiceſter had endeavoured to oppreſs.

This known diſſention encouraged the enemies of Leiceſter; and the general wiſh that Edward ſhould be releaſed, (who had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the battle of Lewes,) reduced him to aſſume the appearance of compliance. On the prince ordering his adherents to deliver up all his caſtles, and ſwearing neither to depart the kingdom, nor introduce into it any foreign forces, he was declared free by the barons; but was ſtill ſurrounded by a guard, to watch his motions, ſo that his liberty was not really reſtored.

Leiceſter now followed Glouceſter with an army to Hereford, and carried the king and young prince along with him. It was here that Glouceſter concerted with young Edward the manner of that prince's eſcape. He furniſhed him with a ſwift horſe, and placed near a ſmall party to eſcort him to a place of ſafety. Edward pretended to take the air, with ſome of his guards; and making matches between their horſes, until he thought he had tired them, he ſuddenly mounted Glouceſter's horſe, bade them adieu, and reached his friends; who, ſecretly prepared for this event, immediately flew to arms.

The expectation of a new ſcene of affairs, and the countenance of the earl of Glouceſter, procured Edward an army which Leiceſter was utterly unable to withſtand. This nobleman found himſelf in a remote quarter of the kingdom; ſurrounded by his enemies; barred from all communication with his friends by the Severn, whoſe bridges Edward had broken down; and obliged to fight the cauſe of his party under theſe multiplied diſadvantages. In this extremity, he wrote to his ſon, Simon de Montfort, to haſten from London with an army for his relief; and Simon had advanced to Kenilworth with that view; where, fancying that all Edward's force and attention were directed againſt

againſt his father, he lay ſecure and unguarded. But the prince, making a ſudden and forced march, ſurprized him in his camp, diſperſed his army, and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen priſoners, almoſt without reſiſtance. Leiceſter, ignorant of his ſon's fate, paſſed the Severn in boats during Edward's abſence, and lay at Eveſham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London; when the prince, who availed himſelf of every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. Edward made a body of his troops advance from the road which led to Kenilworth, and ordered them to carry the banners taken from Simon's army; while he himſelf, making a circuit with the reſt of his forces, purpoſed to attack the enemy on the other quarter. Leiceſter was long deceived by this ſtratagem, and took one diviſion of Edward's army for his friends; but at laſt, perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the great ſuperiority and excellent diſpoſition of the royaliſts, he exclaimed, "By the arm of St James, they advance like well diſciplined troops! It was not from themſelves, but me, they learned that diſcipline. Lord have mercy upon our ſouls, for our bodies are doomed to deſtruction!"

The battle immediately began, though on very unequal terms. Leiceſter's army, by living on the mountains of Wales without bread, which was not then much uſed among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by ſickneſs and deſertion, and was ſoon broken by the victorious royaliſts; while his Welch allies, accuſtomed only to a deſultory kind of war, immediately took to flight, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Leiceſter himſelf, aſking for quarter, was ſlain in the heat of the action, with his eldeſt ſon Henry, Hugh le Deſpenſer, and about an hundred and ſixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purpoſely placed in the front of the battle; and being clad in armour, and thereby not known by his friends, received a wound, and was in danger of his life; but crying out, "I am Henry of Wincheſter, your king!" he was ſaved, and put in a place of ſafety by his ſon, who flew to his relief.

Such was the end of Leiceſter; a man whoſe memory has been blackened with the imputation of violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery. But as he oppoſed the uſurpation and rapacity of the Roman ſee, and the arbitrary and oppreſſive conduct of the king, it may be expected, that prieſts and courtiers, the only hiſtorians of the time, would blaſt his reputation as much as poſſible; however, they have allowed that he poſſeſſed great abilities. Though he was excommunicated by Rome, he was highly eſteemed by the people, who judged of the man, and his adminiſtration, by it's effects; and his popularity continued ſo great, even after his death, that they believed him to be a ſaint, and many miracles were ſaid to be wrought on his tomb.

A. D. 1266.] The victory at Eveſham proved deciſive in favour of the royaliſts. The queen, who had reſided in France for the ſpace of two years, arrived now in England, accompanied by Ottoboni, cardinal of St. Adrian, the pope's legate, armed with ſeveral bulls, confirming thoſe of his predeceſſor, againſt Leiceſter and his adherents.

Henry's weak mind ſeemed intoxicated with ſucceſs: the reduction of Kenilworth, and hope of ſubduing the rebels of Ely, eraſed the memory of all his former misfortunes, and though Edward had ſolemnly ſworn to the earl of Glouceſter, when he eſpouſed his party, that he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to re-eſtabliſh the ancient laws of England, and drive the foreigners from the king's councils, he now ſeemed to prefer the reduction of the malcontents, to the performance of the articles to which he was ſo indiſpenſably bound.

Glouceſter, obſerving with extreme regret that the king was diſpoſed to ſtretch the prerogative beyond the limits preſcribed by the laws, inſiſted that the malcontents ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, according to the Dictum de Kenilworth; but on Henry's refuſal, he retired to his own eſtate on the frontiers of Wales, engaged in a treaty with

with Llewellin, and ſome noblemen in the adjacent parts, and ſent a promiſe of aſſiſtance to the revolters of Ely.

His abſence and preparations could not fail to give umbrage to the court; meſſengers were therefore ſent to demand the cauſe of his non-attendance. Glouceſter, with reſpect and ſubmiſſion, aſſured the meſſengers, that he would never carry arms againſt the king or his ſon, but in his own defence; and that the levies he was raiſing were deſtined againſt his enemy Mortimer. This anſwer appeaſed the king and parliament, who granted a ſubſidy for carrying on the war againſt the malcontents.

A. D. 1267.] When the parliament broke up, Henry took the field at the head of his army, and advancing into Cambridgeſhire, ſummoned the rebels of Ely to ſurrender; but they were too conſcious of their own ſtrength to be intimidated by his threats, and their gallant reſiſtance abated his ardour; ſo that he reſolved to defer the ſiege, and wait the arrival of prince Edward, who was then abſent on an expedition againſt John de Veſci, a northern baron, who had ſeized the caſtle of Alnwick, which the prince at length obliged him to ſurrender.

The earl of Glouceſter having raiſed a body of troops on his own eſtates, and in the principality of Wales, began his march to London, and reached the city before the inhabitants had the leaſt intimation of his deſign. The magiſtrates, with the advice of the legate, afforded him admittance, and he remained quiet, till d'Ayville, arriving with a party of malcontents from the north, and Robert de Willoughby, with another from the iſle of Ely, the drawbridge was ordered to be drawn up, and the gates to be guarded, for the defence of the citizens. But the earl, having found means to ſecure the intereſt of the greater part of the inhabitants, ſeized the gates, and gave admittance to the troops of the malcontents.

He was no ſooner become maſter of this fortreſs, than he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring he had taken up arms to procure equitable terms to the revolters; and that he ſhould not lay them down till he had compelled both the king and prince Edward to perform the engagements which they had hitherto neglected.

Henry, alarmed at this freſh revolt, ſent preſſing orders to his ſon to come to his aſſiſtance; in conſequence of which the prince haſtened to his father, and their troops being united, they advanced, and took poſt at Stratford, within three miles of London. The earl of Glouceſter, who vainly flattered himſelf that the whole nation would flock to his ſtandard, was not a little ſurpriſed when he found an almoſt general reſort to the king's army. Conſequently not being in a condition to hazard an engagement, he applied to the king of the Romans, by whoſe mediation he obtained better terms than he had reaſon to expect; as he not only obtained pardon for himſelf, upon laying down his arms, and giving a bond of twenty thouſand marks, but alſo for the citizens of London. With regard to the revolters of Ely, the king was inexorable.

A. D. 1268.] The malcontents having at length ſubmitted, and the public tranquillity been thereby eſtabliſhed, prince Edward, with his brother Edmund, and his couſin Henry, received the croſs from the hands of the legate, and their example was followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne, Warwick, and Pembroke; above an hundred and twenty knights, and an infinite number of inferior quality. But the royal coffers being exhauſted, a talliage was laid on all cities, boroughs, and towns in his dominions; and Henry, to confirm the public tranquillity, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Marlborough, where a body of laws were enacted, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of the Statutes of Marlborough.

A. D. 1270.] Prince Edward, impelled by his avidity for glory, and the ſolicitations of the king of France, undertook an expedition againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. On his arrival at Tunis, on the coaſt of Africa, he was informed of the death of Louis; ſtill, however, he purſued his voyage, and acquired much of what is called military glory.

A. D.

A. D. 1271.] Henry had ſoon reaſon to regret the abſence of his ſon; for as he was grown aged and infirm, the powerful noblemen intolerably aggrieved the populace, and moſt terrible outrages were committed in divers parts of the kingdom. Nor did the people give him leſs cauſe of diſquiet; a diſpute aroſe between the inhabitants and monks of Norwich, about their privileges; when the populace attacked the monaſtery, ſet fire to the gates, burned an adjoining pariſh church, together with the almonry, priory, refectory, dormitory, and all the buildings in the outer court; then forcing the convent, murdered ſeveral monks in the cloiſters, inſulted and impriſoned the reſt, carried off the conſecrated veſſels, the church treaſure, veſtments, books, and all the moveables that eſcaped the flames.

A. D. 1272.] The king, alarmed at this inſurrection, called a parliament at St. Edmundſbury, to concert meaſures for puniſhing the authors of this maſſacre, who were already excommunicated by the biſhop of Norwich; and, with the advice of his prelates and nobility, deprived the city of it's liberties.

About the ſame time, Henry ſuſtained great loſs by the death of his brother Richard, who had aſſiſted him with his advice in all his emergencies, and contributed to the ſupport of his authority. This circumſtance greatly increaſed a diſorder with which the king had been ſeized at St. Edmundſbury; ſo that he ordered himſelf to be moved by eaſy journies to Weſtminſter; where, finding his end approaching, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter, and inſiſted on his taking an oath to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and exert his endeavours in ſupporting the intereſt of his ſon Edward. That very night, being the 20th of November, he expired, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and fifty-ſixth of his reign.

CHAPTER VII.

Edward's Acceſſion—Conqueſt of Wales—State of Scotland—War with France and Scotland—Diſſentions—Peace—Revolt of Scotland—The Scots ſubdued—Third Revolt—It's Iſſue—Death of the King, &c.

EDWARD, by his general conduct, had procured the eſteem of the people; and Walter archbiſhop of York, and the other lords of the council, conducted themſelves with ſo much addreſs, that though he was abſent, no oppoſition was made to his elevation; he was therefore proclaimed king the day after his father's death. An aſſembly was called by the council, where the oath of allegiance was taken by the prelates, barons, and freeholders. The ſame ceremony was performed in Ireland, before the juſticiary of that kingdom; but Llewellin prince of Wales, being ſummoned to meet commiſſioners at the ford of Montgomery, and take the oath, refuſed to obey the ſummons. During Edward's abſence, the tranquillity of the kingdom was preſerved principally by the wiſe adminiſtration of Walter Merton, the chancellor; who, though an eccleſiaſtic, neither ſacrificed the rights of the people, nor the prerogative of the crown, to the intereſt of the church.

A. D. 1272.]

The ſucceſs of Edward in Paleſtine, who was placed at the head of a powerful army, made him terrible to the Saracens; therefore they reſolved to diſpatch him by ſome act of treachery. Accordingly the governor of Joppa employed a ruffian, who, under pretence of propoſing terms of accommodation, was introduced to the prince; where, finding him alone, he attempted to murder him; but Edward ſeized the dagger, and plunged it in

the heart of the aſſaſſin. The ſultan of Babylon ſent to congratulate him on his eſcape, and to exculpate himſelf from any concern in the attempt; he alſo offered terms of accommodation, which were accepted.

The treaty being ratified, Edward embarked at Acon, and when he reached Sicily, received intelligence of the death of his father. Accompanied by his conſort, the princeſs Eleanor of Caſtile, he proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the dominions which he held in France; he then viſited Gaſcony; and having ſettled the affairs of that government, proceeded to London, where he was received by the people with joyful acclamations, and (*A. D.* 1274) was crowned at Weſtminſter, on the 19th of Auguſt, by Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury. Edmund earl of Lancaſter, Edward's brother, officiated as high ſteward of England on this occaſion; and next day renounced all hereditary title to this office.

Edward began his reign with correcting thoſe diſorders which his father's looſe adminiſtration had introduced into all parts of the kingdom. He reſolved to diminiſh the power of the great, and to give protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate, by an exact diſtribution of juſtice, and a rigid execution of the laws. The next year he cauſed ſeveral uſeful ſtatutes to be enacted in a parliament held at Weſtminſter. He made ſtrict inquiries into the conduct of all the judges and inferior magiſtrates, and diſplaced ſuch as were negligent or corrupt.

He appointed a commiſſion to inquire into crimes of all kinds. The Jews were generally accuſed of having adulterated the coin of the realm; and Edward, who ſeems to have indulged a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt that race, let looſe on them the whole rigours of his vengeance. In London alone, two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at once; fifteen thouſand were robbed of their effects, and baniſhed the kingdom.

Having made ſeveral regulations conducive to the ſupport of the crown, Edward now determined to chaſtiſe Llewellin prince of North Wales, who had refuſed to do homage for his dominions, and ſeemed deſirous to recover his native independence.

A. D. 1276.] Edward, impatient of his evaſions, entered Wales with a numerous army; he pierced into the heart of the country, and ſurrounded Llewellin and the flower of the Welch on the hills of Snowdon. Inſtead of putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of it's ancient independence, he truſted to the ſlow but ſure effects of famine; and Llewellin, deſtitute of magazines, without ſtriking a blow, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. He did homage, and ſuffered his barons to ſwear fealty to the crown of England. He gave up the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway, and agreed to pay fifty thouſand pounds for damages incurred.

A. D. 1278.] A parliament was held at Glouceſter, in which ſeveral ſtatutes were paſſed, which added a degree of perfection to the municipal ſyſtem of Engliſh laws. They are ſtill known by the name of the Statutes of Glouceſter.

Soon after, ſeveral great ſubjects were ſerved with writs, to ſhew by what title they held their eſtates, and among others John earl of Warrenne and Surrey; who, being called upon to produce his right, preſented a family ſword he had brought with him, and ſaid, "With this ſword my anceſtors, who came in with William the Baſtard, won theſe lands, and with the ſame I will defend them. It was not for himſelf that William conquered; it was not for him alone that my anceſtors fought." Edward, ſenſible that the earl ſpoke the ſentiments of almoſt all the old nobility in England, wiſely dropped any further inquiry.

A. D. 1280.] Edward made a progreſs through the different counties, to attend to the complaints, and redreſs the injuries, of his ſubjects. Mean while Llewellin, impatient of the Engliſh yoke, reſolved to withdraw from the dominion of Edward, after having complained of oppreſſion without redreſs. The chief of his ſubjects, who were more eager than the prince to renounce their dependence, applied to David, brother to Llewellin,

Llewellin, to head them in the field, as his education had been more martial than that of his brother.

A. D. 1282.] Edward, at the head of a powerful army, now invaded Wales, which he reſolved entirely to reduce. In the firſt encounter, his troops were much harraſſed by David. Llewellin, adviſed to hazard a pitched battle, was ſurpriſed and ſlain, with two thouſand of his followers. His head was ſent to the king, and afforded great joy to the Engliſh camp.

A. D. 1284.] David, who ſucceeded him in the principality, was chaſed from hill to hill, and was at laſt betrayed to the enemy. Edward brought him to a formal trial before the peers of England, and ordered this ſovereign prince to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for defending the liberties of his native country, and his own authority. This ſentence was executed with circumſtances of cruelty never before practiſed in any civilized country.

The Welch nobility, intimidated by the fate of David, now ſubmitted, and the laws of England were eſtabliſhed throughout the principality. Edward, ſenſible that nothing cheriſhed military virtue and glory ſo much as traditional poetry, gathered together the Welch bards, and from a barbarous policy ordered them to be put to death.

A. D. 1285.] In order to prevent theſe commotions, which ſo frequently happened in Wales, Edward uſed divers means to conciliate the eſteem of the barons; and, to promote this grand deſign, left his queen to be delivered in the caſtle of Caernarvon, and afterwards preſented young Edward to the Welch lords, as a native of their country. The king, in order to impreſs them with a juſt ſenſe of his magnificence, held a grand tournament, at Newyn in Caernarvonſhire, to which many knights from different counties reſorted, among whom he diſtributed marks of royal munificence.

A. D. 1286.] Having thus ſettled affairs in Wales, he returned to London in triumph; but the citizens had no great cauſe to rejoice at his arrival, for he deprived them of their charter and mayor, and appointed a guardian to govern them for ten years ſucceſſively.

A. D. 1290.] Alexander king of Scotland having been killed by a fall from his horſe, and his daughter and grand-daughter, who were his next heirs, dying ſoon after, left the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh crown to be diſputed between ſeveral competitors; but their various claims having been inveſtigated, thoſe of John Baliol and Robert Bruce appeared the beſt. Baliol was ſprung from the elder branch of the royal family; Bruce was one degree nearer the common ſtock. The ſentiments of the Scots were divided; each claimant had great power, and numerous retainers; and the parliament of Scotland, allured by the reputation of the Engliſh monarch, and anxious to avoid a civil war, determined to refer the pretenſions of Baliol and Bruce to Edward; and Frazer biſhop of St. Andrew's, with other deputies, was ſent to notify to him their reſolutions.

A. D. 1291.] Edward could not withſtand the ſtrong temptation; he purpoſed to lay hold of the preſent opportunity to revive, or rather to create, a claim of a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland. But though he ranſacked for proofs the monaſteries, the whole amount of his authorities was, that the Scots had ſometimes received peace on diſadvantageous terms, and had made ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh. The power of the ſword was, however, more effectual than any records. Edward, accompanied by a great army, invited the Scottiſh parliament and the competitors to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, on the ſouthern bank of the Tweed. He informed them that he was come hither to do juſtice to all parties; and that he was entitled to this authority, in quality of liege lord of the kingdom, and not in virtue of the reference made to him.

The Scotch barons, moved with indignation at the injuſtice of this unexpected claim, remained ſilent; for they found themſelves betrayed into a ſituation in which it was impoſſible to make any defence for the ancient independence of their country; without

out a head, all attached to different competitors, by ſuch reſiſtance they might have entailed on themſelves and their poſterity a more grievous ſervitude. Edward interpreting their ſilence into acquieſcence, addreſſed himſelf to the competitors, and previous to his pronouncing ſentence, required their acknowledgment of his ſuperiority.

Robert Bruce had ſo far foreſeen the pretenſions of Edward, that in his petition, where he ſet forth his claim to the crown, he had applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom; John Baliol, though more tardily, and with more apparent reluctance, recognized his title. Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in this great controverſy. Baliol and Bruce each choſe forty of their adherents; to theſe the king added twenty-four Engliſhmen. The hundred and four commiſſioners were to examine the cauſe, and make their report to the king, who promiſed in the enſuing year to give his determination. Meanwhile he demanded that the fortreſſes of Scotland ſhould be delivered to him, that he might put the true heir in poſſeſſion; and he compelled all the Scottiſh barons and prelates to ſwear fealty to him, before the aſſembly broke up.

A. D. 1292.] The moſt celebrated lawyers in Europe being conſulted, Edward, in conformity to their anſwers, pronounced ſentence in favour of Baliol; to whom, after receiving an oath of fealty to England, he delivered up the fortreſſes of Scotland. Soon after, he was crowned at Scone with the uſual formalities, and all the noblemen of Scotland ſwore allegiance to him, except Robert de Bruce, who abſented himſelf from the ceremony; after which the new king repaired to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where he did homage to Edward, in ſuch terms as ſtrongly marked his vaſſalage and dependence.

Inſtead of exerting his right of ſuperiority with moderation, Edward now encouraged all appeals to England; he required king John, by ſix different ſummons, to come to London on trivial occaſions; he refuſed him the privilege of defending his cauſe by a procuration; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private perſon. Gentle as was the diſpoſition of Baliol, it was exaſperated by theſe repeated indignities; he determined, at all hazards, to vindicate his liberties, and ſoon found an opportunity in the war which ſhortly after broke out between France and England. This was cauſed by one of the former having taken a veſſel belonging to the latter. The mariners were hanged at the yard-arm in company with dogs; and this was ſpeedily inflamed into a national enmity.

A. D. 1293.] A bloody war was kindled at ſea; in which, though the reſpective ſovereigns had yet taken no part, ſo numerous were the fleets engaged, that fifteen thouſand Frenchmen are reported to have periſhed in one action. The affair was become too important to be neglected; Philip ſent an envoy to demand reparation. After a variety of negociations, it was inſinuated that Philip conceived his honour intereſted by the outrages of the inhabitants of Guienne; but if Edward would give him poſſeſſion of that province, he ſhould think the inſult effaced, and would reſtore Guienne immediately. Edward, intent on the affairs of Scotland, allowed himſelf to be deceived by the artifice; but Philip no ſooner found himſelf maſter of Guienne, than he threw off the maſk, ſummoned Edward, as his vaſſal, to attend him in France, and on his refuſal declared him to have forfeited all his eſtates in that kingdom.

A. D. 1294.] Edward, by emptying the gaols, raiſed an army, which he ſent into Guienne; but theſe forces, though at firſt ſucceſsful, were ſoon afterwards defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter; and England was at the ſame time menaced with an invaſion from France and from Scotland. Baliol had entered into a cloſe alliance with Philip; and, to confirm it, had ſtipulated the marriage of his eldeſt ſon with a niece of the king of France.

A. D. 1295.] In conſequence of this union, Edward carried on his preparations with

with redoubled vigour; and the expences with which they were attended, obliged him to have recourſe to parliaments, and introduced into the public council the lower orders of the ſtate. In his expedition into Wales, he had found how unequal his ordinary reſources were to maintain an army; and his diſtreſs made him think of a new device, and ſummon the repreſentatives of boroughs to parliament.

A. D. 1296.] Now provided with a liberal ſupply, the king fitted out a fleet of near four hundred ſail, for tranſporting a numerous army, under the command of his brother Edmund, accompanied by Henry de Lacey, earl of Lincoln. They embarked at Plymouth in the beginning of March, and landed at Bourg and Blaye, on the river Garonne; where being joined by a party of Gaſcons, they encamped within a league of Bourdeaux, which was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

In a few days after their encampment, the French garriſon, ſallying out, loſt above two thouſand men; but notwithſtanding this advantage, Edmund, conſcious of his inability to reduce the place by a regular ſiege, withdrew his forces; and having ſubdued Langon, and recovered St. Macaire, advanced to Bayonne, where dying of a lingering diſorder, the chief command devolved on the earl of Lincoln; but nothing worthy of record happened during the remainder of the campaign. In the mean time, Baliol king of Scotland having obtained from the pope abſolution for his ſubjects, who had taken the oath of fealty to Edward, baniſhed all Engliſhmen out of the kingdom, and confiſcated their eſtates.

In conſequence of this behaviour, Edward demanded the caſtles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, by way of ſecurity for Baliol's future conduct, while the war with France continued; but the Scot artfully evaded the propoſal, without rejecting the demand. Edward therefore ſummoned him, with his nobility, to a parliament convoked at Newcaſtle upon Tyne; and as they neither appeared, nor ſent an apology, he marched with thirty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, to chaſtiſe his contumacy. Encouraged by the intrigues of Robert Bruce, and ſeveral Scottiſh noblemen, he croſſed the Tweed, took Berwick by aſſault, and detached the earl of Warrenne, with twelve thouſand men, to beſiege Dunbar. The Scots, who attempted to ſtop the march of Warrenne, were defeated, with the loſs of twenty thouſand men. Dunbar ſurrendered, and, after a feeble reſiſtance, the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the Engliſh. The ſpirit of the nation was broken by their misfortunes; the feeble and timid Baliol haſtened to make his ſubmiſſion, and ſolemnly reſigned his crown into the hands of Edward. The victor marched to Aberdeen and Elgin without meeting an enemy. Before his return, he gave orders to deſtroy the records which might preſerve the memory of the independence of the kingdom. He left earl Warrenne governor of Scotland; and carried with him to London Baliol, who was committed to cuſtody in the Tower. Two years after he was reſtored to liberty; and ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment to France, where he died.

But this ſucceſs did not attend Edward on the ſide of Guienne; an army of ſeven thouſand men, which he ſent thither, terminated the campaign without any material advantage. The king's ambitious ſpirit ill-brooked the loſs of that province; he determined to attack France in a quarter where ſhe appeared more vulnerable. With this view he married his daughter Elizabeth to John earl of Holland, and contracted an alliance with Guy earl of Flanders. He flattered himſelf that, at the head of the Engliſh, Dutch, and Flemiſh armies, he might penetrate to Paris, and compel Philip to purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne. But in order to ſet this great buſineſs in motion, conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary; and in his demand upon the clergy of a fifth of their moveables, he met with an oppoſition which for ſome time baffled all his hopes.

Boniface VIII. who now filled the papal

chair, was a man of a lofty and enterprising ſpirit. To aſſert the ſtation of ſovereign pontiff, he iſſued a bull, prohibiting all princes from levying, without his conſent, any taxes upon the clergy. Under this bull the eccleſiaſtical order took ſhelter; but Edward was not to be thus eluded: he told the clergy, that ſince they refuſed to ſupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws. Orders were iſſued to the judges to do every man juſtice againſt the clergy, but to do them juſtice againſt nobody. The eccleſiaſtics ſoon found themſelves in the moſt miſerable ſituation imaginable. They could not remain in their own houſes for want of ſubſiſtence, and if they went abroad they were abuſed and plundered by every ruffian; but by depoſiting a ſum equal to the fifth of their moveables, they purchaſed the protection of government.

But Edward found his barons were not ſo eaſily to be prevailed on. The magnitude of his preparations had obliged him to raiſe money in an arbitrary manner; and the greater barons, jealous of his power, encouraged the murmurs of the people. Edward had intended, while he attacked Flanders, to have ſent over an army into Gaſcony, under the command of Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England. But theſe powerful earls affirmed they were only obliged by their office to attend his perſon in the wars. A violent altercation enſued; and the king, in the height of his paſſion, addreſſing himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, "Sir earl, by God, you ſhall either go or hang?"—"By God, ſir king," replied Hereford, "I will neither go nor hang!" and he immediately departed with the mareſchal, and above thirty other barons of diſtinction.

Edward now found it adviſeable to proceed with moderation; and, as his affairs required his preſence in Flanders, before his departure he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to his nobility. But the conſtable and mareſchal reſolved to take advantage of his abſence: when ſummoned to attend the parliament, they came with a force which rendered them maſters of the young prince, and the reſolutions of that aſſembly. Their demands were moderate; they required that the two charters ſhould receive a ſolemn confirmation, and that a clauſe ſhould be added to ſecure the nation for ever from all taxes, without the conſent of parliament. Theſe terms were ſent over to the king in Flanders; his ſituation obliged him to ſubſcribe; and thus, after the conteſt of near a century, Magna Charta was eſtabliſhed never to be diſputed again.

A. D. 1298.] In Flanders, though Edward had been able to check the victorious career of Philip, who had made himſelf maſter of Liſle, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres, yet he found how vain were the hopes he had entertained of penetrating into the heart of France. Both monarchs were inclined to peace, and this diſpoſition engaged them to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of pope Boniface, who was among the laſt of the ſovereign pontiffs that exerciſed an authority over the temporal juriſdiction of princes; and theſe exorbitant pretenſions, which he had been tempted to aſſume from the ſucceſsful example of his predeceſſors, but of which the ſeaſon was now paſſed, involved him in ſo many calamities, and were attended with ſo unfortunate a cataſtrophe, that they have been ſecretly abandoned, though never openly relinquiſhed, by his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair.

Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to inſert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of their differences by their conſent, as a private perſon, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without ſeeming to be offended at this mortifying clauſe, proceeded to give a ſentence between them, in which they both acquieſced. He brought them to agree that their union ſhould be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf, who was now a widower, with Margaret,

Philip's

Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was willing to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh, but inſiſted that the Scots, and their king, John Baliol, ſhould, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and be alſo reſtored to their liberty. The difference, after ſeveral diſputes, was compromiſed, by their making mutual ſacrifices to each other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots.

The earl of Warrenne, in conſequence of ill-health, was obliged to reſign the adminiſtration of Scotland into the hands of Ormeſby the juſticiary, and Creſſingham the treaſurer. The former diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſeverity of his temper; the latter had no other object than the amaſſing of money by rapine and injuſtice. They treated the Scots as a conquered people; and the braveſt and moſt generous ſpirits of the nation were exaſperated to the higheſt degree againſt the Engliſh government. Among theſe was William Wallace; who, though of a ſmall fortune, was deſcended of an ancient family in the Weſt of Scotland, and whoſe courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accompliſh, the delivery of his native country. This man, finding himſelf obnoxious to the adminiſtration, had fled into the woods, and offered himſelf as a leader to thoſe whom their crimes or bad fortune had reduced to a like neceſſity. He was endowed with gigantic force of body, incredible valour, and patience to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons. He began with ſmall attempts, and diſcovered equal enterprife in annoying the enemy, and prudence in ſecuring his own followers. All who thirſted after military fame were deſirous to partake his renown; and his actions ſeemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy into which it had fallen by it's tame ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh crown.

Alarmed at his progreſs, the juſticiary, and the other Engliſh officers, haſtily fled into England; and their terror added alacrity and courage to the Scots, who betook themſelves to arms in every quarter. Warrenne, rouſed at this intelligence, collected in the north of England an army of forty thouſand men, and advancing through a mountainous and barren country to Stirling, found Wallace encamped on the oppoſite banks of the Forth. In his impatience, Warrenne ordered his army to croſs a bridge which lay over the Forth; but when numbers of the Engliſh had paſſed, before they could be formed in order, they were attacked by Wallace, and puſhed into the ſtream, or periſhed by the ſword. Diſmayed by this diſaſter, Warrenne retired again into England. Wallace received from his followers the title of Guardian, or Regent; and not content with having chaſed the Engliſh out of Scotland, he paſſed the Tweed, and ravaged the biſhopric of Durham.

Edward, impatient to recover the conqueſt of Scotland, returned haſtily from Flanders, and, aſſembling the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, marched with an army of near an hundred thouſand men to the northern frontiers.

The Scots were at this time diſtracted by faction animoſities. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility; and that hero, ſenſible of their jealouſy, and dreading the ruin of his country from thoſe inteſtine diſcords, voluntarily reſigned his authority, and retained only the command over that body of followers, who, being accuſtomed to victory under his ſtandard, refuſed to follow into the field any other leader. The chief power devolved on the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch, men of eminent birth; and who, collecting their detachment from every quarter, fixed their ſtation at Falkirk, and purpoſed there to abide the aſſault of the enemy.

It pleaſed Edward to be able, by one deciſive ſtroke, to determine the fortune of the war. He led his army in three bodies to the attack; and by the dexterity of the archers, and the weight of his cavalry, the Scots were broken, and driven off the field, with the loſs,

loſs, it is ſaid, of upwards of fifty thouſand men.

Wallace, during the rout, had kept his troops entire; and having croſſed the Carron, marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Young Robert Bruce, grandſon and heir of him who had been competitor for the throne, who had given many proofs of his aſpiring genius, but who hitherto ſerved in the Engliſh army, appeared on the oppoſite bank; and diſtinguiſhing the Scottiſh chief, as well by his majeſtic port, as by the intrepid activity of his behaviour, he called out to him, and deſired a ſhort conference. He repreſented to him the unequal conteſt, the fruitleſs and ruinous enterpriſe in which he was engaged. If the love of his country, he ſaid, was his motive for perſeverance, his obſtinacy tended only to prolong her miſery; if he carried his views to private grandeur, he might reflect, that if Edward ſhould withdraw his armies, ſo many haughty nobles would never ſubmit to his rule. To this Wallace replied, that if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was becauſe no leader had yet appeared to place himſelf in that honourable ſtation; that the blame lay entirely with the nobility, and chiefly with Bruce himſelf, who had deſerted the poſts which his merit and fortune invited him to aſſume; that the Scots, poſſeſſed of ſuch a leader, might hope ſucceſsfully to oppoſe all the powers and abilities of Edward; that for himſelf he was determined, as far as poſſible, to prolong the freedom of Scotland; and was deſirous that his own life, as well as the exiſtence of the nation, might terminate, when they could be no otherwiſe preſerved than by receiving the chains of an haughty victor.

The gallantry of theſe ſentiments ſtruck the mind of Bruce. The flame was conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another; he repented his engagements with Edward, and ſecretly reſolved to embrace the cauſe of his oppreſſed country whenever an opportunity arrived.

A. D. 1299.] Notwithſtanding this great victory, the ſubjection of Scotland remained incomplete. The Engliſh army, after reducing the ſouthern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of proviſions, and leave the northern counties in poſſeſſion of the natives. That hardy people ſtill continued in arms; but being ſenſible of their great inferiority, applied to foreign courts for aſſiſtance.

A. D. 1300.] Philip king of France rejected the application; but the pope wrote a letter to Edward, in which he adduced many arguments in favour of the ancient independence of that kingdom; however, he claimed to himſelf the right of being liege lord of Scotland.

A. D. 1301.] Edward replied to this letter, and aſſerts it to be a fact, *notorious, and confirmed by the records of antiquity*, that the Engliſh monarch had often conferred the kingdom of Scotland on their own ſubjects, and when unfaithful had dethroned theſe vaſſal kings, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead. He made a diſplay of the homage which William had done to Henry II. without mentioning the formal abolition of that *extorted* deed by king Richard, and the renunciation of all claims of that nature for the future. Though the greateſt part of this paper had no foundation in truth, he begins it with a ſolemn appeal to the Almighty, the ſearcher of hearts, for his own firm perſuaſion of the juſtice of his claim; and in a parliament aſſembled at Lincoln, one hundred and four barons concur in maintaining the validity of theſe pretenſions before the pope. So regardleſs are ſovereign ſtates of the principles of truth and juſtice, in their tranſactions with each other.

A. D. 1302.] The Scotch, determined to preſerve their independence, choſe John Cummin regent. They broke into the ſouthern counties, routed the Engliſh army, after an obſtinate engagement, near Edinburgh, and extended their ſucceſs to the banks of the Tweed.

A. D. 1303.] Edward, alarmed at their progreſs, appeared with a force which they were unable to reſiſt, and penetrated from one

one extremity of Scotland to the other, while his fleet ſailed along the coaſt, and ſecured him from the danger of famine. He ravaged the open country, reduced the caſtles, and compelled even Cummin himſelf to ſubmit to his authority. To make his acquiſition more durable, he abrogated all the Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms, endeavoured to ſubſtitute Engliſh in their place, and all the monuments of antiquity he entirely demoliſhed.

A. D. 1305.] Notwithſtanding Wallace vigilantly followed the Engliſh army, he found but few opportunities of ſignalizing his valour; yet, while he was alive, Edward deemed his conqueſts in danger, and employed every artifice to become maſter of his perſon. At laſt that hardy warrior was betrayed into the hands of the king, by his friend Sir John Monteith, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. Edward, inſtead of reſpecting his bravery and magnanimity, reſolved to overawe the Scots by an example of ſeverity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and a traitor, though he had never ſworn fealty to England; and to be executed on Tower-hill. This was the unworthy fate of an hero, who, through the courſe of many years, with ſignal conduct, intrepidity, and perſeverance, defended the liberties of his native country, againſt a public and oppreſſive enemy.

A. D. 1306.] Edward's barbarous policy had not the deſired effect; the Scots were enraged at the injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed on their champion; and it was not long ere a more fortunate leader preſented himſelf to conduct them to vengeance. The conference which Robert Bruce had held with Wallace on the banks of the Carron had ſunk deep in his mind; he determined to revive the pretenſions of his family, and aſpire to the vacant throne. His ſpirit ſaw the glory alone of the enterpriſe; and he ventured to diſcloſe his thoughts to John Cummin, with whom he lived in ſtrict intimacy. That nobleman approved his intentions; but, on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin began to reflect on the deſperate nature of the undertaking, and baſely revealed the ſecret to the king of England, to make amends for his conſent.

The king did not commit Bruce immediately to cuſtody, becauſe he intended at the ſame time to ſeize his three brothers, who reſided in Scotland. He contented himſelf with ordering him to be watched; but one of the friends of Bruce, appriſed of the circumſtance, yet not daring, amidſt ſo many jealous eyes, to hold any converſation with him, ſent him, by his ſervants, a pair of ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him; and left it to his ſagacity to diſcover his meaning. Bruce penetrated his intention; he ſet off immediately, and, travelling through croſs-roads, reached Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt; where he found a number of the Scottiſh nobility, and John Cummin, his former aſſociate, among them.

The appearance of Bruce aſtoniſhed the noblemen; whoſe ſurpriſe was increaſed when he diſcovered the object of his journey. He told them, he was come to live or die with them, in the defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities which it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters; that their mountains and their valour, which had, during ſo many ages, reſiſted the efforts of the Roman empire, would ſtill be ſufficient, were they worthy of their generous anceſtors, to protect them againſt the violence of the Engliſh tyrant; and that, at any rate, it was better to periſh, like brave men, with ſwords in their hands, than to dread long, and at laſt undergo, the fate of the unfortunate Wallace, whoſe merits, in the brave and obſtinate defence of his country, were finally rewarded by an ignominious death.

Impreſſed with the generous ſentiments of Bruce, the audience were rouſed to free-

dom and revenge. Cummin alone, who had ſecretly taken his meaſures with the king, ſet before them the certain deſtruction they muſt expect if they again ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, appriſed of his treachery, and foreſeeing the certain failure of all his ſchemes from the oppoſition of ſo powerful a leader, took immediately his reſolution. He followed Cummin, on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, and as he paſſed through the cloiſters of the Gray-friars, aſſaſſinated him.

This murder affixed the ſeal to the conſpiracy of the Scottiſh nobles. The genius of the nation rouſed itſelf. Bruce was ſolemnly crowned at Scone. He attacked with fury the Engliſh, diſperſed in their quarters; and again expelled them the kingdom. Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, muſt yet be again ſubdued. Not diſcouraged, he ſent Aylmer de Valence with a conſiderable force into Scotland; and that nobleman falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, defeated his army. Bruce himſelf fought with the moſt heroic courage, was thrice diſmounted in the action, but was obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, and to take ſhelter in the weſtern iſles, with a few of his followers.

A. D. 1307.] Edward immediately put to death the officers of rank who were made priſoners in the battle; and vowing revenge againſt the whole Scottiſh nation, aſſembled a great army; but while preparing to enter the frontiers, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the ſixty-ninth of his age, he unexpectedly ſickened, and died near Carliſle; enjoining with his laſt breath his ſon and ſucceſſor to proſecute the enterpriſe, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland.

By his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, he had four ſons; but Edward, his heir and ſucceſſor, was the only one that ſurvived him. By her he had alſo eleven daughters, moſt of whom died in their infancy: of the ſurvivors, Jane was married, firſt to the earl of Glouceſter, and after his deceaſe to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret eſpouſed John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth married, firſt, John earl of Holland, and afterwards the earl of Hereford; and Mary became a nun in the convent of Ambreſbury. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, he had two ſons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl Norfolk and marſhal of England; and Edward, whom his brother, when king, created earl of Kent. The princeſs died in her infancy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Acceſſion of Edward II.—His Weakneſs—Baniſhment of Gaveſton—The King recalls him—The Barons baniſh him again—Recalled again—Beheaded—Earl of Lancaſter beheaded—Conſpiracy of the Queen againſt the King, who is dethroned and murdered.

THOUGH Edward had greatly improved the juriſprudence of the country, checked the exorbitant power of the great barons, by eſtabliſhing a regular mode

A. D. 1307.] of repreſentation, and promoting the principles of general juſtice among the people, his boundleſs ambition, his cruelty, his arbitrary and oppreſſive conduct, prove him rather to have been the ſcourge than the father of his people; and they ſaw with pleaſure the elevation of his ſon, Edward II. whom they conſidered as a prince of a more mild and pacific diſpoſition. But they ſoon had the mortification to perceive, that the imputed virtues of the new king were even more injurious to national happineſs than the turbulent ambition of his predeceſſor; and the barons, whoſe exorbitant

exorbitant power had been repreſſed during the late reign, now began to imagine that they might re-aſſert their former independence with impunity. The firſt ſtep taken by Edward, relative to the affairs of Scotland, afforded his ſubjects an inauſpicious preſage of his adminiſtration. His march into that country was rather a proceſſion of pageantry, than a warlike expedition; and he took no meaſures for checking the progreſs of Bruce. Inſtead of endeavouring to oppoſe the efforts of that indefatigable warrior, Edward immediately returned to England, and diſbanded his army.

In the choice of his favourites he betrayed no leſs his incapacity for government. Piers Gaveſton, the ſon of a Gaſcon knight, had, by his inſinuating addreſs, his elegance of ſhape and perſon, his ſkill in all warlike and genteel exerciſes, and his lively wit, acquired an entire aſcendant over the young Edward. The late king, apprehenſive of the conſequences, had baniſhed him the kingdom; but the preſent no ſooner had aſcended the throne than he recalled him, endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, married him to his own niece, ſiſter to the earl of Glouceſter, and loaded him with new honours and riches.

This ſudden aggrandiſement offended the barons, and multiplied the number of Gaveſton's enemies. In a journey which the king took to France, to eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabella, he left Gaveſton guardian of the realm, and on his return renewed all the proofs of attachment to his favourite; but Iſabella, who was of an imperious and intriguing diſpoſition, finding her huſband's capacity required to be governed, thought herſelf beſt entitled to perform the office, and was well pleaſed to ſee a combination of the nobility formed againſt Gaveſton.

This conſpiracy againſt the favourite was conſiderably increaſed in ſtrength by the acceſſion of the earl of Lancaſter, a nobleman of great power and influence, and couſin-german to the king. The confederated barons bound themſelves by oath to expel Gaveſton; and even proceeded to throw off all reverence for the royal authority, which they beheld wholly in the poſſeſſion of this inſolent favourite.

A. D. 1308.] A parliament being ſummoned at Weſtminſter, Lancaſter and his party came thither with an armed retinue, and ſo far intimidated Edward, as to impoſe upon him their own terms. They inſiſted that Gaveſton ſhould be baniſhed, made him take an oath never to return to the court, and engaged the biſhops to pronounce him excommunicated if he remained any longer in the kingdom. Edward was obliged to ſubmit; but he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, attended him to Briſtol on his journey thither, and before his departure conferred on him new lands and riches, both in Gaſcony and England.

A. D. 1310.] Edward, who could not endure the abſence of his minion, had prevailed on the pope to ſuſpend the ſentence of excommunication pronounced by the biſhops, and recalled his favourite. When Gaveſton arrived in England, the king went as far as Cheſter to meet him; and expreſſed ſuch tranſports of joy, that the people thought him inſane. Gaveſton now became more inſolent and tyrannical than ever: he inſulted the queen; and from her anſwer ſome ſuſpect a criminal connection between him and the king. The preſumptuous behaviour of Gaveſton provoked the barons; but the king, dreading their reſentment, endeavoured to ſoften it; and having called a parliament, iſſued a proclamation, enjoining them not to come armed; but the majority paid no attention to the proclamation, and brought a numerous retinue in arms. The parliament being aſſembled, determined to compel the king to redreſs the grievances of the nation; but knowing his incapacity, they propoſed that the whole power ſhould be lodged in the hands of twelve perſons, for one year. The king at firſt refuſed to comply; but dreading the conſequence of driving them to extremities, he thought it moſt adviſeable to ſubmit; and iſſued a commiſſion,

commiſſion, empowering the parliament to elect proper perſons, and make the propoſed regulations.

The Scots having been undiſturbed ſince the acceſſion of Edward to the throne of England, employed this time in eſtabliſhing a more regular government, and repairing their forces. They not only recovered that part of Scotland which had been taken from them by Edward I. but invaded Northumberland. A truce was propoſed by the king of France, and concluded by the earl of Glouceſter and the two papal nuncios: this was ſoon after broken, and again renewed, with no better effect.

A. D. 1311.] The committee had by this time prepared the new ordinances, and the parliament was aſſembled for their confirmation. Edward at firſt objected to ſeveral articles, as derogatory to the dignity of the crown; but, to prevent miſchief, he at laſt gave his aſſent, after having proteſted, that if any clauſe contained in theſe ordinances ſhould be found injurious to the king, it ſhould be deemed null and void.

By theſe ordinances it was enacted, that the church ſhould enjoy her franchiſes, and the two charters be preſerved; that evil counſellors ſhould be removed from the perſon of the king; that Piers Gaveſton ſhould be for ever baniſhed the king's dominions, for having adminiſtered evil counſel to his majeſty, embezzled his treaſure, impoveriſhed the realm by obtaining grants and blank charters, protected robbers, arrogated to himſelf the royal dignity, and formed unlawful aſſociations, in defiance of juſtice; that for theſe miſdemeanors he ſhould quit the kingdom before the 1ſt of November, or if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, he ſhould be treated as an enemy to the king and kingdom; that the king ſhould not quit the kingdom, nor declare war againſt any other prince or potentate, without the conſent of his barons; that upon the conſent of his barons, a guardian of the realm ſhould be appointed in parliament, who ſhould alſo nominate the chief officers of ſtate, of the houſehold, of the revenue, and of juſtice, as well as the governors of ſea-ports, and caſtles on the ſea-coaſts, and all perſons employed under the crown, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Guienne; that all perſons in office ſhould oblige themſelves by oath to obſerve theſe ordinances; that one biſhop, two earls, and as many barons, ſhould be choſen every parliament, to receive complaints againſt the king's miniſters, and others, who ſhould tranſgreſs theſe ordinances, and puniſh the offenders at diſcretion.

Though Edward confirmed all theſe ordinances, he determined that thoſe which encroached on his prerogative ſhould be re-examined and corrected, and therefore adjourned the parliament to November. Gaveſton was baniſhed, in hopes by that means to abate the rigour of the other articles, at the next meeting. But this hope was ſoon diſappointed; for the barons ſtill declined correcting the ordinances, and the parliament was diſſolved.

Edward, who could not endure the abſence of his favourite, ſent a private invitation to him in Flanders to return; in conſequence of which he arrived at York, where he was received by the king with every demonſtration of joy, declared a faithful ſubject, reſtored to his poſſeſſions, and loaded with new favours.

A. D. 1312.] The inſincerity of the king, and the preſumption of Gaveſton, provoked the barons; they accuſed his majeſty of violating the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and particularly with contempt of the late ordinances he had ſo ſolemnly promiſed to obſerve. They plainly told him, that unleſs he would baniſh Piers Gaveſton, they would riſe againſt him as a perjured prince. But he was ſo far from being inclined to conſent again to the baniſhment of his favourite, that he ſent over to Gaſcony for troops, to defend by force his continuance in England. Gaveſton was excommunicated by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the barons flew to arms. Having choſen the earl of Lancaſter for their commander, they

they marched to York. The king fled northwards; but the caſtle of Scarborough, where he had left his favourite, was obliged to ſurrender to the earl of Pembroke. From that nobleman he had obtained a promiſe, that if no accommodation ſhould take place, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he delivered it up. But this promiſe proved a frail ſecurity; he was left, moſt probably intentionally, with a feeble guard, in the caſtle of Dedington. That fortreſs was ſurpriſed by the earl of Warwick; and the head of Gaveſton was ſtruck off by the hands of the executioner, without any regard to the laws, or the military capitulation.

A. D. 1313.] The king, who was now at Berwick, on the firſt intelligence of the death of his favourite, was violent in his menaces of vengeance; and, after collecting a conſiderable body of troops, returned to London; but the malcontents aſſembled an army ſuperior to that of the king; and a civil war muſt have enſued, had not the earls of Glouceſter and Richmond, aſſiſted by the French ambaſſador, and the pope's nuncio, effected an accommodation. A treaty was ſet on foot; the king agreed to comply with the reaſonable demands of the barons, and ſubſcribed a general amneſty for all that had paſſed.

The affairs of Scotland demanded his attention; the progreſs of Bruce had been rapid; and he cloſely preſſed the caſtle of Stirling, the only fortreſs in that kingdom which held out for the Engliſh; to relieve which, Edward ſummoned his forces from all quarters; and the hoſt which he aſſembled has been eſtimated at an hundred thouſand men.

A. D. 1314.] At Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, Bruce, with thirty thouſand hardy warriors, inflamed with the love of independence, awaited the charge of the enemy; a hill covered his right flank, a moraſs his left; and to ſcreen his front he had dug deep pits, planted them with ſtakes, and covered them over with turf. The Engliſh, confident in their ſuperior numbers, ruſhed forwards without precaution. Their cavalry was entangled in the pits, their ranks were broken; and the Scottiſh horſe, pouring through the openings, ſcattered on every ſide ſlaughter and diſmay. Before they could recover, an army appeared to be marching towards them on their left; this was a number of waggoners and ſumpter-boys, whom Robert had ſupplied with military ſtandards. The ſtratagem took effect; a panic ſeized the Engliſh; they threw down their arms, and fled. They were purſued to the gates of Berwick; and the Scots, beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, all of whom Robert treated with great humanity.

A. D. 1315.] A parliament met at Weſtminſter, where the melancholy ſtate of the kingdom came under conſideration; it was not only waſted by the enemy, but oppreſſed by famine; ſeveral reſolutions were therefore taken to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the country. The great charters were confirmed, a twentieth of all the moveables was granted, which enabled the king to raiſe a conſiderable army; but as this was inſufficient for their maintenance, loans were extorted from the religious ſocieties of the kingdom.

The Scots, in the mean time, diſtreſſed the Engliſh merchants by depredations at ſea, and ravaged the north by land. The king marched to oppoſe them; but not being able to purſue the meaſures he intended, returned to London, after having fortified the frontier places.

A. D. 1316.] Another parliament was aſſembled at Lincoln, and a very extraordinary ſupply granted for the maintenance of the Scottiſh war. Every village and hamlet was ordered to furniſh one ſtout ſoldier with proviſions for ſixty days, after which he was to be maintained at the king's expence. Market towns were rated higher, according to their ſize and opulence; but it was expreſsly provided that this grant ſhould not be made a precedent. The militia were ſummoned to attend the king at Newcaſtle upon Tyne; and the knights, citizens, and

burgeſſes, granted a fifteenth of all their moveables, to ſupport the expences of the expedition.

The clergy were exempted from giving any aid on account of the famine, which by this time had filled all the country with horror, death, and deſolation. Robberies and murders were common on the highways, and the ſtreets were covered with ſpectacles of miſery and diſtreſs. Numbers of wretched people were dying for want of food; and helpleſs parents lay expiring in the midſt of their tender offspring, who ſoon ſhared the ſame unhappy fate. The priſons were burſt open, and the priſoners devoured by the ravenous populous; the dead became a prey to the living; the graves were robbed of their inhabitants to appeaſe the rage of hunger; and to ſuch a terrible degree of horror did this calamity increaſe, that even the mother was known to deſtroy the fruit of her womb.

Such was the miſerable ſituation to which this country was reduced through the wicked ambition of this king and his father, to deſtroy the independence of Scotland, and the reſentment with which that people were inſpired from a conduct ſo atrocious.

A. D. 1317.] Under theſe dreadful circumſtances the war could not be proſecuted with vigour; and a negociation was ſet on foot between the two nations by the mediation of the pope, who ſent over two cardinals for that purpoſe. Edward aſſented to the propoſal, but Robert Bruce refuſed; in conſequence of which his holineſs excommunicated Robert and all his adherents, and laid their poſſeſſions under an interdict.

A. D. 1318.] The legates endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between Edward and his barons, and by their good offices it was concluded with all the exterior marks of ſincerity. The ſucceſs of this negociation induced the people to deſire they would employ their influence on the king, for a confirmation of the ordinances and great charters of liberty, without thoſe ſalvoes for the prerogative which deſtroyed their effect. Edward amuſed them with a general anſwer, and ſummoned a parliament to meet at Lincoln, where he promiſed to redreſs all their grievances; and the cardinals, being ſtrangers to the king's character and the conſtitution of the country, were extremely pleaſed with his condeſcenſion.

In the mean time the Scots had invaded England; at which Edward was ſo alarmed, that he offered to compromiſe the diſpute with the barons on any terms; he therefore agreed to confirm the ordinances in whatever manner they ſhould propoſe; and conſented to a proviſion, by which eight biſhops, four earls, and as many barons, were appointed for his ſtanding council, four of them to attend quarterly in their turns, and aſſiſt the king with their advice. Theſe articles were confirmed in parliament, and ſigned by the king; and ſeveral biſhops, earls, and barons, undertook their execution.

A. D. 1319.] In a parliament aſſembled at York a large ſubſidy was granted, a great military force aſſembled, and, after various ſucceſs, a truce was concluded for two years.

A. D. 1320.] This reſpite afforded an opportunity of rectifying the diſorders of the kingdom; and a parliament was held at Weſtminſter for that purpoſe, in which ſeveral uſeful ordinances were enacted.

A. D. 1321.] The citizens of London having been ſummoned to the Tower, to anſwer for ſome tumults which had happened on account of their being unequally aſſeſſed, conſidered it as a breach of their privileges, which they imputed to the evil counſel of the two D'Eſpenſers, againſt whom they conceived the moſt implacable reſentment. The father was a man of courage, prudence, and integrity; his greateſt, if not only fault, was his blind attachment to his ſon, who trod in the ſteps of his predeceſſor Gaveſton, and reſembled that favourite not more in his perſonal accompliſhments than in his pride and ambition.

The boundleſs power and avarice of Hugh Spenſer, or D'Eſpenſer, the younger, induced him to ſeize the lands of different proprietors; but his claim to an eſtate which had been ſettled on the powerful family of Mowbray,

Mowbray, was the ſignal for a civil war. Lancaſter, and ſeveral of the moſt potent barons, flew to arms; they ravaged the lands of both the Spenſers, who were then abſent on the continent; and having extorted from the king an act of attainder againſt his favourite, and of indemnity for themſelves, they diſbanded their army, and ſeparated to their ſeveral caſtles ſecure, as they imagined.

The conceſſions which the king had been obliged to make to the barons, had rendered his authority, and even his perſon, ſo contemptible, that it was a preſumption not uncommon, and hardly conſidered as blameable, to treat him with diſreſpect. The queen having occaſion ſoon after to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds, in Kent, which belonged to lord Badleſmere, deſired a night's lodging, but was refuſed admittance, and ſome of her attendants, who preſented themſelves at the gate, were killed. To revenge this, Edward thought that he might, without giving general umbrage, aſſemble a ſmall body of forces, and take vengeance on the offender. Having prevailed againſt Badleſmere, he dropped the maſk, reverſed the ſentence, and recalled the Spenſers; then advanced to the frontiers of Wales, where the chief power of his enemies lay.

A. D. 1322.] Notwithſtanding the barons were ſurpriſed, the influence of Lancaſter and his adherents ſoon collected an army of thirty thouſand men. With theſe the former took poſt at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend againſt the royaliſts the paſſage of that river. Diſappointed in this deſign, Lancaſter fled with his troops towards the north; he was intercepted at Boroughbridge, and after a ſhort action was made priſoner. Being taken, he was condemned to death by a court-martial, and led on a lean horſe to an eminence near one of his own caſtles, where he was beheaded.

A. D. 1323.] Eighteen more of the principal revolters were executed: the greater part of their eſtates were ravaged by young Spenſer, and his rapacity rendered him more obnoxious to the people. That he might have nothing to diſtract his attention from theſe intrigues, Edward, after another fruitleſs attempt on Scotland, had concluded a truce for thirteen years with Bruce, and thus virtually acknowledged his title.

A. D. 1324.] He was, however, ſtill embarraſſed by the demands of Charles the Fair, king of France; who required him to appear in his court, and do homage for the fees that he held in that kingdom. The queen had been permitted to make a journey to France, to ſoften her brother; but Charles was inflexible; and Spenſer, who had been engaged in many quarrels with Iſabella, was unwilling to attend his maſter to Paris, and appear in a court where her credit might expoſe him to danger. An expedient was therefore propoſed and adopted, that Edward ſhould reſign Guienne to his ſon, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince ſhould render homage to Charles, as his ſuperior lord.

A. D. 1325.] Young Edward was accordingly ſent to Paris, where the queen was already ſurrounded by a number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction. Among theſe was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welch marches, who by the graces of his perſon and addreſs quickly advanced in the affections of Iſabella. He became her confident and counſellor in all her meaſures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her at laſt to ſacrifice to her paſſion all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity to her huſband. Having artfully got into her hands the heir of the monarchy, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king; and when Edward required her ſpeedily to return with the prince, ſhe publicly replied, that ſhe would never ſet foot in the kingdom, till Spenſer was removed from his preſence and councils.

A. D. 1326.] Iſabella having extended her alliances abroad, by affiancing young Edward with Philippa daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault, by the aſſiſtance of this prince, and the connivance of her brother, ſhe enliſted an army of three thouſand

ſand men, ſailed from the harbour of Dort, and landed on the coaſt of Suffolk without oppoſition.

The inſolence, cruelty, and avarice of Spenſer, had incurred the general odium of the nation. The king was weak and indolent, and wholly given up to the counſels of this worthleſs minion. Immediately upon the queen's landing, the king was abandoned by all the ancient nobility of the kingdom, even by his brother, the earl of Kent, who joined the queen's party. To render her cauſe popular, ſhe iſſued a declaration, that her object was to eaſe the burdens of the people, aſſert the privileges of the church, and reform the adminiſtration.

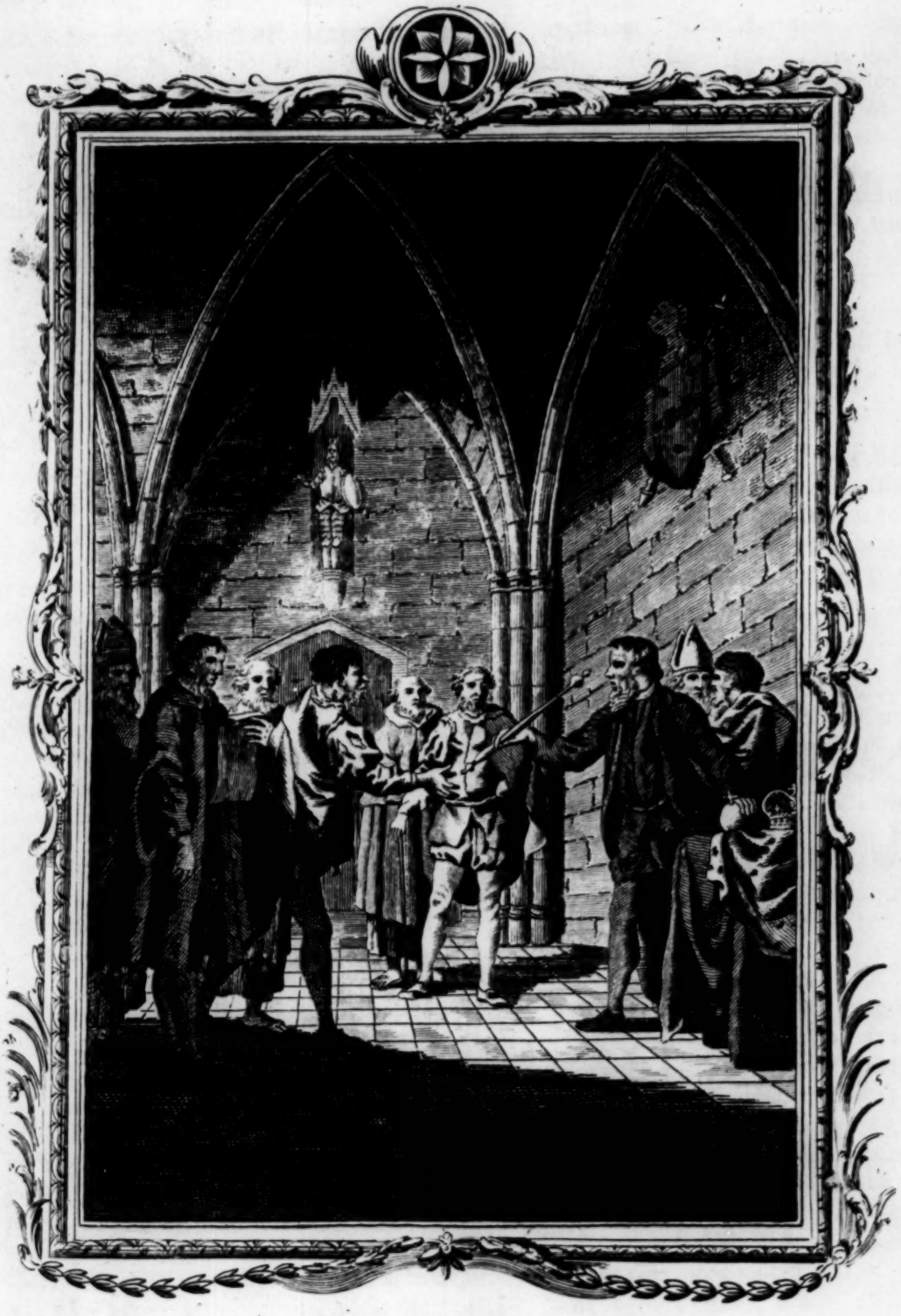
The king, after having in vain applied to the citizens of London for aſſiſtance, fled to Briſtol: he was purſued by the earl of Kent and John de Hainault. Not being able to depend on the inhabitants, he committed the cuſtody of the caſtle and city to Hugh Spenſer the elder, and fled to Wales, where he hoped to find protection and aſſiſtance from his countrymen. The garriſon of Briſtol being diſaffected, Spenſer was obliged to ſurrender, in three days, at diſcretion: he was brought before Sir William Truſſel, who was appointed chief juſtice upon this occaſion, and ſeveral earls and barons. He was charged with introducing a cuſtom of condemning people without trial, widening the breach between the king and his nobility, and adviſing the king to put the late earl of Lancaſter to death, without any cauſe aſſigned, or form of proceſs. For theſe crimes he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and his ſentence was executed with the utmoſt rigour. The earl, who was now about ninety years of age, was hung on the common gibbet, his body thrown to the dogs, and his head expoſed on a pole at Wincheſter.

Edward, in the mean time, had endeavoured to raiſe his military tenants in South Wales, but without effect; he therefore embarked for Ireland, but was driven back by contrary winds, and landed at Swanſea. The place of his retreat was diſcovered, and he was taken, with the earl of Arundel, Robert de Baldock, and Simon de Reding, in the caſtle of Lantreſſan. Hugh Spenſer the younger was apprehended in a neighbouring wood. Spenſer was arraigned before the ſame judges as his father, and underwent the ſame fate. His head was ſent to London, where the citizens received it with joy, and fixed it on the bridge. Arundel was beheaded; Baldock, the chancellor, was claimed by the biſhop of Hereford, as an eccleſiaſtic, who removed him to his houſe in London, from whence he was dragged by the bailiffs and the populace to Newgate, where he ſoon after expired.

The king was removed to the caſtle of Kenilworth, and committed to the cuſtody of the earl of Leiceſter, brother to the late earl of Lancaſter, who about this time aſſumed his brother's title.

A. D. 1327.] A parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter, in which the biſhop of Hereford put the queſtion to them, whether they would have the father or the ſon for their king? deſiring them to conſider the alternative, and give their anſwer next day. At the next meeting, it was reſolved that young Edward ſhould be raiſed to the throne. Accordingly the lords did homage to him; after which he was conducted to Weſtminſter-hall, and preſented to the populace as their ſovereign. The archbiſhops harangued the multitude on that celebrated maxim, "The voice of the people is the voice of God." The biſhops of Wincheſter and Hereford ſpoke in ſupport of the ſame ſentiments. Silence being commanded, the prince was proclaimed king; and ſome of the prelates, having refuſed to take the oath of fealty, were forcibly conveyed by the populace to Guildhall, and there compelled not only to take the oath, but ſolemnly promiſe to defend and maintain the rights and privileges of the city of London.

To eſtabliſh the authority of young Edward, it was neceſſary his father ſhould be depoſed; accordingly the biſhop of Hereford drew up ſix articles of impeachment, and preſented them to the parliament, in which



The Enſigns of Royalty resigned by

EDWARD II.

Publiſhed by H.D.Symonds March 29 1798.

which he was accuſed of incapacity for government, of being biaſſed by wicked miniſters, of having loſt by miſconduct the kingdom of Scotland and part of Guienne, of having put to death ſeveral barons, and impriſoned ſome prelates, that he ſpent his time in the purſuit of objects unworthy of his character, and neglect of the adminiſtration: "whereas he was bound to do right to all, he would not do it for his own profit; and the covetouſneſs of him and his evil counſellors who were with him; neither regarded the other points of the oath which he made at his coronation, as he was obliged. Alſo he abandoned his realm, and did as much as in him lay to deſtroy it and his people; and what is worſe, by the cruelty and the defaults of his perſon, he is found incorrigible, and without hopes of amendment. All which things are ſo notorious, that they cannot be gainſaid."

Theſe articles having been read in the preſence of young Edward, who was ſeated on the throne, it was reſolved that Edward II. ſhould no longer be ſtiled king of England, but Edward of Caernarvon, the king's father: thereby proving, that the ſame power which raiſed him to dignity and honour can debaſe him; that incapacity to govern is a ſufficient reaſon for taking the authority out of his hands; and that a king is reſponſible for the conduct of his miniſters.

The parliament deputed three biſhops, two earls, the ſame number of barons, abbots, and juſtices, with ſome of the repreſentatives of the people, to go to Kenilworth, and acquaint the king with their reſolution. When they waited upon the king, and informed him of the purpoſe of their viſit, after recovering from the firſt impreſſion this intelligence had made on his mind, he thanked them for the honour conferred on his ſon, and formally reſigned the regalia, brought there for that purpoſe. Sir William Truſſel, who acted as procurator for the parliament, renounced in their name the homage and fealty they had ſworn to Edward; proteſting they would not hold any thing of him as king, nor pay him any further allegiance. The deputies, having reported this tranſaction to the parliament, and the prince agreed to his own elevation, he was crowned on Sunday the 1ſt of February, by Walter archbiſhop of Canterbury.

For the ſake of humanity, we wiſh we could draw a veil over the ſubſequent period of this unfortunate prince's hiſtory; but juſtice obliges us to relate the whole, however painful. The queen, and Mortimer, her paramour, not content with Edward's depoſition, baſely plotted againſt his life. They dreaded the compaſſion of the Engliſh, which generally kindles to a generous ardour in behalf of helpleſs diſtreſs. They began to ſuſpect the effects of Lancaſter's diſpoſition, who had treated his royal priſoner with great gentleneſs and humanity, and therefore removed him from Kenilworth to Berkley caſtle; where he was committed to the care of Montravers and Gournay, who guarded him a month each alternately. By them he was hurried from one caſtle to another, and back again to Berkley: they treated him with the moſt barbarous indignities; as if it had been their intention to break his ſpirits, and thereby precipitate his death. But finding this ineffectual, they took a ſhorter method; which was, to throw him on a bed, and hold him down violently with a table, while they thruſt a horn pipe into his fundament, through which they conveyed a red-hot iron, and thus burned his bowels, without any external marks of violence.

The perpetrators of this horrid murder were held in general deteſtation, and obliged to fly the kingdom ſome time after. Gournay was apprehended at Marſeilles, and while he was in the ſhip which was to convey him to England, he was beheaded. Montravers, having rendered ſome ſervice to Edward III. returned to England, and was pardoned.

Thus fell Edward, in the forty-third year of his age, and twentieth of his reign. He was a very weak man; and when he had power, he was arbitrary and cruel in the puniſhments he inflicted on thoſe who oppoſed his will.

Moſt of the evils with which this country

was afflicted during his reign, may be fairly traced to his miſconduct, and the influence of his minions. His parliament, in depoſing him, exerciſed a natural right; and his incapacity alone was a ſufficient juſtification of that act. But we look on his murder with horror; and the incontinence, cruelty, and ambition of his wife, by whoſe orders he was put to death, have rendered her name infamous.

Edward left four children: Edward, who ſucceeded him; John, created earl of Cornwall, who died young; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald count of Gueldres.

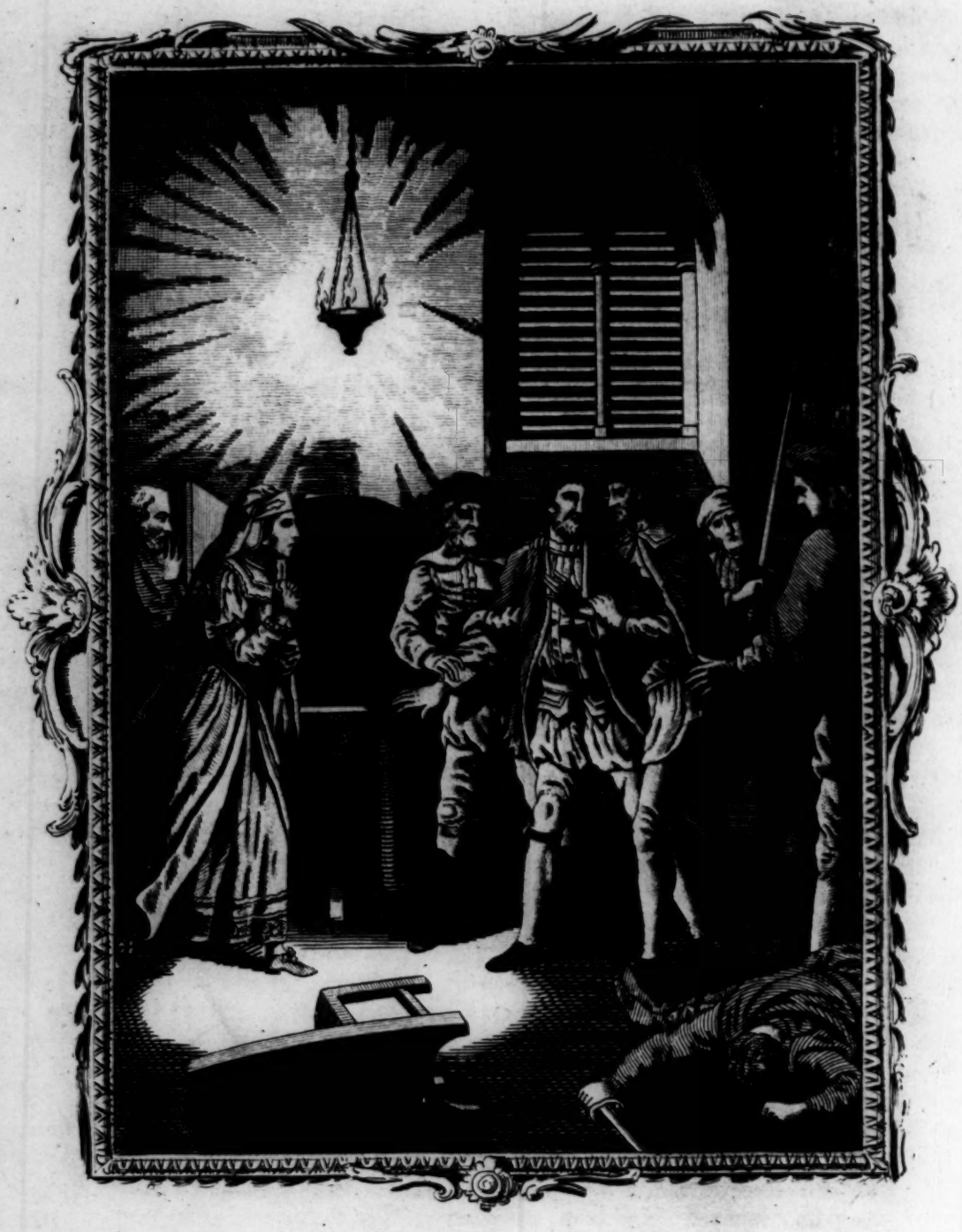
CHAPTER IX.

Edward the Third's Acceſſion—War with Scotland—King's Claim to the Crown of France—Diſturbances—Battle of Crecy—Calais taken—Various Incidents—Death of the King, &c.

YOUNG Edward being raiſed to the throne during the life-time of his father, as mentioned already in the preceding chapter, the parliament appointed twelve perſons as his privy council, to conduct the affairs of government. In this parliament the attainder againſt the earl of Lancaſter and his adherents was reverſed, and the young earl appointed guardian of the king's perſon, with a council of regency, conſiſting of five prelates and ſeven lay lords. From a pretended ſhow of moderation, Mortimer, the queen's paramour, was not included in the number of the privy council, but he ſecretly influenced all their meaſures, and the whole ſovereign authority was ſhared between him and the queen, who diſcovered no deſire to conceal her criminal attachment.

A. D. 1327.] The king of Scotland thought the preſent opportunity favourable for invading England, and directed an army of twenty-five thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, to penetrate into Durham. Young Edward advanced to repel them, at the head of ſixty thouſand Engliſh, and the foreign forces of John of Hainault. He began his march in the middle of July, in queſt of the enemy, who, conſiſting of light-armed troops, mounted on ſmall horſes, committed their devaſtations in a rapid and deſultory manner. But after undergoing exceſſive fatigues, in purſuing them through woods and moraſſes, no ſigns of the invaders could be traced, except from the ravages they had made, and the ſmoking ruins of villages which they had ſet on fire. At laſt he found that they had fixed their camp on the ſouthern banks of the Were, as if with deſign to await a battle; but they had choſen their ground ſo advantageouſly, that to attack them would have been an enterpriſe attended with no probability of ſucceſs. Edward urged the expediency of coming to a battle, even in that ſituation, with an army ſo inferior in number; but this meaſure was oppoſed by Mortimer. While the two armies lay in this poſition, an incident happened which had nearly proved fatal to the Engliſh. Douglas, having got the word, and ſurveyed exactly the ſituation of the enemy, entered their camp in the night-time, with a choſen body of two hundred men, and advanced to the royal tent, with the intention either of killing the king, or making him priſoner. But ſome of Edward's attendants awaking at that moment, made reſiſtance. Two of thoſe were ſlain in the encounter; and the king, after making a valiant defence, eſcaped in the dark. Douglas, having loſt the greater part of his followers, made a haſty retreat with the remainder. The Scottiſh army ſoon after decamped in the night, and marched directly to their own country.

A. D.



MORTIMER, Earl of MARCHE,
Seizd in Nottingham Caſtle.

Publiſhed by H.D.Symonds April 2. 1796.

A. D. 1328.] Mortimer, ſenſible of the growing hatred of the people, was reſolved, on any terms, to procure a peace with Scotland, in order to eſtabliſh his power at home on a more ſolid foundation. He therefore entered into a negociation with Robert Bruce; and a treaty was accordingly concluded between the two nations; when the Engliſh parliament, for the ſum of thirty thouſand marks, acknowledged the independence of Scotland.

A. D. 1330.] Mortimer's next ſtep was to ſeize the earl of Kent, brother to the late king; who, entertaining the idea that his brother was ſtill alive, and concealed in ſome priſon, formed a deſign of reſtoring him to liberty, and reinſtating him in power. Him, therefore, Mortimer reſolved to deſtroy; and ſummoning him to appear in parliament, had him condemned and executed even before the young king could have time to interpoſe in his favour.

The rapacity and illegal practices of Mortimer were univerſally the ſubject of complaint, and men of all parties united in the hatred and execration of this odious miniſter.

When Edward had attained the eighteenth year of his age, theſe abuſes were too flagrant to eſcape his obſervation. He communicated his intention to ſome of the barons of ſubverting the authority of this miniſter, and they readily promiſed to concur with him in executing his deſigns. The caſtle of Nottingham, in which the queen-dowager and Mortimer had for ſome time reſided, was choſen as the ſcene of the enterpriſe. Thither the king was admitted without ſuſpicion, but only with a few of his attendants. As the caſtle was ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became neceſſary to communicate the deſign to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealouſly entered into the king's views; and by whoſe directions the aſſociates were admitted through a ſubterraneous paſſage; when Mortimer, without having it in his power to make any reſiſtance, was ſuddenly ſeized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's. A parliament was immediately ſummoned for his condemnation. Before this aſſembly he was accuſed of having uſurped regal power from the council of regency, appointed by parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy for reſtoring that prince; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other crimes and miſdemeanors. The parliament condemned him, from the ſuppoſed notoriety of the facts, without trial; and he was hanged on a gibbet, at the Elmes, in the neighbourhood of London. A ſimilar ſentence paſſed againſt ſome of the inferior criminals, particularly Simon de Bereford. The queen, whoſe guilt was well known, was protected by the dignity of her ſituation: ſhe was confined to her own houſe, at Riſings, near London; and her revenue reduced to four thouſand pounds a year.

A. D. 1332.] Edward, who now reigned alone, directed his attention towards Scotland. The weakneſs of the Scottiſh government, at that time under a minority, gave him hopes of ſucceſs. Edward Baliol alſo, whoſe father John had been crowned king of Scotland, pretended a right to that throne; and in this claim he was aſſiſted by the Engliſh monarch, who gave him permiſſion to levy what forces he was able in his dominions. With no more than three thouſand of thoſe mercenaries, Baliol gained over his countrymen a conſiderable victory, in which twelve thouſand of them were ſlain. In conſequence of this unexpected turn of fortune, Baliol was crowned king at Scone. But he did not long enjoy this ſuperiority; by another viciſſitude, equally ſudden, he was attacked and defeated by Sir Archibald Douglas, and obliged once more to take refuge in England.

A. D. 1333.] Baliol, to inſure the protection of England, had ſecretly ſent a meſſage to Edward, offering to acknowledge his

his ſuperiority, to renew the homage for his crown, and to eſpouſe the princeſs Jane, if the pope's conſent could be obtained for diſſolving her former marriage, which was not yet conſummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering the ſuperiority and homage, joyfully accepted the offer, and prepared to reinſtate Baliol in the poſſeſſion of the crown. For this purpoſe he prevailed on his parliament to give him a ſupply; and with a well-diſciplined army he laid ſiege to Berwick, which, after a vigorous defence, capitulated. In attempting to relieve this garriſon, a general engagement enſued between the Scotch and Engliſh forces; but the fortune of Edward prevailed. Near thirty thouſand of the Scots fell in the action, while the loſs of the Engliſh amounted only to about fifteen men. This important victory decided the fate of Scotland, which Baliol, with the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable body of the Engliſh army, was enabled to ſubdue. Edward, with the remainder, after reducing many of the Scottiſh towns, which were declared to be annexed to the Engliſh monarchy, returned in triumph to his own capital.

A. D. 1335.] But no ſooner were the Engliſh withdrawn, than the Scots revolted from Baliol, and returned to their allegiance under Bruce; by whoſe party, himſelf being a minor, Sir Andrew Murray was appointed regent. By the valour and activity of this commander, Baliol was in a ſhort time almoſt wholly expelled the kingdom; and Edward was now obliged to aſſemble an army, to ſupport the tottering throne of his ally. Twice he entered Scotland in arms, and marched without reſiſtance through the low countries, ravaging the eſtates of thoſe he called rebels. The Scots, taught by experience, retired into their hills and faſtneſſes, and waited a favourable moment for revenge, from the war which was on the point of breaking out between France and England.

A. D. 1337.] Edward, whoſe ambition ſoared to the acquiſition of crowns and kingdoms, was now diverted to a new object, which revived the long diſcontinued animoſities of England and France, and proved the cauſe of contention between the two nations for upwards of a century. Philip the Fair, king of France, left three ſons, Louis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair; and one daughter, Iſabella queen of England. Louis Hutin, the eldeſt, leaving at his death one daughter, ſiſter to Eudes duke of Burgundy, his brother Philip was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy aſſerted the rights of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, gave her an excluſion, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a ſhort reign, leaving three daughters; and his brother Charles without any oppoſition ſucceeded to the crown. This prince alſo reigned only a ſhort time, leaving one daughter; but his queen being pregnant, the next male heir, Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the deceaſed king, was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. The queen being delivered of a daughter, Philip was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

Edward, when fifteen years of age, embraced the abſurd notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the couſin-german; notwithſtanding ſuch pretenſions were more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, who was deſcended from the daughter of Louis Hutin; but Edward, perſuaded by his mother and Mortimer, entertained this groundleſs opinion, though he did not think proper to inſiſt on pretenſions which he knew muſt have involved him in a war. There occurred, however, an incident, which made it neceſſary that Edward ſhould either openly avow his pretenſions, or for ever renounce them. He was ſummoned to do homage for Guienne. As Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms, and the province was in a bad ſtate of defence, he judged it proper to ſubmit to preſent neceſſity, and therefore went over to Amiens, and did homage to Philip. Some controverſy having ariſen relative to the terms of this

this ſubmiſſion, he afterwards ſent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; a declaration which ratified, in the ſtrongeſt terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim was ſo unreaſonable, and ſo thoroughly diſavowed by the whole French nation, that he himſelf deemed it preſumption to proſecute it; and no doubt he would have abandoned the chimerical idea, had it not been for ſome incidents which excited an animoſity between the two monarchs.

Robert of Artois, deſcended from the royal family of France, who eſpouſed Philip's ſiſter, had, by a ſentence, commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair, loſt the county of Artois, which he attempted to recover by the unworthy action of forgery. Detected in his crime, he fled to England, and endeavoured to revive the propoſſeſſion entertained by Edward of his title to the crown of France. The king, on his part, had alſo ſome cauſe of diſſatisfaction with Philip, for his conduct in regard to Guienne, on account of that prince's not only having given protection to the exiled David Bruce, but encouraged, if not actually ſupported, the Scots in their ſtruggles for independence. Thus the breaſts of both monarchs were filled with mutual reſentments; and Philip, underſtanding that ſome preparations for hoſtilities were made by his rival, iſſued againſt Robert a ſentence of felony and attainder; and declared, that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, would be involved in the ſame ſentence. Edward, perceiving the intention of this menace, and reſolute not to ſubmit, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, on the frontiers of Germany; and procured the intereſt of the count of Hainault, his father-in-law.

A. D. 1338.] There was at Ghent a brewer, named James d'Arteville, who, from being a private citizen, was placed at the head of the Flemings. To him Edward addreſſed himſelf for bringing over the Flemings to his intereſts; and d'Arteville, ſenſible that they were naturally inclined to maintain connections with the Engliſh, from whom they received the materials of their woollen manufacture, the chief ſource of their opulence, readily embraced the intereſts of Edward, and invited him over to the Low Countries. Edward, before he entered on this great enterpriſe, affected to conſult his parliament, and obtained it's conſent. The more to ſtrengthen his hands, he procured from that aſſembly a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, which might amount to about an hundred thouſand pounds. This commodity was a good inſtrument to employ with the Flemings, and the price of it with his German allies. He completed the other neceſſary ſums by loans, by pawning the crown jewels, and by confiſcating, or rather robbing, at once all the Lombards, who now exerciſed the invidious trade, formerly monopolized by the Jews, of lending on intereſt.

With thoſe reſources he ſailed over to Flanders, attended by a body of Engliſh forces, and ſeveral of his nobility. His firſt ſtep was to aſſert his claim to the French crown, and requeſt the aſſiſtance of the Flemings and the German princes for dethroning Philip de Valois, the uſurper of his kingdom. Philip, on the other hand, made vigorous preparations to oppoſe him, and ſuch as ſeemed more than ſufficient to ſecure him from danger.

A. D. 1339.] After a vain attempt on Cambray, Edward advanced to the frontiers of France. He there ſaw the vanity of his expectations; the count of Namur, and even the count of Hainault, his brother-in-law, inſtead of being deceived by the new title he had aſſumed, refuſed to commence hoſtilities againſt their liege lord, and retired with their troops. The king, however, paſſed the Scheldt, and encamped near Capelle, with fifty thouſand men. Philip approached him with an army nearly double in number. The Engliſh monarch was averſe to engage againſt ſo great a ſuperiority; the French thought it ſufficient if he eluded the attacks of his adverſary: the latter ſoon reaped the harveſt of his caution, ſince the exhauſted finances of Edward compelled him to diſ-

band his army, after having anticipated his revenues and incurred an heavy debt, in the fruitleſs enterpriſe.

This unſucceſsful iſſue ſerved only to incite Edward to more vigorous exertions. During the courſe of the campaign, he had ſent orders to ſummon a parliament by his ſon Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, and to demand ſome ſupply in his urgent neceſſities. The barons ſeemed inclined to grant his requeſt; but the knights, who often, at this time, acted as a ſeparate body from the burgeſſes, made ſome ſcruple of taxing their conſtituents without their conſent; and they deſired the guardian to call a new parliament, which might be properly empowered for that purpoſe. The new parliament, called by the guardian, offered a ſupply of thirty thouſand ſacks of wool; but having annexed certain conditions, reſtrictive of the royal authority, no buſineſs was concluded. When Edward came over to England, he ſummoned another parliament, and procured a ſupply on more moderate terms. The confirmation of the ancient charters, and the privileges of the boroughs, were the chief conditions.

A. D. 1340.] Philip having fitted out a fleet of four hundred veſſels, manned with forty thouſand men, ſtationed them off Sluice, with a view of intercepting Edward in his paſſage. The Engliſh navy conſiſted only of two hundred and forty ſail; but they compenſated for their inferiority by gaining the wind of the enemy, and having the ſun on their backs. The Engliſh archers galled the French on their approach; and when the ſhips grappled together, an univerſal emulation prevailed among the former to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſight of their king, who, by his own heroic example, farther animated the ſoldiery. The Flemings, deſcrying the battle from the ſhore, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Edward. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken; and thirty thouſand Frenchmen, with two of their admirals, were killed. The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable, compared to the greatneſs of the victory.

The ſucceſs of Edward raiſed the ſpirits of his allies, who crouded to his ſtandard, and with an army of above an hundred thouſand men he inveſted Tournay. That city had been provided with a numerous garriſon by the caution of Philip; but a ſiege of ten weeks had nearly exhauſted their proviſions, when their courage was confirmed by the march of the French king, at the head of a mighty hoſt, to their relief. The latter ſtill declined to hazard his crown in a deciſive action, and contented himſelf with throwing ſuccours into Tournay. Both armies continued in ſight of each other without engaging; and their ſituation induced Jane counteſs dowager of Hainault to interpoſe her good offices to prevent the effuſion of blood. This princeſs was mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip; and her pious efforts prevailed on the monarchs, though they could not lay aſide, at leaſt to ſuſpend their animoſities, by ſubſcribing a truce for a twelvemonth.

Edward, haraſſed by his numerous and importunate creditors, was obliged to make his eſcape by ſtealth into England. Diſappointed in his military operations, vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, he was determined to throw the blame ſomewhere off himſelf. He arrived in a very bad humour, and landing unexpectedly at the Tower, found it negligently guarded; for which he committed to priſon the conſtable, and all the officers of that fortreſs, and treated them with unuſual ſeverity. The next object of his vengeance was the officers of the revenue, the ſheriffs, and the collectors of the taxes. The keeper of the privy ſeal, the chief juſtice, and the mayor of London, were diſplaced and impriſoned; as were alſo the biſhop of Chicheſter, chancellor, and the biſhop of Litchfield, treaſurer. Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom had been chiefly entruſted the charge of collecting the new taxes, fell likewiſe under the king's diſpleaſure; but being abſent at the time of Edward's arrival, he felt not the immediate effects of it.

A. D. 1341.] When that prelate was informed

formed of the king's indignation againſt him, he prepared himſelf for the attack, and iſſued a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all who accuſed a prelate of high treaſon. Edward felt himſelf included in it; and as a mark of his indignation, when he called a parliament, he ſent not to the primate, as to other peers, a ſummons to attend it. But Stratford, encouraged by the ſupport of the clergy, returned to England; he appeared before the gates where the parliament was held, arrayed in his pontifical robes, holding the croſier in his hand, and, accompanied by a pompous train of prieſts and prelates, he required admittance, as the firſt and higheſt peer of the realm; and though for two days the king reſiſted the application, he at length dropped the accuſation, permitted the primate to take his ſeat, and was reconciled to him.

The arbitrary conduct of Edward induced the parliament to frame an act, which was likely to produce conſiderable innovations in the government. They premiſed, that as the Great Charter had been violated in many points, particularly by the illegal impriſonment of freemen, and the ſeizure of their goods, it was neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, and many others whom they ſpecified, to ſwear to the regular obſervance of it. They required, that whenever any of the great offices, which they named, became vacant, the king ſhould fill it by the advice of his council, and the conſent of ſuch barons as ſhould at the time be found to reſide in the neighbourhood of the court. And they enacted, that, on the third day of every ſeſſion, the king ſhould reſume into his own hand all ſuch offices, except thoſe of juſtices of the two benches, and the barons of the Exchequer; that the miniſters ſhould for the time be reduced to private perſons; that they ſhould in that condition anſwer before parliament to any accuſation brought againſt them; and that, if they were found any wiſe guilty, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their offices, and more able perſons be appointed in their place.

In return for theſe important conceſſions, the parliament offered the king a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool; and ſo urgent were his wants, from the clamours of his creditors, and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept the ſupply on thoſe conditions. He ratified this ſtatute in full parliament; but he ſecretly entered a proteſt, of ſuch a nature, as would ſeem ſufficient to have deſtroyed all future truſt and confidence with his people. He declared, that, as ſoon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him. Accordingly, no ſooner had he received the ſupply than he iſſued an edict, which contains many extraordinary poſitions and pretenſions. He aſſerts, that that ſtatute had been enacted contrary to law; as if a free legiſlative body could do any thing illegal; and he affirms, that as it was prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had only diſſembled, when he ſeemed to ratify it, he had never in his own breaſt given his aſſent, and he declares it to have thenceforth no force or authority.

John III. duke of Bretagne, having no iſſue, and deſirous to ſave his country from a war about the ſucceſſion, purpoſed to make his niece, the daughter of his deceaſed brother, the count de Penthievre, his heir, whoſe claim he thought ſuperior to that of his ſurviving brother, the count of Mountfort, by a ſecond marriage, his father having inherited in the female line; and to marry her to Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France. But he determined not to take this ſtep without the approbation of his ſubjects; he therefore aſſembled the ſtates of Bretagne, and repreſented to them the advantages of that alliance, and the proſpect it afforded of a peaceable ſettlement. The Bretons unanimouſly concurred in his propoſal, and the marriage was concluded. All his vaſſals, and among them the count of Mountfort, took the oath of fealty to Charles and his conſort, as their future ſovereigns, and the danger of any public commotion ſeemed to be obviated. However, on the death

death of this prince, Mountfort's ambition broke through all thoſe prudent regulations; and while Charles of Blois was at the court of France, ſoliciting the inveſtiture of that duchy, Mountfort by force or intrigue made himſelf maſter of all the moſt important fortreſſes, and engaged many of the barons to acknowledge his authority. He then came over to England, under pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, but really to ſtengthen his cauſe by an alliance with Edward, to whom, as king of France, he offered to do homage for the duchy of Bretagne. An overture ſo favourable to the ambitious views of Edward was readily embraced, and a treaty of alliance concluded between the king and the duke.

This treaty being kept ſecret, Mountfort, on his return to the continent, ventured to appear at Paris, in order to defend his cauſe before the court of peers; but obſerving that his pretenſions gave general diſſatisfaction, and dreading a deſign of arreſting him, until he ſhould reſtore what he had ſeized by violence, he ſuddenly made his eſcape, and war immediately commenced between him and Charles of Blois. Philip ſent his eldeſt ſon, the duke of Normandy, with a powerful army, to the aſſiſtance of the latter; and Mountfort, unable to keep the field againſt ſuch oppoſition, remained in the city of Nantz; which being at length ſurrendered, he was made priſoner, conducted to Paris, and ſhut up in the tower of the Louvre.

A. D. 1342.] Jane, counteſs of Mountfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of the age, aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided, and carrying her infant ſon in her arms, deplored their calamity, and endeavoured to animate the citizens in defence of her cauſe. Her addreſs had the deſired effect: the inhabitants of Nantz immediately eſpouſed her intereſts, and all the other fortreſſes of Bretagne embraced the ſame reſolution. Meanwhile ſhe ſent her ſon over to England, both to put him in a place of ſafety, and to engage the king in the cauſe of her huſband. Having retired, with her ſmall body of forces, to the town of Hennebone, ſhe ſuſtained with undaunted courage the aſſaults of Charles of Blois. When the ſtrength of that city ſeemed exhauſted, ſhe broke through the line of the beſiegers, retired to Breſt, and forced her paſſage back with the important ſuccour of five hundred horſe. Theſe examples of female valour might retard, but could not have averted the fate of Hennebone; a capitulation had already been propoſed by the biſhop of Leon, when the exulting counteſs beheld, from a lofty tower, the long-expected fleet of England ſteering to her relief. Six thouſand archers, with a body of heavy cavalry, were immediately landed, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, a brave and experienced leader; and Charles of Blois was compelled to abandon a ſiege that was become hopeleſs.

Edward ſoon after landed at Morbian, near Vannes, with an army of twelve thouſand men; and, being entire maſter of the field, attempted at once three important ſieges, that of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantz. However, by engaging in too many operations, he proved unſucceſsful in all. The duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of Philip, appeared in Bretagne at the head of thirty thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry. On the approach of this army, Edward was obliged to draw together all his forces, and to entrench himſelf ſtrongly before Vannes, where he was in a manner inveſted by the beſiegers, and cut off from all ſubſiſtence, except ſuch as might arrive from England by ſea.

A. D. 1343.] Thus circumſtanced, Edward willingly entered into a treaty for a ceſſation of arms during three years, and had the addreſs to procure more honourable terms than might be expected.

A. D. 1344.] The truce was no longer obſerved on either ſide than it coincided with their reſpective intereſts; and it was ſoon after followed by an infraction, for which each of the parties threw the blame on the other. Edward, in order to renew the war, obtained from the parliament a freſh ſupply; by which being enabled to complete his military preparations, he ſent the earl of Derby

Derby to defend the province of Guienne, with inſtructions alſo to take every poſſible advantage that circumſtances might throw in his way. Having ſecured Guienne, he ſucceſsfully invaded Perigord, and continually advanced in his conqueſts.

A. D. 1345.] But the court of France being now ſupplied with money, a powerful army, under the command of the duke of Normandy, was led towards Guienne, which it was impoſſible for the Engliſh to reſiſt. One fortreſs after another was ſurrendered to the French, and every thing ſeemed to threaten the annihilation of the power of England upon the continent.

A. D. 1346.] Edward, alarmed for the fate of Guienne, was perſuaded to invade Normandy, whoſe flouriſhing cities would enrich him by plunder, and their corn-fields ſupply plenty of proviſions; and which was then defenceleſs, on account of the French forces being all removed to the ſouthern provinces. He accordingly embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thouſand ſail, of various ſizes; carrying with him, beſides all the chief nobility of England, his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, (afterwards ſurnamed the Black Prince,) a youth of fifteen years of age, and an army of about forty thouſand men. He landed at La Hogue, in Normandy.

After deſtroying all the ſhips in La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherburg, he ſpread his army over the whole country, where they committed great ravages, pillaging and burning the towns, and maſſacreing the inhabitants. Intelligence of this invaſion reaching the French court, Philip immediately made preparation for repelling the Engliſh.

Having ſtationed Godemar de Faye, with an army, on the oppoſite ſide of the river Somme, over which Edward was to paſs; himſelf, at the head of an hundred thouſand fighting men, advanced to give the Engliſh battle. Edward, expoſed to the danger of being ſurrounded, and of ſtarving in an enemy's country, haſtened to a place below Abbeville, where the river might be forded without difficulty at low water, but found Godemar de Faye on the oppoſite banks. In this extremity the king, without heſitating, threw himſelf into the river, ſword in hand, at the head of his troops, drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them to a diſtance on the plain. So narrow was the eſcape which Edward effected by his celerity, that the French army under Philip arrived at the ford while the rear-guard of the Engliſh was paſſing. The riſing of the tide immediately enſuing, the French king was obliged to take his route over the bridge at Abbeville, by which ſome time was loſt.

At length the two armies arrived in ſight of each other; and though their numbers were extremely diſproportioned, the Engliſh amounting only to forty thouſand, and the French to an hundred and twenty thouſand, yet Edward, confident of the valour and fidelity of his troops, reſolved to try the hazard of a battle. He accordingly drew up his army on a gentle aſcent, near the village of Crecy, and divided them into three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, the ſecond by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, and the command of the third diviſion, which he deſtined either to ſuccour the two firſt lines, or to ſecure a retreat in caſe of any misfortune, the king reſerved for himſelf. As his ſmall army was in danger of being ſurrounded, he threw up trenches on his flank, and in a wood behind him placed all his baggage, which he alſo ſecured by an entrenchment. But what gave him a decided advantage over the French, was the uſe of artillery, having placed ſeveral pieces of cannon in the front of his army. This was a new invention, of which the king of France had neglected to avail himſelf. Edward rode from rank to rank, encouraging and exhorting his troops; while Philip, impelled by reſentment, and confident in the great ſuperiority of his numbers, diſregarded every precaution that might have enſured ſucceſs. His immenſe but unmanageable army was imperfectly formed into three lines; the firſt, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bow men, was commanded by Anthony

Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the ſecond was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king, who in perſon conducted the third line.

The Engliſh, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immoveable, and the attack was begun by the Genoeſe archers; but the ſtrings of their croſs-bows having been relaxed by a thunder-ſhower, (which had fallen a little before the engagement,) their arrows fell ſhort of the enemy. On the other hand, the Engliſh archers, who had kept their bows in caſes, and were favoured by a ſudden gleam of ſunſhine, that rather dazzled the enemy, let fly their arrows ſo thick, that the oppoſing multitude was thrown into the utmoſt diſorder. The Genoeſe fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the count of Alençon; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the ſword. The Engliſh artillery fired amidſt the crowd; the archers continued to gall them with ſhowers of arrows; and confuſion, terror, and diſmay, univerſally prevailed. The young prince of Wales, taking advantage of this ſituation, led on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering their diſorder, and animated by the example of their leader, advanced againſt the enemy, and, by their ſuperior numbers, began to hem them round. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now came up to ſuſtain the prince, who was foremoſt in the ſhock, and diſplayed moſt aſtoniſhing feats of valour. The earl of Warwick, apprehenſive of the event, from the ſuperior numbers of the French, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, intreating him to ſend ſuccours to the relief of the prince. Edward demanded of the meſſenger if the prince were ſlain or wounded; but being anſwered that he ſtill lived, and was diſtinguiſhing himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour, "Then tell my generals," ſaid the king, "that I ſhall not deprive him of the honour of the day: I am confident that he will ſhew himſelf worthy of the knighthood which I ſo lately conferred upon him. He will be able, without my aſſiſtance, to repel the enemy." This ſpeech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inſpired them with redoubled ardour. With a furious onſet they charged anew the French cavalry; and count Alençon, their braveſt commander, was ſlain. The whole French line was immediately thrown into confuſion; the riders were killed or diſmounted; the Welch infantry ruſhed into the midſt of the battle, and with their long knives diſpatched without mercy all thoſe who had eſcaped the ſlaughter of the other weapons. In vain did the king of France march up with the rear to ſuſtain the diſcomfited ſquadrons: the example of the vanquiſhed ſpread confuſion and diſmay, which all the courage, the exertion, and the exhortations of the monarch were unable to counteract. When left almoſt alone, he ſeemed ſtill determined to maintain the combat; until John of Hainault, ſeizing the reins of his bridle, turned about his horſe, and carried him off the field. Edward, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My brave ſon, perſevere in your honourable cauſe: you have acquitted yourſelf nobly, and are worthy of the kingdom that will be your inheritance."

This memorable victory, known by the name of the battle of Crecy, was fought Auguſt 26th; and as Edward had commanded that no quarter ſhould be given, the ſlaughter of the French was immenſe: they are *ſaid* to amount to thirty-two thouſand, among whom were the principal nobility of France, and the kings of Majorca and Bohemia. The creſt of the latter was three oſtrich feathers, and the motto ICH DIEN, *I ſerve*; which the prince of Wales and his ſucceſſors have adopted in commemoration of this great victory. The loſs of the Engliſh are *ſaid* to have been *only* one eſquire, three knights, and a *very few* of inferior rank.

Edward next laid ſiege to Calais, which was defended by John de Vienne, an experienced commander, and well ſupplied with every neceſſary. Edward, however, ſenſible of the difficulty of taking ſo ſtrong a town by force, purpoſed only to reduce it by famine.

CALAIS surrendered to the ENGLISH.

A.D. 1347.

mine. He choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp, drew entrenchments round the city, and made proper proviſion for his ſoldiers to endure a winter campaign.

A. D. 1347.] After a twelvemonth's ſiege, during which the defendants were reduced to the laſt extremity by famine and fatigue, the city was taken. Edward, irritated by the obſtinate reſiſtance of the inhabitants, had often declared, that when put in poſſeſſion of the place, he would take ſignal revenge for the number of men he had loſt during the ſiege. It was therefore not without great difficulty that he was perſuaded to accept of their ſubmiſſion; which he did, however, only upon condition that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould be ſent him, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper. He gave orders that they ſhould be led bare-headed, and bare-footed, into his camp, with ropes about their necks, in the manner of criminals prepared for inſtant execution; and on theſe conditions he promiſed to ſpare the lives of all the remainder. The apparent tendency of this requiſition threw the inhabitants into the greateſt diſtreſs. At laſt one of the principal citizens, Euſtace de St. Pierre, ſtepped forth, and declared himſelf willing to encounter death for the ſafety of his friends and companions. Five more ſucceſſively ſoon followed his noble example. Thoſe ſix heroic burgeſſes, marching out like criminals, laid the keys of the city at Edward's feet. But all their ſubmiſſion could not appeaſe his reſentment, which ſeemed to be implacable. At this time queen Philippa viſited the Engliſh camp, having obtained a complete victory over the Scots, who had recalled David Bruce, their king, and taken advantage of Edward's abſence, but were repelled by a body of twelve thouſand, under the command of lord Piercy; and though above double the number, were defeated, and their king taken priſoner. The queen touched with pity for theſe ſix brave citizens of Calais, implored the king to forego his barbarous purpoſe; and having obtained her requeſt, ſhe carried them into her tent, and making them a preſent of money and clothes, diſmiſſed them in ſafety.

On taking poſſeſſion of Calais, Edward ordered all the inhabitants to evacuate the town, and he peopled it anew with Engliſh. He made it the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead, which the Engliſh were obliged to ſend thither; and foreign merchants reſorted to it for the purchaſe of thoſe commodities. Thus the city became populous, rich, and flouriſhing; and continued for above two centuries in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1348.] Through the mediation of the pope's legates, a truce was concluded between Edward and France, during which he had nearly loſt Calais through treachery; but having diſcovered the plot, he turned it to the diſadvantage of his enemies; for when the French were going to take poſſeſſion, they were all either cut to pieces or taken priſoners.

While England and France were thus carrying on hoſtilities againſt each other with mutual animoſity, a yet more dreadful calamity than war, the peſtilence, viſited the nations of Europe. A fourth part of the inhabitants were ſwept off; and in London fifty thouſand in one year were buried in the Charterhouſe church-yard.

A. D. 1349.] Edward's return to his court was very magnificent; but the number of illuſtrious perſons, and among them the princeſs, who had periſhed by the plague, damped his joy.

This year the order of the garter was inſtituted, in honour of St. George, the patron of England.

A. D. 1355.] During the truce between France and England died Philip de Valois, who, in the firſt years of his reign, had obtained the appellation of Fortunate, but ended his life under the accumulation of every diſaſter that could render a monarch unhappy. The ſtate of the French, however, was yet more calamitous under the government of John, his ſon and ſucceſſor; whoſe authority was almoſt annihilated by the uſurpation of the barons. This being a favourable opportunity

tunity for Edward to renew hoſtilities, the prince of Wales was ſent into France with an army, on board a fleet of three hundred ſail; and landing in Gaſcony, carried his devaſtations into the heart of the country; while the king, at the head of a numerous army, made an irruption on the ſide of Calais, and ravaged all the adjacent territories. He advanced to St. Omer, where the king of France was poſted; and on the retreat of that prince, followed him to Heſdin. John, however, ſtill declined an engagement; but ſent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him. The king, finding this defiance to be no more than a bravado, uſual in that age, retired to Calais, and thence paſſed over to England, in order to defend that kingdom againſt a threatened invaſion.

The Scots, again taking advantage of the king's abſence, and that of the military power of England, had ſurpriſed Berwick, and collected an army, with a view of committing ravages upon the northern provinces. But on the approach of Edward, they abandoned that place, and, retiring to the mountains, permitted the enemy to lay waſte the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh. Baliol attended Edward on this expedition; but finding that his adherence to the Engliſh had entirely alienated the affections and confidence of his countrymen, and that himſelf was declining through age and infirmities, he finally ſurrendered into the king's hands his pretenſions to the crown of Scotland, and received in lieu of them an annual penſion of two thouſand pounds, with which he paſſed the remainder of his life in retirement.

A. D. 1356.] In the mean time, young Edward, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, had anchored in the Somme, with three hundred ſail. Being joined by the vaſſals of Gaſcony, he carried fire and ſword throughout Languedoc. In a ſecond campaign, at the head of twelve thouſand men, he penetrated into the heart of France. It was his deſign to have opened a paſſage into Normandy. But the bridges on the Loire were broken down; and when he endeavoured to retreat into Guienne, he was alarmed with the unwelcome intelligence that the French king was at hand, with an army of ſixty thouſand men.

The two armies came in ſight at Maupertuis, near Poictiers; when the prince, finding that his retreat was now become impracticable, determined to await the approach of the enemy, and commit all to the hazard of a battle. While both armies were drawn out, and expecting the ſignal of battle, they were ſtopped by the appearance of the cardinal of Perigord, who attempted to be a mediator between them. By John's permiſſion, he carried propoſals to the prince of Wales; who declared himſelf willing to agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour and that of England. But the French king, confident of victory, would liſten to no other terms than ſuch as ſhould ſecure to him the reſtitution of Calais. For this purpoſe, he required that Edward ſhould ſurrender himſelf priſoner, with an hundred of his attendants; which propoſal was rejected by the prince with diſdain. Accordingly, both parties prepared for a deciſive battle the next morning.

During night, the young prince fortified, by new intrenchments, the poſt which he had ſo judiciouſly choſen; and he placed in ambuſh three hundred men at arms, with as many archers, who had orders to attack the enemy in the flank or rear, during the heat of the action. When the morning began to appear, he ranged his army in three diviſions; the van commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, and the main body by himſelf. The forces of the enemy were alſo arranged in three diviſions. The firſt was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the Dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; and the third by the king in perſon, accompanied by Philip, his youngeſt and favourite ſon, then about fourteen years of age. As there was

no

no way of attacking the Engliſh army but by marching up a long narrow lane, lined with hedges, the French ſuffered greatly from the miſſive weapons of the archers, who were poſted on each ſide. At length, having reached the extremity of the defile, they were met on the open ground by the prince, at the head of a choſen body of troops, who made a furious onſet upon them, already in great diſorder. Thoſe who were yet in the lane recoiled upon their own forces; while the Engliſh troops, who had been placed in ambuſh, took the opportunity to increaſe the confuſion, and confirm the victory. The prince of Wales fell with impetuoſity on ſome German cavalry placed in the front, when a fierce battle enſued. The king of France ſaw his nobles falling round him, and his youngeſt ſon wounded by his ſide. At length, exhauſted with fatigue, and deprived of all hope of ſucceſs, he was deſirous of ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner, but only to Edward; and frequently exclaimed, "Where is my couſin, the prince of Wales?" Being informed that the prince was at a diſtance on the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himſelf to Dennis de Morbee, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for murder. Thus terminated the memorable battle of Poictiers.

A. D. 1357.] The prince having received his priſoner with great reſpect, conducted him to Bourdeaux, and thence, in May following, to England. They landed at Southwark, where they were met by a great concourſe of people, of all ranks.

The king of Scots had been now eleven years a priſoner in Edward's hands; but the latter, finding that the independency of Scotland was no way effected by that event, agreed to reſtore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ranſom of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling; as hoſtages for the payment of which, that prince delivered the ſons of all his principal nobility.

The releaſe of the French king alſo ſoon became the object of treaties; but thoſe were no longer obſerved than while the Engliſh had it in their power to enforce obedience. John, indeed, held to his engagements as far as he was able; but his authority, which had been greatly weakened before, was annihilated by his captivity. The dauphin and ſtates of France rejected the treaties which he had been induced to ſign, and made great preparations to repel the meditated invaſions of the conqueror. All the conſiderable towns were put in a poſture of defence, and every thing valuable in the kingdom was depoſited in fortified places. In vain did Edward try, both by plundering the country, and by verbal defiance, to provoke the dauphin to hazard a battle; in vain did he alledge the obligation of the treaties which had been ſigned at London. After exhauſting every effort, therefore, he was at laſt content to liſten to equitable terms of peace, which was concluded upon condition that John ſhould be reſtored to liberty, upon paying, at different inſtalments, a ranſom of three millions of crowns of gold; about a million and a half of our money.

A. D. 1360.] On his return to his dominions, he found himſelf very ill able to ratify the peace which had been juſt concluded. The finances of ſtate were exhauſted, and the kingdom was in the utmoſt confuſion. The generoſity of John's temper could not brook ſuch a violation of the treaty, as not to diſcharge the ſtipulated ranſom. In conſequence of his inability, he returned to England, and again ſurrendered his liberty, in lieu of that ranſom which it was impoſſible for him to pay. He was lodged in the Savoy, (*A. D.* 1364,) the palace in which he had reſided during his captivity, and where he ſoon after cloſed his long and unfortunate reign by a natural death, about the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

A. D. 1368.] Charles, the dauphin, who ſucceeded his father, ſubdued a ſet of banditti, who had aſſociated under the name of Companions, and had for ſeveral years been a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. Having enrolled them into a body, he led them into the kingdom of Caſtile, againſt Peter, ſurnamed the Cruel, whom his ſubjects had dethroned; and who, by means of an alliance

with the Engliſh, endeavoured to get himſelf reinſtated upon the throne. In conſequence of thoſe alliances, the Engliſh and French again came to an engagement; the army on one ſide commanded by the prince of Wales, on the other by Henry of Tranſtamarre, brother of Peter the Cruel, and Bertrand de Gueſclin, one of the greateſt generals of the age. The Engliſh obtained a complete victory, and Peter was again ſeated on the throne of Caſtile; but he refuſed to reward the prince of Wales for this ſervice, the Engliſh troops melted away by diſeaſe, and when the few who ſurvived were taken back to Guienne, the people roſe upon Peter, who was murdered, and Henry proclaimed king.

The Engliſh, exhauſted by the expence of their frequent continental expeditions, were unable to continue an army in the field. Charles, on the other hand, avoiding any deciſive engagement, left his enemies to waſte their ſtrength in attempting to plunder a fortified country; contenting himſelf with ſallying forth after they had retired, and taking poſſeſſion of ſuch places as they were not ſtrong enough to defend. The prince of Wales, deſtitute of ſupplies from England, and languiſhing under the progreſs of a conſumptive diſorder, was obliged to return to his native country.

A. D. 1370.] Edward, whoſe reſentment was now excited to the higheſt pitch, reſolved to take ſignal vengeance on his enemies of the continent. After reſuming, by advice of parliament, the vain title of king of France, he endeavoured to ſend ſuccours into Gaſcony; but all his attempts, both by ſea and land, proved unſucceſsful; and he was at laſt obliged to conclude a truce with the enemy, after loſing almoſt all his ancient poſſeſſions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conqueſts, except Calais.

A. D. 1374.] The decline of the king's life correſponded not with the preceding part of it. Beſides the loſs of his dominions abroad, he felt the decay of his authority at home. His youth had been occupied by ambition, but in his age he had indulged in pleaſure: he had attached himſelf to a lady called Alice Pierce; whoſe aſcendancy over him gave ſuch general diſguſt, that, in order to ſatisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court.

A. D. 1376.] Edward prince of Wales died this year, in the forty-ſixth year of his age. We cannot beſtow upon him thoſe encomiums which have been given by moſt hiſtorians, but ſhall form our opinion of the man, by reviewing ſome part of his conduct when he acted from his own authority. He ſeated Peter the Cruel upon the throne of Caſtile, after he had been expelled by his ſubjects for his cruelty and tyranny. Edward having conſigned Guienne to the prince of Wales by a deed, he ſo exceedingly oppreſſed the people, that they appealed to the king of France, as liege lord of Guienne. Charles cited Edward to appear before the court of peers, and anſwer to this complaint; but he replied, he was ready to ſet out for Paris with a helmet on his head, and a retinue of ſixty thouſand men. Charles therefore determined to reduce Guienne; a French garriſon was received into Limoges, and Edward, though ſo ill that he was taken on a litter, commanded the place to ſurrender. This was refuſed; but being at length taken, the garriſon, and three thouſand of the inhabitants, were put to death with an indiſcriminate ſlaughter. From theſe, and many other inſtances, which might have been cited, he appears to be like his father, arbitrary and cruel; and to have poſſeſſed a brutal courage, too much admired in that age.

The king, afflicted with the loſs of ſo *amiable* a ſon, died the year following, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign.

Edward had a numerous iſſue by his queen, Philippa of Hainault. His eldeſt ſon was the heroic Edward, uſually denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. This prince eſpouſed his couſin Joan, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter and heir of his uncle, the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning

ginning of this reign. By her he had a ſon, Richard, who ſucceeded to the throne. Edward's ſecond ſon was Lionel duke of Clarence, who died in Italy. The third was John of Gaunt, ſo called from the place of his birth, and afterwards created duke of Lancaſter: from him ſprang that branch which afterwards inherited the crown. The fourth ſon was Edmund, created earl of Cambridge by his father, and duke of York by his nephew. The fifth ſon was Thomas, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and from his nephew that of duke of Glouceſter. Edward had alſo ſeveral daughters, namely, Iſabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret; who eſpouſed, in reſpective order, Ingleram de Corcey earl of Bedford, Alphonſo king of Caſtile, John of Mountfort duke of Bretagne, and John Haſtings earl of Pembroke. The princeſs Joan died at Bourdeaux, before the conſummation of the marriage.

In the hiſtory of this king there is little to approve. When he took the reins of government into his own hands, he found the country in perfect peace. A treaty had been concluded but two years before, by which the independence of Scotland was acknowledged. His criminal ambition now prompted him to take advantage of the minority of David Bruce, and aſſert the claim made by his grandfather, Edward I. to the ſovereignty of Scotland; in the proſecution of which object, the contiguous parts of both countries were deſtroyed by fire and ſword. His ridiculous and ill-founded claim to the crown of France filled that country with inexpreſſible miſery, and raiſed antipathies between the inhabitants of the two countries which ſtill remain. Theſe wars were very expenſive; and though the parliament granted him liberal ſupplies, he reſorted to arbitrary means to procure more, by which the people were greatly oppreſſed.

The diſpoſition of Edward was arbitrary and faithleſs. Twenty times and upwards did he renew the Great Charter, and as conſtantly violate it; and though he made ſeveral conceſſions favourable to the people, theſe were extorted by his neceſſities, and not from the benevolence of his diſpoſition.

Before this time, the contending factions cruelly deſtroyed each other by vague accuſations of treaſon; to prevent which, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, a ſtatute was paſſed, limiting the caſes of high treaſon to three principal heads; conſpiring the death of the king, levying war againſt him, and adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited from inflicting the penalties of treaſon, if any other caſes ſhould occur, without application to parliament. Conſtructive treaſon was from thenceforth baniſhed from our code, and every attempt to enlarge or repeal it, has never failed to bring deſtruction on thoſe who were concerned in it. Richard II. repealed it, and two years after loſt his crown and his life. Charles II. introduced the law of conſtructive treaſon, and his brother, James II. loſt the kingdom, and would in all probability have loſt his life, if he had not fled.

The parliament roſe into greater conſideration during this reign, and acquired more regular authority, than at any former period ſince the Conqueſt; and the commons, who were naturally depreſſed by the greater power of the crown and barons, now began to appear of ſome weight in the conſtitution. In the thirty-fourth year of this reign it was provided, that a new parliament ſhould be called once a year, or oftener, if need be; for before this time parliaments were only called when the crown wanted ſome favour. But this law, like many others, was never regularly obſerved.

War had then the effect which it always will have upon a country; commerce and induſtry were reduced to a very low ebb at this period. In the firſt of Richard II. the parliament complain extremely of the decay of the ſhipping during the preceding reign; and aſſert, that one ſea-port formerly contained more veſſels than were then to be found in the whole kingdom. This calamity they aſcribe to the arbitrary ſeizure of ſhips by Edward for the ſervice of his frequent expeditions. This complaint was renewed

newed again in the fifth of Richard; it had alſo been made in the forty-ſixth of Edward III. but without effect. There is an order of this king, directed to the mayor and ſheriffs of London, to take up all ſhips of forty tons and upwards, to be converted into ſhips of war.

The commons made continual complaints, that robberies, murders, rapes, and other diſorders, were become numberleſs all over the kingdom; at the ſolicitation of the great, the king pardoned the offenders. Laws were made to retrench this prerogative; and the commons made remonſtrances againſt the abuſe of it, but to no purpoſe; *this father of his people* continued to countenance thoſe who plundered and murdered them, and even granted many franchiſes which interrupted the courſe of juſtice, and the execution of the laws.

Yet, Engliſhmen, this is one of your boaſted Edwards. Had it been his will, his people might have been happy; but their intereſt ſeems to have been no further regarded, than as it promoted his own ambition, to ſerve which, their blood and treaſure were alike exhauſted; his oppreſſions were too numerous for his people to have borne, if they had not been employed in his wars, and deluded by the brilliancy of his victories. We cannot conclude this celebrated reign, without remarking how much injury the hiſtorians of ſuch princes have done to mankind, by holding them up as examples of heroiſm and glory.

Observations *on the* Anglo-Norman Parliament.

In our obſervations on the Saxon conſtitution, we have ſhewn, from a variety of teſtimonies, that the commons had a conſtant ſhare in the legiſlation; either in their own perſons, or by repreſentation. We ſhall now trace the progreſs of the Engliſh conſtitution from the Norman conqueſt to the reign of Edward the Third, when it had acquired nearly it's preſent form.

William I. was ſenſible that his victory at Haſtings was far from putting him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England; he did not claim it by conqueſt, but as the bequeſt of Edward the Confeſſor; and he readily agreed to preſerve to the Engliſh all the rights and liberties of the nation. Amongſt theſe liberties, the conſenting to new laws and aſſeſſments being the moſt important, could ſcarcely be forgotten: that it was not only remembered, but actually exerciſed, under the Norman kings, is evident from the deſcriptions which are given by the hiſtorians of thoſe times, of the general councils which they found it neceſſary to call on various occaſions, and confirmed by various charters, to which they acceded.

On the Chriſtmas after the battle of Haſtings, as we learn from Willielmus Pictavienſis, who was a ſpectator, William convened at London the French and Engliſh. The archbiſhop of York, after an eloquent ſpeech, inquired whether they would conſent that he ſhould be crowned king over them; to which they declared a joyful conſent, without the leaſt heſitation, as if they had but one mind, and one voice. Being thus *elected*, he was conſecrated and crowned by the archbiſhop. We have no mention here of princes, barons, thanes, or any diſtinct orders; the people in general appear to have been conſulted in the choice of a ſovereign, and the terms on which they were willing to receive him; and it is worthy of remark, that no notice is taken of the will of Edward the Confeſſor.

Hoveden tells us, he ſwore at the altar of St. Peter, *before the clergy and people*, to defend the rights of the church and of the people, to hold juſt laws and ſtatutes, to puniſh injuſtice and rapine. Malmſbury adds, it was required that he ſhould ſwear *before the people*, to conduct himſelf with moderation and equity between the French and Engliſh.

To fix himſelf firmly on the throne, he granted and confirmed the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; and by a charter, which runs thus, "We will that all the freemen of our kingdom

kingdom ſhall have and hold their lands and poſſeſſions in peace, free from all unjuſt exactions, ſo that nothing ſhall be exacted or taken but for their ſervice: this ſtatute is conceded to them and their's for ever, (*per commune concilium totius regni prædicti,*) by the common council *of all the kingdom* declared. Thus he acknowledged the rights of the people, however diſpoſed to trample on them afterward; and he called a general council to determine on the caſe of Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1072.

William, at firſt, gave the eſtates of ſeveral of thoſe who were in arms againſt him to his followers; but the reſt of the Engliſh were, by various compacts, to enjoy their eſtates, and the protection of the ancient laws. However, theſe compacts being often violated, the Engliſh were ſo loud in their complaints, that, fearing the loſs of his kingdom, about the ſeventh year of his reign he called the *people* together; who meeting at Berkhampſted, the king repeated his coronation-oath, and ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts to obſerve inviolably the good old laws of the pious kings of England, his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of king Edward. But ſoon after he pulled off the maſk: he firſt perſuaded the principal of the Engliſh nobility and gentry to attend him into Normandy, where he ſubjugated them; and the reſt, that remained here, he ſuddenly ſet upon, and ſubdued. Thus were the Engliſh, by the baſeſt treachery, and in violation of the moſt ſacred oaths, trampled upon by this unprincipled tyrant.

From this time he appears to have taken every method of depriving the Engliſh of their remaining property and liberty; yet ſeveral times after this, under circumſtances of difficulty and danger, he had recourſe to the old method of ſummoning a general council, and by fair promiſes endeavouring to conciliate the minds of the people, although, like many of his ſucceſſors, he regarded his promiſes no longer than the danger preſſed upon him.

However, a careful diſtinction ſhould be made between the conſtitution which by his coronation-oath, and by various compacts with the people, he bound himſelf to maintain, and that government which he eſtabliſhed by force when he acquired ſufficient power: the latter is not the conſtitution of England; nor can time, nor any trifling change, ever make it ſo.

William the Second having procured himſelf to be elected king, in the abſence of his elder brother, Robert, the principal Normans formed a conſpiracy againſt him, on behalf of Robert; in conſequence of which, William called a great council, chiefly conſiſting of Engliſh, to whom he promiſed better laws, and the liberty of hunting in the foreſts, if they would ſupport him, which they did effectually. From whence we may learn, that the Engliſh were far from being ruined: although moſt of them were by this time deprived of their lands, they had conſiderable property and influence.

After the death of William the Second, his younger brother, Henry, in order to obtain the crown in preference to his elder brother, Robert, who was abſent in the Holy Land, called together the clergy of England and people generally, (*populo univerſo,*) and promiſed to amend the laws by which the Engliſh were oppreſſed in the time of his father and his brother; to which it was generally anſwered, that if he would grant and confirm the liberties and cuſtoms which their anceſtors enjoyed in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, they would unanimouſly chooſe him.

This was the origin of the charter of Henry the Firſt, by which ſome of the moſt grievous exactions were aboliſhed. But what is moſt remarkable in this charter, is, that beſides the biſhops, barons, and ſheriffs, the *optimates totius regni Angliæ*, that is, *the wiſe men of all the realm of England*, were witneſſes to it.

Stephen, when he claimed the crown, is ſaid by Malmeſbury and Hoveden to have aſſembled the clergy and *all the people of England;* by whom he was elected.

Henry II. in the tenth year of his reign, aſſembled the clergy and people to a general

council, where was made the Statute of Clarendon; which the learned Selden calls a full parliament. John alſo was elected by the clergy and people; and in the fiftieth year of Henry III. when it is acknowledged that deputies were ſent from the commons, the ſtile is ſtill the ſame, *the clergy and people were aſſembled.*

It has been ſaid, that the *clerus* ſignified only the biſhops, and the *populus* only the great barons: but Dr. Heylin acknowledges there is no record, either of hiſtory or law, in which the word *clerus* ſerves to ſignify the biſhops only; and for the word *populus*, it is certain the Romans, from whom it is taken, always underſtood by it the inferior orders of the people; for with them there was always a marked diſtinction between the ſenate and people. In all the laws and charters of the Norman kings, there is an inferior order mentioned, under various deſcriptions: ſometimes they are called *communitatis*, (the community,) or *multis aliis*, (many others;) ſometimes *optimates totius regni*, that is, the beſt people in the kingdom; ſometimes *magnates*, or great men; ſometimes, *barones regni*, which, according to Camden, ſignifies the barons or magiſtrates of the kingdom. They were obviouſly diſtinguiſhed from the *barones regis*, or barons of the king: and it is evident that the great citizens were called barons, from a ſpeech of Henry the Third; who, on being told the citizens of London would purchaſe his jewels, exclaimed, "Theſe clowns, *who call themſelves barons*, could purchaſe the treaſures of Auguſtus."

If theſe *optimates*, *magnates*, *barones regni*, &c. ſignified nothing more than the great barons, it was a ſenſeleſs repetition to mention them after the biſhops and barons ſo conſtantly; and that the cities and boroughs did ſend deputies to the common council of the kingdom, is alſo evident from the ſixteenth article of Magna Charta, where that privilege is expreſsly confirmed to them; and it is recorded in the rolls of parliament, in the eighth year of Edward the Second, that the burgeſſes of St. Alban's petitioned for the privilege of ſending two burgeſſes to parliament, as the reſt of the boroughs had done *in all paſt times, as well as in the time of our lord Edward, the king's father, and his progenitors*, which privilege was now refuſed them by the ſheriff of Hertford, at the inſtigation of their abbot.

It has been aſſerted, that the burgeſſes of St. Alban's were ignorant men, and might be miſtaken; but it does not ſeem likely that they could be miſtaken in what was ſo recent to them. Mr. Hume ſays, it is evident there could be no houſe of commons before Henry the Third, for no writer mentions any of their tranſactions; and the people were too much in ſubjection to think of being repreſented. But this is miſrepreſenting the matter in diſpute: no perſon has aſſerted that there was a houſe of commons before that time; for it is evident, that whatever theſe *magnates, optimates*, &c. were, they formed but one aſſembly with the biſhops and barons, neither were the people ſo much oppreſſed as to loſe all ſenſe of their ancient liberties; for we find there were many rich traders in thoſe days, who were no doubt full as learned as the Norman barons, very few of whom could read; and when the earl of Leiceſter ſummoned the boroughs to ſend deputies, it does not appear to have been unprecedented, but only too much neglected, under the arbitrary reigns of the Normans; neither was the ſtile changed, but the aſſembly was called a general council of biſhops, barones, magnates, &c. as before.

In what manner the deputies of the boroughs were choſen, does not appear; probably the elections were not very regular; and it is likely that thoſe who had moſt leiſure and abilities in the cities, were requeſted to attend the council, on behalf of their fellow-citizens, without ſtrict regard to their number or qualifications. Frequently the inferior magiſtrates went, by virtue of their office; and theſe magiſtrates (in the cities, at leaſt,) were choſen by the people, in the Norman, as well as the Saxon times. That a great part of theſe general councils were compoſed of Saxons, is evident from their

conſtantly

conſtantly demanding the reſtoration of the Saxon laws; and the unfrequency of general councils, ſhews that the Norman kings never called them but when their election to the throne, or ſome dangerous conjuncture, rendered it neceſſary to court popularity with the Engliſh.

Edward the Firſt, like his anceſtors, was not fond of general councils. His wars with France and Scotland had ſo ſtraitened him for money, that the aſſemblies of the biſhops and great barons, who could only grant the property of the order to which they belonged, were not willing to ſupply him ſufficiently. He therefore firſt moulded the aſſembly of barons to his mind, by ſummoning only thoſe on whom he could depend, and uſurping the power of admitting none to council but thoſe whom he ſummoned. Thus the aſſembly of great freeholders was changed into a houſe of lords; and as land became no longer a neceſſary qualification, in time they degenerated into meer tools of the miniſter, many of them having as little honour as fortune.

An act had paſſed by which the great barons were allowed to divide and ſubinfeud their eſtates, by which every purchaſer held his portion of land by the ſame tenure as the great baron; like him they were bound to attend the king in his wars, and in the great council of the nation: but as theſe leſſer barons became very numerous, their perſonal attendance in parliament was excuſed, and they were allowed, in each county, to chooſe two repreſentatives from among themſelves. This was the firſt regular appointment of knights of the ſhire; but the great barons continued to ſit in their own right.

Both the ordinary and the extraordinary revenues were greatly diminiſhed between the Norman conqueſt and the reign of Edward I. The ſucceſſors of the Conqueror, either to gratify their favourites, or to procure ſupport in times of revolt and trouble, had given away great part of the crown lands; and no public regiſter being kept of the fees or manors which each baron or knight poſſeſſed, they generally concealed a great part of them when the levies were made; ſo that the king had little other means of ſupply but from voluntary aids granted him by the parliament and clergy. In 1294 Edward had been obliged to exact no leſs than a ſixth part of all the moveables from the laity, and one half from the clergy, for his expedition into Poictou, and the ſuppreſſion of the Welch. The new war which had broke out in France, and his intended expedition to Scotland, made him think of a new device to get money from the merchants and lower orders of the people, whom he did not dare to tax without a ſeeming conſent; and this was to ſummon the repreſentatives of the boroughs to parliament, as was the cuſtom in the Saxon times. But Edward managed the boroughs with the ſame artifice as he had done the barons. The writs were addreſſed to the ſheriff, and he was directed to ſend repreſentatives for *every city or borough in his bailiwick*; for this king had no pretence to ſingle out ſome in preference to others. But the ſending repreſentatives was attended with trouble and expence, as the boroughs paid their repreſentatives, and the people probably perceived that no good was intended for them thereby; therefore many of them declined ſending any, and the king very readily excuſed thoſe, where he could not command one of his own creatures to be choſen; but he took eſpecial care that the royal and other boroughs, over whom his influence extended, ſhould ſend repreſentatives, who were always perſons of his own nomination. Hence it is, as Mr. Wilkes once obſerved in the Houſe of Commons, that in Cornwall, and the other counties on that coaſt, almoſt every village ſends repreſentatives, becauſe in theſe counties the king's power and property chiefly lay, on account of the mines and talliages. In this manner he ſucceeded in getting a parliament compoſed of his own creatures, whoſe firſt and only buſineſs was to lay heavy taxes on wool and leather. Theſe repreſentatives were always, or generally, tradeſmen; no landed qualification being required. They ſeldom interfered with legiſlation, their chief buſineſs being to grant money; and when that

was

was done, they were diſcharged, often leaving the lords ſitting on other buſineſs.

Thus the legiſlative body was compoſed of the lords, knights of the ſhire, and burgeſſes. They formed at firſt but one aſſembly; and when they at length ſeparated into two houſes, the reaſon aſſigned was the inconvenience ariſing from ſo large a body deliberating in one hall: but that which is moſt probable, was the contempt in which the burgeſſes were held by the barons.

The number of cities and boroughs to whom writs were iſſued were about an hundred and twenty; but many of theſe neglected to ſend deputies, on account of their poverty. There were many more of ſuperior opulence, to whom writs ought to have been iſſued; but they were deſignedly omitted by the ſheriff, who was always appointed by the king, becauſe they were too independent. It was not till the reign of Richard II. that the ſheriffs were deprived of the power of omitting boroughs at pleaſure; and ſo miſerably dependent were thoſe boroughs that did ſend repreſentatives, that there is an inſtance on record of the king having named all the deputies. Although ſo few of the boroughs were repreſented, the court levied *in all* the boroughs the tax agreed to by the majority of the deputies.

This corrupt influence of the crown at length gave umbrage to the great barons, who took care that the boroughs dependent on them ſhould ſend deputies; while the independent boroughs, not perceiving the importance of the matter, ſent no deputies at all, although their right to do ſo was not then diſputed. The deputies which were introduced by the barons were (notwithſtanding the farce of chooſing them in the borough) always named by the lord, who ſometimes retained him as a domeſtic.

Henry Neville tells us, in Plato Redivivus, that it was not unuſual to ſee a commoner carrying his maſter's cloak behind him to the upper houſe, and afterwards take his ſeat with the commons. Hence aroſe that conteſt between ariſtocracy and monarchy, or, as we now term it, between adminiſtration and oppoſition, which has diſtreſſed the people for ages, without affording them any relief. However, it is worthy of remark, that theſe commoners did not aſſume the title of repreſentatives, but only of deputies. They were ſo named in the ancient writs. Hume tells us, "He (Edward I.) iſſued writs to the ſheriffs to ſend to parliament two *deputies* from *each* borough within their county, provided with ſufficient powers to conſent in their name to what he and his council ſhould require of them. *As what concerns all, ſhould be approved of by all.*" A noble principle! which may ſeem to indicate a liberal mind, if it had been honeſtly adhered to. There are inſtances recorded, that when new matter was propoſed by the king, the deputies replied, they could not conſider this ſubject without returning into the country for freſh inſtructions. It was not till much later, and when they had manifeſted themſelves worthy of no truſt at all, that they aſſumed the name, and arrogated the powers, of repreſentatives. Yet though the conſtituents were far leſs enlightened than they are at this time, no evil was found to ariſe from attending to their inſtructions.

Theſe facts are collected from authentic records, by Hume, Brady, Carte, and other writers; and they clearly prove, that the repreſentation of the boroughs under Edward I. far from being intended as a benefit to the people of England, was only a trick of that deſpotic and ambitious prince, to cheat them into an opinion that they taxed themſelves, in order to ſupport his unjuſt and unneceſſary wars. De Lolme, (on the Conſtitution, p. 32,) who was a profeſſed advocate for the ſyſtem of corruption, has acknowledged this in poſitive terms: his words are, "Edward, continually engaged in wars, was frequently reduced to the moſt preſſing neceſſities. In order to raiſe ſubſidies, therefore, he was obliged to employ a new method, and to endeavour to maintain, through the conſent of the people, what his predeceſſors had hitherto expected from their own power." In what manner he obtained the conſent of the people, we have already ſhewn.

But

But it is not true, that his predeceſſors had expected it from their own power; for none of them had ventured to tax the lower orders of the people, without their conſent.

Such was the origin of that partiality in the repreſentation, of which the people of England ſo juſtly complain. How abſurd, then, is the aſſertion, that becauſe many conſiderable boroughs did not perceive the conſequence of neglecting to ſend deputies to the Houſe of Commons at it's firſt inſtitution, they thereby loſt the privilege of ſending them afterwards, if they ſhould think it neceſſary, without a particular grant from the king or parliament. If they had no right to refuſe it then, they certainly have leſs right to refuſe it now, when traders are become much more enlightened, and of much more conſequence in the ſtate. If the inhabitants of the ancient boroughs were ſo indifferent about the chooſing deputies, becauſe they ſaw no immediate profit ariſing from it; is it likely that the people of the preſent day would be tumultuous in chooſing repreſentatives, or too forward in inſtructing them, if univerſal ſuffrage was admitted? We are much more afraid, that, finding no immediate profit, they would return to their former ſtate of indifference, and loſe, by their neglect of theſe important duties, all the advantages they might derive from the poſſeſſion of thoſe privileges.

Henry III. in the forty-ninth year of his reign, directed that four knights ſhould be ſent from each county to repreſent the leſſer freeholders; which has been conſidered by ſome as the foundation of a houſe of commons: but this is a groſs miſtake. The county repreſentatives ſat with the lords for many years after the boroughs were repreſented; and they have always remained a part of the upper houſe, whatever local ſeparation may have taken place; for they are bound to them by the ſtrongeſt of all ties, that of a common intereſt; being commonly great freeholders themſelves, and choſen by freeholders only. It was not till the ſixteenth of Edward III. that they ever appear to have been united, and even then not finally, till the commons had aſſumed a tone of power which alarmed the freeholders for their excluſive privileges; and although various other reaſons have been aſſigned, it is evident the true motive of the change was, that the landed intereſt might preſerve their influence in the houſe of traders, (for ſuch were the commons in thoſe days,) by a majority of their own order, when the feudal ſyſtem was ſo far broken, that they could not maintain their tyranny by other means.

It is of little conſequence how or by what names the different orders which compoſe the parliament are diſtinguiſhed. There is one great and eternal diſtinction ariſing from the nature of things, which no wiſdom can annihilate, and no artifice can diſguiſe; that is, the diſtinction between the landed and trading intereſts. It manifeſted itſelf in Greece and Rome, and was the cauſe of of diſſentions which brought them to the brink of deſtruction. It has produced violent diſſentions in every ſtate which had any pretenſions to liberty; and in thoſe countries where the people have little trade, and make no pretenſions to freedom, the landed gentry affect the pomp of princes, and, in order to ſupport their dignity, reduce the peaſantry to the moſt abject want and miſery under which human nature is capable of exiſting. But although wiſdom cannot annihilate, or artifice diſguiſe, theſe claſhing intereſts, juſtice, generoſity, and ſound policy, may ſo far reconcile them, as to make every rank happy.

However, this cannot be done but by a fair and equal repreſentation: and not by that only; but the exertions of the moſt intelligent part of the people muſt be added, in giving proper inſtructions to their repreſentatives; and *obliging* them to obey thoſe inſtructions:—we ſay *obliging* them, becauſe we are far from believing the people will ever find repreſentatives who will faithfully attend to their intereſts, however careful they may be in chooſing them.

The uſe which Edward made of his new deputies was ſuch as might have been expected. Hume tells us, " he obtained from

the barons and knights a *twelfth* of all their moveables, and from the boroughs an *eighth*. *The great and almoſt unlimited power of the king over the latter, enabled him to throw the heavier part of the burden on them.*"—In fine, after exhauſting England by many fruitleſs attempts to conquer Scotland, he died at laſt on an expedition to that country.

Edward II. poſſeſſed moſt of his father's vices without his abilities. His unhappy reign produced little change in the conſtitution, but it leads us to obſerve the weakneſs of the commons, who could neither defend the people from the evil conſequences of the king's folly, nor the king himſelf from the injuſtice and cruelty of his enemies. They appear through this reign to have been the mean inſtruments of any faction that could gain the aſcendant, and were very little heard of, except when called upon to grant the money of the people. However they began to annex petitions to their grants of money, though theſe were generally unavailing.

An act was paſſed in the thirty-fourth year of Edward III. which provided that a new parliament ſhould be called once a year, or oftener, if need be; for before this time the kings ſeldom called parliaments but when they wanted money, which ſometimes did not happen for ſeveral years; and the people had no other mode of petitioning for the redreſs of grievances, but through parliament. Some writers have aſſerted, that it was not intended that parliaments ſhould be choſen annually, but only the former members re-aſſembled; but it is evident, from many circumſtances, that they were choſen every year. No period of time was aſſigned for their duration. Rapin ſays, "In thoſe days parliament ſeldom ſat above one ſeſſion, unleſs the buſineſs required a ſhort prorogation." Gurdon tells us, "the cuſtom of proroguing parliaments was firſt practiſed by Richard II. to continue his packed parliaments." Mr. Prynne diſcovered, in the White Tower of London, copies of the original writs to the ſheriffs, directing a new election for almoſt every year of Edward's reign after this regulation was made; and he adds, there were but two or three diſputed elections, and not one double return for above two hundred years from it's inſtitution.

Notwithſtanding the Houſe of Commons, in the reign of Edward III. manifeſted on ſome occaſions a conſiderable degree of ſpirit and integrity, their conduct ſhews they were too much under the influence of the king. How elſe could they have been prevailed on to ſupport him for ſo many years in his cruel attempt to conquer France? His title was contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of that kingdom: and if he had ſucceeded, his ſucceſs muſt have ruined England; for he would certainly have removed the ſeat of empire to Paris, and governed England by a viceroy, like a conquered nation. But war being almoſt the only trade which men of high rank can follow, and in which they can provide for their numerous dependents, they are often ready to embark in it, juſtly or unjuſtly, if not prevented by the people.

We ſhall conclude this ſubject by obſerving, how little reaſon the advocates of this corrupt ſyſtem have to boaſt of our *ancient and glorious conſtitution!* Would Britons but read the hiſtory of this conſtitution, they would ſee the *radical rottenneſs* and *miſchievous effects* of our parliamentary repreſentation; and that it never was intended to give them any real ſecurity, but only to cheat them into an opinion that they taxed themſelves, in order to keep them quiet under the preſſure. It is true that Britain is a great commercial nation; but how could it be otherwiſe? A vaſt iſland, ſurrounded with convenient ports, ſituated in a temperate climate, and bleſſed with a ſoil remarkably fertile, would become a great commercial nation under the worſt form of government exiſting. Beſide theſe, we have other peculiar advantages; we have corn in great quantities for exportation; we have coals for the manufacture of iron, and wool for the manufacture of cloth, in far greater abundance, and of ſuperior quality, to thoſe of other nations; and theſe three articles form the baſis of our commerce. God has poured his bounty

bounty upon this nation in ſuch copious ſtreams, that a ſmall portion has reached the heads of the poor, in deſpight of all that oppreſſion could do to prevent it. But ſhall oppreſſors arrogate to themſelves the gift of thoſe bleſſings, becauſe they have not been able to deprive us of them wholly? It is true commerce has been promoted by eſtabliſhing colonies, granting bounties on exportation, and forming commercial treaties; but all theſe have coſt the people much more than they were worth; and if any temporary advantages have been derived from them, they have quickly been either engroſſed by the landholders, who in conſequence have raiſed the price of land, abſorbed by the great and increaſing expence of government, or deſtroyed by bloody and expenſive wars, which have been entered into on many trifling occaſions, for the benefit of the ruling powers and their numerous dependents. If the improvements in ſcience and the exertions of our merchants had been left to themſelves, free from exorbitant duties and impoſts, they would have produced greater advantages, with little or no expence; and if theſe advantages had been ſuffered to take their natural courſe, without being too much engroſſed by any particular deſcription of men, they would have improved the happineſs of every rank in the ſtate. But nothing of this ſort can be expected till the people are protected by a fair and dependent repreſentation; that is, dependent on the whole nation: for a repreſentation independent both of prince and people would be good for nothing, if it can exiſt at all.

CHAPTER X.

Acceſſion of Richard II.—Government during his Minority of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter—Outrages in Conſequence of an unequitable Tax—Violent Proceedings—Depoſition of the King—His Murder, &c.

RICHARD II. being no more than eleven years of age when he aſcended the throne of his grandfather, the government, during his minority, was
A. D. 1377.] veſted in the hands of his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter. Lancaſter was neither popular nor enterpriſing; York was indolent and weak; Glouceſter turbulent, popular, and ambitious. Under the influence of thoſe brothers, but particularly of the duke of Lancaſter, without any regency being appointed, the government was maintained for ſome years; the nation continuing to be ſwayed by the authority eſtabliſhed in the former reign.

The minority of the king, and the defect of wiſdom and popularity in the duke of Lancaſter, encouraged the commons to aſſume greater authority. They now, for the firſt time, choſe a ſpeaker, and ventured to deliberate on all the concerns of government. They preſented a petition to the king, praying him to check the prevailing cuſtom among the barons, of forming illegal confederacies, and ſupporting each other in the violations of law and juſtice; and attempted to obtain a ſhare in the appointment of all the great officers, during the king's minority; and before they were diſſolved, repreſented the neceſſity of their being reaſſembled once every year, as appointed by law; and elected two citizens, *as their treaſurers*, to receive and diſburſe the produce of two fifteenths and tenths, which they had voted to the crown.

A. D. 1378.] Edward had left his grandſon involved in many dangerous wars. The pretenſions of the duke of Lancaſter to the crown of Caſtile, in conſequence of his mar-

riage

riage with the daughter of Peter the Cruel, occaſioned the two kingdoms to perſevere in their hoſtilities. Scotland, the throne of which was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, maintained ſo cloſe a connection with France, that war with one of thoſe crowns almoſt unavoidably produced a rupture with the other. Meanwhile, the war with France produced no enterpriſe of any luſtre; that with Scotland was unſucceſsful; and the expedition to Caſtile had proved abortive. The expences of the different armaments, with a want of œconomy in the adminiſtration, had entirely exhauſted the treaſury; and a new tax of three groats, on every perſon above fifteen years of age, was granted by parliament as a ſupply.

Notwithſtanding the high reputation in which this country ſtands for the enjoyment of civil liberty, we are told by Froiſſard, that perſonal ſlavery was more general here than in any other country in Europe. Several of theſe unfortunate perſons had become opulent enough to purchaſe their freedom; but, by a tyrannical act of parliament, in the beginning of this reign, thoſe purchaſes were declared of no validity; by which they were cheated out of their money, and held in bondage. At this time one John Ball (who is called a *ſeditious preacher*, but whom we will denominate a *true philanthropiſt*,) inculcated among his countrymen the principles of the firſt origin of mankind from one common ſtock; their equal right to liberty, and to all the goods of nature; the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions; and the abuſes which had ariſen from the degradation of the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies, and the aggrandiſement of a few inſolent rulers; for which he was thrown into the Tower.

Theſe doctrines, ſo conformable to the ideas of primitive equality, and which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were felt by the ſuffering people, among whom the following diſtich was common:

"When Adam delv'd, and Eve ſpan,
"Where was then the gentleman?"

A. D. 1381.] The pole-tax of three groats a head, in addition to other burdens, by which the poor were exceedingly oppreſſed, excited their reſentment. This was augmented by the manner in which it was collected; for being farmed out to tax-gatherers in each county, it was collected with the utmoſt rigour. One of theſe collectors coming to the houſe of Walter Tyler, a blackſmith, at Deptford, demanded payment for his daughter. Tyler aſſerted that ſhe was under fifteen years of age; but the fellow diſputing his word, proceeded to take indecent liberties with the girl; at which Tyler was ſo provoked, that with the hammer with which he was at work, he knocked the ruffian's brains out. Thoſe who ſaw the tranſaction, applauded it, and exclaimed, that it was high time to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. The whole county ſoon flew to arms, and having choſen Tyler for their leader, aſſembled on Blackheath; from whence they ſent a meſſage to the king, requeſting that he would come and hear their complaints. Richard ſailed down the river in a barge for that purpoſe; but being perſuaded by Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, the treaſurer, not to go aſhore; the conference was therefore prevented, and the king returned to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. Thus, through the advice of evil miniſters, the people were denied juſtice, and the country was plunged into a civil war, which threatened the overthrow of the government.

The revolters, augmented by the malcontents from other counties, amounted to an hundred thouſand. They imprudently opened the gaols, and let looſe the criminals. All then was fury and violence. They followed the king to London; but in their route they pillaged and burnt the palaces and houſes of many obnoxious individuals; ſome, whom they met with, they hung, or cut their heads off.

The men of Eſſex, and thoſe counties who had joined them, were quartered at Mile-End;

End; while a part of them beſieged the Tower, and intercepted the proviſions. They ſent a meſſage to the king, inſiſting upon ſeeing him; and the garriſon being badly furniſhed with men and proviſions, Richard was obliged to comply. He therefore met them at Mile-End, and heard their demands, which were reduced to four. Firſt, A general pardon. Secondly, The abolition of ſlavery. Thirdly, Freedom of commerce in market-places, without tolls or impoſts. Fourthly, A fixed rent on lands, inſtead of the ſervices done by villainage. Theſe juſt and reaſonable claims were complied with; charters to that purpoſe were delivered to them the next morning, and they quietly diſperſed, and returned to their reſpective homes. Had the ſame prudent meaſures been adopted by the king, when he went to meet the Kentiſh-men at Blackheath, none of the evils which followed would have happened.

In the mean time the Kentiſh-men, who in all probability were ſtrangers to the treaty with the Eſſex-men, broke into the Tower, releaſed John Ball, murdered Simon Sudbury, Sir Robert Hales, and Legg, a Fleming, who had farmed the tax, and committed other outrages in the city. The king, paſſing through Smithfield very ſlenderly guarded, met with Tyler, at the head of his party. Richard deſired a conference with him; and Tyler, who neither intended violence to the king, nor expected it himſelf, ordered his companions to retire: he then required that all ſlaves ſhould be ſet free, that all commonages ſhould be open to the poor as well as the rich, and that a general pardon ſhould be granted for their late outrages. Theſe demands were unqueſtionably reaſonable; but Walworth, the mayor, taking offence at the manner in which they were made, knocked him down with his mace, while the other attendants thruſt their ſwords into his body. His aſſociates, obſerving their leader fall, cried out, "Revenge! revenge! our captain is ſlain!" and immediately bent their bows for that purpoſe; when the king, with great preſence of mind, rode up to them unattended, and aſked, "What is the meaning of this diſorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have loſt your leader? I am your king: I will be your leader." The people, affected by this addreſs, declined all further violence: the king led them into the fields near Iſlington, where Sir Robert Knolles had ſecretly collected a conſiderable force. It was propoſed to put all the inſurgents immediately to the ſword; but this advice was rejected by Richard, and they were diſmiſſed, with the ſame charters granted to the Eſſex-men. The peaſants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Hertford, and other counties, continued in arms for ſome time after, but were at length reduced.

The nobility and gentry, perceiving that theſe charters would render the people too free and happy, aboliſh the feudal ſyſtem, and thereby weaken their power and influence, collected all their military tenants and retainers, to enable the king to free himſelf from the obligation of theſe charters. Many of the inſurgents were apprehended. Jack Straw, who had commanded a party at Highbury, near Iſlington, John Ball, the preacher, and many others, were executed, without any form or proceſs, in violation both of law and the treaty of general amneſty; and Richard iſſued a proclamation by which the treaties were all revoked. The people, incenſed at this faithleſs and unjuſt proceeding, again took to arms, and demanded a confirmation of their charters; but the king ſent a detachment of his troops into Kent, to enforce ſubordination there, and marched into Eſſex in perſon, where in two engagements the malcontents were ſubdued.

Hiſtorians ſpeak with no great degree of animoſity of the inſurrections of the barons; but any exertion made by the people to defend themſelves from the oppreſſion of the king or his nobility, is ſure to be marked with the ſevereſt cenſure. The puniſhment of inſurgent barons is generally ſtiled cruelty; but the puniſhment of men, who at firſt only demanded juſtice, which was refuſed them,

and at laſt fought only for native freedom, is called juſtice. How long will this continue?

We have been more particular in our account of this inſurrection than was conſiſtent with our limits; but we thought it our duty to do juſtice to the parties concerned, and reſcue one of them from the undeſerved odium which has been hitherto caſt upon them. Though we cannot juſtify their outrageous violence, their demands were juſt, and their oppoſition to tyranny virtuous; but unfortunately they did not take the beſt means to obtain or ſecure juſtice. They might have learned, from the conduct of former kings, that as ſoon as Richard was in force ſufficient, he would annul theſe charters, if he did not approve of them, however juſt in themſelves, or however ſolemn the engagement under which they were made. It was their duty, therefore, to have taken the moſt effectual means to ſecure themſelves, in future, from the oppreſſion of the king and his nobility. When William I. entered upon the government of this country, he bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn engagements to maintain the Saxon laws and cuſtoms; his ſucceſſors had all done the ſame; and though none of them fulfilled their oaths, this did not alter the conſtitution, or weaken the original contract between the king and the people. It would therefore have been their beſt meaſure to have inſiſted on a full reſtoration of the Saxon conſtitution, and not to have ſeparated till this was obtained and finally ſettled; this would have ſecured them from oppreſſion in future. But it was their misfortune that they were a miſguided multitude, without union and concert, without any fixed object, or men of influence and intelligence to direct their operations to the public good.

A. D. 1382.] Richard married Anne, ſiſter of Winceſlaus king of Bohemia. Conferences were opened for a truce between England and France; but theſe were broken off through two popes having been choſen; England eſpouſing the cauſe of Urban VI. and France that of Clement VII. Hoſtilities were renewed which terminated in diſgrace, and the duke of Lancaſter retired from court.

A. D. 1384.] It was at firſt expected, that as Richard's faculties began to expand, he would ſhine with diſtinguiſhed luſtre: but it was not long before theſe flattering proſpects were ſeen to vaniſh; for in proportion as Richard advanced in years, the weakneſs of his head, and the badneſs of his heart, became the more apparent; and his want of conduct and capacity was too plainly diſcovered by the ſtupidity of every ſcheme he formed, and the miſcarriage of every enterpriſe he undertook. The ſubjection in which he was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Glouceſter, was extremely diſagreeable to his violent temper; and he ſoon attempted to ſhake off the yoke impoſed upon him. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of an agreeable perſon, but of diſſolute manners, had acquired an entire aſcendant over him. Richard firſt created him marquis of Dublin, (a title before unknown in England,) then duke of Ireland; and transferred to him by patent, which was confirmed to him by parliament, the entire ſovereignty of that iſland during his life. He gave him in marriage his couſin-german, the daughter of the earl of Bedford; but he ſoon after permitted him to repudiate her, without any cauſe, for another lady, of whom he was enamoured.

A. D. 1386.] This partiality of the king was not long in exciting animoſities, which broke out between the minion and his creatures on one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other. The dukes of York and Glouceſter had loſt their influence with the king; the weakneſs of whoſe mind, and arbitrary conduct, and the rapacity of his miniſters, had cauſed general diſcontent throughout the nation: notwithſtanding the chancellor had the effrontery, at the opening of the ſeſſion, to demand a ſubſidy; but the parliament, inſtead of complying with this demand, ſent a meſſage to the king, requeſting him to diſmiſs the miniſter;

niſter; to which he replied, "he would not turn out the meaneſt ſcullion in his kitchen to pleaſe them." Richard, perceiving the ſtorm that was riſing againſt him, retired to Eltham. The Commons impeached the chancellor, before the Peers, of peculation in his office, the abuſe of his authority to his own emolument and the injury of the nation, and various other crimes; of which he was convicted on clear evidence, and committed to Windſor Caſtle; and his illegal grants and proceedings were annulled. Michael de la Pole was the ſon of a merchant; but the king and the duke of Ireland finding him to be a man fit for their purpoſe, he was created earl of Suffolk, and made chancellor of the kingdom.

The parliament ſent a deputation to the king, inviting him to return; and threatening that, if he perſiſted in abſenting himſelf, they would immediately diſſolve, and leave the nation without any ſupply. Richard replied, "he would ſooner call in his couſin the king of France, and from him aſk advice and aid, nay even ſubmit himſelf to him, rather than truckle to his own ſubjects." But finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, he was content to ſtipulate that, except the preſent impeachment againſt Suffolk, no attack ſhould be made on any other of his miniſters, and on that condition he returned to the parliament, and ſolemnly ſwore to abide by their deciſions.

Glouceſter (who had eſpouſed the public cauſe) and the parliament maintained their engagements with the king, and left the other miniſters of the crown unmoleſted; but to prevent their abuſing their authority, a commiſſion of fourteen perſons was appointed, to ſuperintend the concerns of government for a twelvemonth. By this commiſſion the king, who was now in the twenty-firſt year of his age, was deprived of all power: however he ſigned it, and took an oath not to infringe it; though at the end of the ſeſſion he entered a proteſt that the prerogative of the crown ſhould remain unimpaired, notwithſtanding his conceſſion; but the commiſſioners, regardleſs of this declaration, proceeded to the exerciſe of their authority.

A. D. 1387.] Richard releaſed Suffolk, and, impatient of controul, began to concert means for the recovery of his power. He tampered with the ſheriffs; who, by influencing the elections, might return ſuch members as would ſupport the meaſures of the miniſtry; but they rejected his offers. He next applied to the judges, whom he expected to find more ſubſervient to his will: a conſultation was held at Northampton by Sir Robert Treſilian, chief juſtice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Belknappe, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior juſtices; and theſe venal lawyers made no ſcruple of anſwering the queſtions which the king put to them in the way which he deſired. They declared that the late commiſſion was derogatory to the royal authority and prerogative of the king; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the king to conſent to it, were puniſhable with death; that thoſe who compelled him were guilty of treaſon; that thoſe who perſevered in maintaining it were equally criminal; that no matters ought to be brought on in parliament, but agreeable to the king's directions; "and if any act contrary to the king's pleaſure made known therein, they are to be puniſhed as traitors;" that the Lords and Commons cannot, without the will of the king, impeach in parliament any of his judges or officers; "and if any one ſhould do ſo, he is to be puniſhed as a traitor." Sir Robert Belknappe ſeems to have been touched with ſome remorſe; for after ſigning this iniquitous inſtrument with great reluctance, "Now," ſaid he, "I want only a horſe, a hurdle, and a halter, to bring me to the death I deſerve, for thus betraying my country!"

But this tranſaction, though ſecret, did not eſcape the knowledge of Glouceſter and the aſſociated lords; and, to prevent him from putting them in execution, they collected a numerous army, and marched to Highgate; from whence they ſent a meſſage by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the

the lords Cobham, Lovell, and Devereux, lamenting the calamities arising from civil war, and propoſing an accommodation. But at the time appointed for the conference, they diſcovered that Sir Nicholas Bembre, the mayor, had placed a body of armed men in ambuſh, to apprehend them; they therefore refuſed to proceed to Weſtminſter-hall till the avenues were cleared. When they appeared before the king, the earl of Glouceſter preſented a memorial, in which they demanded that the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Bembre, ſhould be removed from his majeſty's councils and preſence for ever, as traitors to their king and country. They threw down their gauntlets, and offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. Richard, alarmed at their reſolute behaviour, laid aſide his imperious deportment, and promiſed to redreſs their grievances in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament.

Though the king had not ſuffered his favourites to appear at the interview, he ſtill kept them at court, and was wholly guided by their advice. There were ſeveral ſuſpicious ſymptoms in the behaviour of the king; and the lords ſoon received advice that the duke of Ireland had repaired to the marches of Wales, and collected an army, with which he was marching to London. The earl of Derby met him with a ſuperior force in Oxfordſhire, where he obtained almoſt a bloodleſs victory. The duke of Ireland fled to Flanders, where he died in exile a few years afterwards; but among the baggage of the duke was found a number of letters, plans, and commiſſions, by which the projects of the king and his favourites were diſcovered.

A. D. 1388.] Richard in the mean time had taken refuge in the Tower. The confederates deſired an interview with him; in which they expoſtulated on his weak conduct ſo ſeverely, that he could not refrain from tears; and it was agreed that he ſhould meet them the next day at Weſtminſter, to concert meaſures for the enſuing parliament: but he was perſuaded by the ſycophants about him to retract this promiſe, as derogatory to his dignity. This ſo exaſperated the confederate lords, that they ſent a meſſenger to declare, that, if he continued to trifle with them, they would immediately advance another prince to the throne. Terrified at this menace, he engaged to fulfil his promiſe, and accordingly met them in Weſtminſter-hall. There he gave up all his favourites without diſtinction; ſome of theſe were impriſoned, ſome were admitted to bail, and the reſt only baniſhed the court.

The parliament being aſſembled, the duke of Glouceſter, the king's uncle, the earl of Derby, his couſin, ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham, mareſchal of England, entered an accuſation, or appeal, as it was called, conſiſting of thirty-nine articles, for treaſon, and miſdemeanors of various kinds, againſt the five counſellors, whom they had accuſed before to the king. The accuſed were ſummoned in the chamber of parliament in Weſtminſter-hall; and, on their non-appearance, the appellants moved that the default might be recorded, and the lords proceed to judgment. Sir Nicholas Bembre, who was in cuſtody, was tried and convicted; judgment was alſo paſſed on the other four, on the ſame evidence, without a trial, in conſequence of their not appearing to the citation. The archbiſhop of York was afterwards taken, attempting to make his eſcape in diſguiſe, but permitted to retire to Flanders. Sir Robert Treſilian was likewiſe taken in diſguiſe, and executed, with Sir Nicholas Bembre. The duke of Ireland and the earl of Suffolk had both eſcaped to the continent, where they died in exile.

All the other judges, who had ſigned the extra-judicial opinions at Nottingham, were likewiſe convicted; but as they did it under reſtraint, they were only baniſhed to Ireland. Lord Beauchamp, Sir James Berners, and Sir Simon Burley, who had been appointed governor to Richard by the late king, were executed for treaſon, becauſe they had attempted to defeat the late commiſſion.

Theſe

These profecutions being finiſhed, the parliament paſſed a general act of amneſty and pardon; and declared, that none of the articles, decided on thoſe trials to be treaſon, ſhould ever afterwards be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were ſtill to conſider the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the rule of their deciſions. It was alſo enacted, that every one ſhould ſwear to the ſupport of the forfeitures and attainders, and of all the other acts paſſed during this parliament; and as Richard had violated his contract with the people, it was thought neceſſary he ſhould renew his coronation-oath, and in his turn receive the oath of homage and fealty from them. This ceremony being finiſhed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragans denounced the penalty of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould attempt to diſturb the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

The nation had not been much diſturbed by foreign wars during theſe tranſactions. The earl of Arundel diſtinguiſhed himſelf this and the preceding year by his advantages over the French at ſea; and there was a memorable engagement between Piercy and Douglas, the champions of England and Scotland; in which the latter, after fighting with uncommon bravery, was killed, and the former taken priſoner.

A. D. 1389.] A commiſſion was ſent to the duke of Lancaſter, who had been abroad ſome years, to conclude a truce between the two kingdoms. Robert king of Scotland acceding alſo to the terms, peace was in ſome degree reſtored to England; which was very grateful to the people.

In an extraordinary council of the nobility, Richard, who was then in the twenty-third year of his age, obſerved that he had now attained the full period which entitled him to govern by his own authority, and he therefore had reſolved to take the ſovereignty into his own hands. No one contradicted him; and it was not long before he carried this reſolution into effect. He deprived Fitz-Allen archbiſhop of Canterbury of the dignity of chancellor, which he beſtowed on William of Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter. The biſhop of Hereford was diſplaced from the office of treaſurer, the earl of Arundel from that of admiral: even the duke of Glouceſter and the earl of Warwick were removed for a time from the council; and to theſe great changes no oppoſition was attempted. This may be eaſily accounted for: if he ever was to be entruſted with the reins of government, it was neceſſary that the trial ſhould be made at this time. The favourites, who had directed all his violent meaſures, were either dead or baniſhed; and it might be hoped that experience, and his ripening years, had taught him wiſdom. Beſides, the commiſſion which had been appointed for the government of the kingdom was not diſſolved, though they ſuſpended the exerciſe of their authority, and the time for it's expiration had elapſed; the tranquillity of the nation was eſtabliſhed, and every objection to his reſuming the regal function ceaſed. Richard conducted himſelf with moderation; he ſeemed to be reconciled to his uncles; he confirmed the pardons granted by the laſt parliament, and courted the affections of the people by a voluntary remiſſion of ſome of the ſubſidies.

A. D. 1390.] When the parliament was aſſembled, the lords of the council were diſcharged at their own deſire. They then aſked if any member had any thing to object to in their conduct; which having examined, the Commons declared themſelves perfectly ſatisfied. The duke of Lancaſter, who had returned from Caſtile, having reſigned to his rival all pretenſions to the crown of that kingdom, and the duke of Glouceſter, were now added to the council.

A. D. 1391.] Richard's new miniſtry were perſons of more capacity and integrity than his idle and abandoned favourites, who had formerly influenced his conduct; a good underſtanding was preſerved between him and the parliament; and the war with France was hardly heard of except by the truce, which was renewed from time to time.

A. D. 1394.] The Engliſh nobility, who

poſſeſſed large eſtates in Ireland, by reſiding in England drained that country of money, and rendered it almoſt defenceleſs. This provoked the diſcontent of the people, and encouraged the old Iriſh ſepts to avail themſelves of ſo favourable an opportunity to recover their ancient poſſeſſions. Richard went over with a conſiderable force to allay this fermentation; and conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence and moderation, that the Iriſh ſubmitted.

A. D. 1395.] The Wicliffites or Lollards had become very numerous, and, by declaiming againſt the errors of the church, and the irregularities of the eccleſiaſtics, excited their jealouſy; Richard was therefore hurried back to cruſh theſe innovators, as enemies to church and ſtate. On his arrival, they were threatened with death, if they continued to propagate their tenets; and the chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all thoſe who were ſuſpected of favouring their tenets.

A. D. 1396.] The Engliſh and French courts began now to think in earneſt about peace; but the difficulties were ſo great on both ſides, that a truce only was obtained for twenty-five years; and Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Iſabella, daughter of Charles, a child only ſeven years of age, and was married to her at Calais a few months after.

Richard having no iſſue by his firſt wife, queen Anne, had declared Roger Mortimer earl of Marche his ſucceſſor; but ſuſpecting that it was the intention of Glouceſter and the barons to raiſe Mortimer to the throne before his death, he had formed this alliance with France, in hopes to have iſſue of his own, and to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt all future oppoſition.

Though for a ſhort time after Richard had reſumed the reins of government, his conduct was leſs exceptionable than before, he was not qualified, either by his genius or deportment, to procure laſting reſpect. He was fond of luxurious pleaſures, idle oſtentation, and low company. To ſupport his diſſipation and extravagance, he raiſed money by unwarrantable means; he ſeized the charter of London, and forced the citizens to redeem it with ten thouſand crowns, and two gold ones. The terms on which his treaty with France was obtained were thought diſhonourable, and his marriage with Iſabella gave no ſatisfaction; the people grew diſcontented; the duke of Glouceſter retired from court, and having formed an aſſociation with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, declaimed againſt the corruption and prodigality of the court, and the ficklenes of the king.

A. D. 1397.] Richard had given himſelf up to the counſels of his uterine brothers, the earl of Kent and Huntingdon, who diſpenſed all favours, and in reality governed the kingdom. The latter was a man of unreſtrained libertiniſm, and a mortal foe to Glouceſter, whoſe deſtruction was his principal aim; he therefore invidiouſly aſperſed the character of that nobleman, and by wicked ſuggeſtions rouſed the apprehenſions and inflamed the reſentment of the king. Richard having complained to his uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter and York, againſt Glouceſter, they employed their friendly remonſtrances to obviate the jealouſies ſubſiſting between the king and their brother. Glouceſter behaved in a manner becoming a ſubject and a patriot; he profeſſed the utmoſt veneration for the king, but inſiſted on the change of all unconſtitutional meaſures. The inflexibility of Glouceſter made the king now reſolve upon his deſtruction: in this he endeavoured to engage the aſſiſtance of his uncles, but they declined all concern in ſuch a baſe deſign againſt their brother, and retired to their country ſeats, to avoid all cenſure and ſuſpicion.

The duke of Glouceſter was too popular to be openly arreſted, and there was reaſon to believe his brothers would not tamely ſuffer him to be ſacrificed to ſuſpicion or convenience. Richard therefore maintained the appearance of familiarity with him; and having viſited the duke at Pleſhey in Eſſex, on the pretence of hunting, he was very hoſpitably received by his uncle and the ducheſs.

During

During ſupper, he told the duke that he wanted to conſult him on ſome important affairs in London, where a council was to be held the next day. The unſuſpecting duke accordingly ſet out with him, with two or three attendants; but when they reached Epping Foreſt, Richard rode off full ſpeed, and Glouceſter was ſurrounded by a body of armed men, who took him on board a ſhip, and directly conveyed him to Calais. The earls of Arundel and Warwick, lord Cobham, Sir John Cheney, and other perſons of diſtinction, who had alſo been invited to the council, were arreſted.

The lords were allowed till the 14th of September to prepare themſelves for trial; but Richard, who did not intend his uncle ſhould be tried, ſent Sir William Rickhill, one of the judges of the Common Pleas, with a commiſſion to examine the duke at Calais, hoping that his impatience might betray him into ſome intemperate expreſſions, which might be conſtrued into treaſon. But Glouceſter, by the ſagacity of his replies, eluded that deſign; Richard therefore ordered the earl of Nottingham, who was governor of Calais, to have him murdered privately; and this unhappy nobleman was accordingly ſmothered between two feather-beds, by four deſperate ruffians.

Thus fell, by an unworthy fate, Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter; a man who has been charged with ambition, becauſe he had the virtue to oppoſe a worthleſs king in his folly. That he was brave, generous, ſincere, and patriotic, none can deny. The eſteem in which he was held by the people drew upon him the ſuſpicion and reſentment of the king, and the hatred of the nobility; notwithſtanding, he lived,—he died,—the FRIEND OF LIBERTY!

It is difficult to determine, whether this unnatural murder excited moſt conſternation or reſentment throughout the nation. The dukes of Lancaſter and York, breathing revenge, haſtened to London with a ſtrong body of forces; but Richard, anticipating their deſigns, had ſtrengthened his guard by the addition of ten thouſand archers, and he employed Rutland to compromiſe the matter. They accepted of the terms propoſed by Rutland, and diſmiſſed their adherents.

Richard in the mean time had taken every precaution for ſupporting his deteſtable plan of power. Beſide augmenting his army "by certain indirect practices, and tampering with the ſheriffs of ſeveral counties, whom he had now made for this purpoſe, he cauſed them to return ſuch knights of ſhires as he had before named and ſent down to them; and this is worth our obſervation, becauſe it is the firſt example of any king's making uſe of an arbitrary and illegal power of this kind." (*Tyrrel*, p. 964.)—And Richard's council of ſtate commanded the ſheriffs "to ſuffer none to be returned as knights or burgeſſes, but *ſuch as the king and his council ſhould nominate.*" —Parliament. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 432.

This parliament had no ſooner met, than it diſcovered ſtrong marks of it's venality and corruption; it's diſregard for the privileges of the people, and implicit obedience to the dictates of the king and his favourites. They confirmed the illegal anſwers given by judge Treſilian, and the others. They annulled for ever the commiſſion which uſurped the royal authority, and declared it treaſonable to attempt the revival of any ſimilar commiſſion, at any future period. They declared the general pardon then granted to be invalid, as extorted by force. Though Richard, after he reſumed the government, and lay no longer under reſtraint, had voluntarily confirmed that general indemnity by proclamation; this circumſtance ſeemed to them not to merit any conſideration. Even a particular pardon, granted ſix years after, to the earl of Arundel, was annulled. No new charges were brought againſt the parties accuſed; their only offence was appointing the commiſſion which abridged the king's authority for a time.

Thomas Fitz-Allen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was impeached; he pleaded guilty, was condemned as a traitor, his temporalities were ſequeſtered, and himſelf, being an eccleſiaſtic, was baniſhed. The earl of Warwick likewiſe pleaded guilty, and was condemned

demned to ſuffer the death of a traitor, but was afterwards baniſhed to the iſle of Man. The earl of Arundel pleaded the reiterated pardons he had received; but this was overruled, and he was condemned. Thomas Mortimer had fled, but was cited to appear within three months, or he would be declared a traitor. The duke of Glouceſter, though dead, was condemned, his blood attainted, and his eſtates, like thoſe of the other lords, ſequeſtered.

The king conferred new honours on ſome of the oppoſition lords, who had joined his party. The earl of Derby was created duke of Hereford; Rutland, duke of Albemarle; Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; and his brothers, Kent and Huntingdon, dukes of Surrey and Exeter: and this parliament, which has been nick-named *the Mercileſs Parliament*, being too obedient to loſe, were, contrary to law, which required a new parliament to be called every year, only adjourned.

The earl of Arundel prepared himſelf to ſuffer his ſentence with all the fortitude that attends conſcious virtue. The king himſelf was mean enough to be a ſpectator of this tragic ſcene, attended by the earls of Kent and Nottingham, with all the ſymptoms of brutal pleaſure. When the earl aſcended the ſcaffold, he turned to his ſon-in-law the earl of Nottingham, and ſaid, "My lord, it would ſurely have better become you to have been abſent on this occaſion: you ſeem to triumph in my ſufferings, but remember, the time is coming when your own misfortunes may furniſh the like triumph to your enemies."

The ungrateful and cruel treatment of this gallant nobleman excited a univerſal clamour among the common people, who declared he fell a martyr to the liberties of his country. His life was ſpent in a ſeries of brave actions, from his firſt entrance on the ſtage of the world to his magnanimous exit. He had boldly aſſerted his country's liberty in oppoſition to vice, weakneſs, and venality, with ſo uniform a tenor of conduct, that he was never known in the leaſt to deviate from his profeſſed principles.

A. D. 1398.] Before the Mercileſs Parliament adjourned laſt year, the king had exacted from them an oath for the perpetual maintenance of all their acts; and ſo anxious was he for their preſervation, that having aſſembled the parliament again on the 28th of January, he obliged the Lords and Commons to renew their oath on the croſs of Canterbury, and obtained a bull from the pope for it's confirmation. The parliament granted him new and exorbitant ſubſidies, and a tax on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for *life*; and they were ſo venal, and regardleſs of the intereſt of their conſtituents, that, before they parted, they elected a committee of twelve lords and ſix commoners, whom they inveſted with the whole power of both houſes, to finiſh all the buſineſs which had been laid before them, and which they had not leiſure to bring to a concluſion.

After the deſtruction of the duke of Glouceſter, and the heads of that party, a miſunderſtanding broke out among thoſe noblemen who had joined in the proſecution. The duke of Hereford appeared in parliament, and accuſed the duke of Norfolk of having ſpoken to him, in private, many ſlanderous words of his majeſty, and of having imputed to that prince an intention of deſtroying many of his principal nobility. Norfolk denied the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted, and the liſts were appointed at Coventry, before the king; but when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the combat, the king interpoſed, and, by the advice and authority of the parliamentary commiſſioners, prohibited the duel, and by the ſame authority ordered both the combatants to quit the kingdom. The duke of Norfolk he baniſhed for life, but the duke of Hereford only for ten years: he was afterwards induced, by Hereford's ſubmiſſion, to ſhorten the duration of his baniſhment four years. He alſo granted him letters patent, inſuring him the enjoyment of any inheritance which might fall to him during his abſence.

A. D. 1399.] Richard's power now became

came very extenſive; his deſpotiſm had wrought him to a kind of frenzy of pride and inſolence, and the magnificence of his court was ſupported by repeated acts of oppreſſion and injuſtice. The taxes were farmed by his minions; which not being ſufficient for his prodigality, exceſſive loans were extorted in every county. New oaths were exacted from the ſheriffs; by which they were bound to execute all the arbitrary and illegal commands of the king. The government was deſpiſed abroad, and univerſal diſſatisfaction prevailed at home.

Hereford had no ſooner left the kingdom, than the king's jealouſy of the power and riches of that prince's family revived. Being informed that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to the French king, he determined to prevent an alliance which would ſo much increaſe the intereſt of the exiled duke in foreign countries, and ſent over the earl of Saliſbury to Paris, with inſtructions to break off the match. This unexpected injury could not fail to aggravate the reſentment of Hereford: but he had ſtronger reaſons for diſſatisfaction, upon the death of his father, the duke of Lancaſter, which happened ſhortly after. In conſequence of the king's patent, he now deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtate and juriſdictions of his father; but Richard, afraid of ſtrengthening the hands of a man whom he had ſo much offended, revoked thoſe letters, and retained to himſelf the eſtate of Lancaſter. By the ſame authority, he ſeized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and inſiſted on the letters; and he had him condemned as a traitor for faithfully executing a truſt which his maſter had repoſed in him, but changed the ſentence into exile.

Such complicated injuries, offered in defiance of honour and juſtice, ſerved to inflame the reſentment of Hereford againſt the king, and to render his animoſity implacable.

The people having ſuffered ſo much from the oppreſſion of the king and his miniſters, their attention was naturally directed towards Hereford, who now aſſumed the title of Lancaſter; they invited him to England, and offered to make his and their's a common cauſe; he accepted the invitation, and promiſed to embrace the firſt opportunity to comply with it.

The earl of Marche, couſin to the king, preſumptive heir to the crown, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, had been killed in a ſkirmiſh with the natives. Richard reſolved to revenge his death, and, collecting his forces, embarked for Ireland.

The duke of Lancaſter, taking advantage of the abſence of Richard, came over to England with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the young earl of Arundel, and about ſixty other perſons. They landed in Yorkſhire, and were joined by the earl of Northumberland, and ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction. The people from all quarters joined: London diſcovered the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of an inſurrection; and Lancaſter's army ſoon amounted to ſixty thouſand men.

The duke of York, who had been left guardian of the realm, aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men at St. Alban's; but found them deſtitute of attachment to the royal cauſe, and more inclined to join the inſurgents. Lancaſter ſent him a meſſage, declaring his intention was only to obtain poſſeſſion of his legal patrimony, which was unjuſtly withheld. The guardian declared that he would ſecond his nephew in ſo juſt a claim; his army joyfully embraced the ſame meaſures; and Lancaſter, reinforced by them, was now entirely maſter of the kingdom. He marched to London, where he was received with exultation; and having ſecured the capital in his intereſt, he proceeded to Briſtol, which yielded after a faint reſiſtance. The earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſſey, and Sir William Green, three of the king's council, who had fled hither for ſafety, were taken priſoners: they had farmed the taxes, and were generally deteſted, as the monſters of iniquity and corruption who had perverted the king's mind by their pernicious

counſels: the people, in the moment of irritation and revenge, demanded their execution, and they were beheaded.

Richard, informed of this inſurrection, haſtened from Ireland, and landed at Milford Haven, with twenty thouſand men; but his army, deſtitute of attachment, deſerted him till they were reduced to ſix thouſand. Finding himſelf, therefore, unable to maintain the conteſt, he ſent Lancaſter word that he was ready to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould preſcribe, and he earneſtly deſired a conference. For this purpoſe the duke appointed Flint Caſtle, whither he came next day with his army; Richard having been previouſly conducted to the place by the duke of Northumberland. The king was immediately carried to London by the duke of Lancaſter, who was received into the city amidſt the acclamations of the populace.

The king was conveyed to the Tower, and writs were iſſued in his name for the calling a new parliament. When they were aſſembled, the duke of York, who had foreſeen that Richard's depoſition was intended, recommended that a deputation be ſent to the king, to perſuade him to a formal reſignation of the crown. Richard, making a merit of neceſſity, executed the deed in the preſence of the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Hereford; and deſired them to acquaint the eſtates of the realm, that he wiſhed his couſin of Lancaſter might be choſen his ſucceſſor.

The prelates having delivered the king's meſſage to the parliament, his reſignation was accepted: but as this tranſaction was not likely to give ſatisfaction to the people, they determined ſolemnly to impeach him; and accordingly prepared an act of accuſation, containing thirty-three articles; in which they charge him with violating his coronation-oath; with countenancing acts of the greateſt violence, even robberies, rapes, and murders; and with impoſing oaths on his ſubjects at his pleaſure, *that he might the more freely execute and follow the humour of his fooliſh and unlawful will.* In another, "that when the laws have been expounded and declared to him, by the judges and others, and that they have deſired juſtice to be done according to thoſe laws, he hath expreſsly, and with an angry and haughty countenance, ſaid, *that his laws were in his mouth*; and ſometimes, *that they were in his breaſt*; *and that he himſelf alone could make and change the laws of his kingdom*; and being ſeduced with that opinion, did not ſuffer juſtice to be done to very many of his liege people, but, by threats and terrors, hath forced very many to ceaſe from the proſecution of common juſtice." In others, of extorting money and proviſions from his ſubjects by illegal means. Another of the charges, and perhaps the moſt weighty, as it was *the cauſe* of all the reſt, was his corrupting of parliament. The murder of the duke of Glouceſter and his party are alſo among the accuſations.

The parliament, ſatisfied with the truth of theſe charges, exerciſed their right, and pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt Richard from all royal dignity, majeſty, and honours, in the name and by the authority of the ſtates, as in all ſimilar caſes, according to the ancient cuſtom, had been obſerved. They then appointed three commiſſioners to go to the king, to acquaint him with his depoſition, and in their name to renounce the homage and fealty they had formerly ſworn.

Thus was depoſed, after a reign of twenty-two years, Richard II. a weak, vain, and contemptible prince; without diſcretion to wield the ſceptre, without diſcernment to chooſe a good miniſtry, and without virtue and reſolution to diſcountenance the meaſures and reject the advice of evil counſellors.

It was long the prevailing opinion that he was murdered, by Piers Exton, in Pomfret Caſtle; but it is more probable that he was ſtarved to death: and this unhappy man is ſaid to have prolonged his miſerable exiſtence a fortnight after all ſuſtenance was refuſed him; which correſponds with the ſtory of his body being ſhewn after his death. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, without iſſue.

This parliament annulled all the acts of the

HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.

EDWARD IV.

EDWARD V.

Mercileſs Parliament, and confirmed thoſe of the parliament in 1386, who had appointed the commiſſion.

The next object for their conſideration was to fill the vacant throne. Lionel duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III. had a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to the earl of Marche; her ſon, Roger Mortimer, had been declared in parliament heir to the crown; he left a ſon ſeven years old, who inherited his father's claim: but the parliament now exerciſed the *right of election*, as they had juſt before done that of *depoſition*; they ſet young Mortimer aſide, and *elected* the duke of Lancaſter; though this was unfortunately the cauſe of the civil wars between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, by which the country was diſtracted for ſo many years.

The ſufferings of the people, and the diſorders in the government, during this reign, aroſe from the folly, extravagance, and diſſipation of the king in the firſt inſtance, and afterwards from the venality and corruption of the Houſe of Commons. While the commiſſion exerciſed their authority, the nation was preſerved in peace at home, and reſpected abroad; but when Richard reſumed the government, and had packed a parliament of his own creatures, the country was again precipitated into ruin, which in the end overwhelmed the king himſelf. From hence we are taught, that the only ſecurity for the liberty and happineſs of the people is a virtuous Houſe of Commons; but this is not to be expected, when they depend on the miniſters of the crown, or the ariſtocracy, for their ſeats; for while they can be rewarded with honours, offices, and emoluments, (which are both the cauſe and conſequence of corruption,) they will be obedient to every faction that is in power. While Richard had the aſcendant, the parliament was obedient to his will; but when he loſt it, he was depoſed; and this was effected chiefly by the ſame peers and prelates who had countenanced all his violent meaſures. Princes may learn from hence, that thoſe men who abandon the intereſt, and betray the truſt of their country, will forſake the cauſe, and deceive the opinion of their ſovereign, when he can no longer promote their individual intereſt.

Richard lived in greater magnificence than perhaps any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors. His houſehold conſiſted of ten thouſand perſons; he had three hundred in his kitchen; and all the other offices were furniſhed in proportion. This enormous train had tables furniſhed at the king's expence.

CHAPTER XI.

Acceſſion of Henry IV.—A Conſpiracy—Conſequent Executions—Commotion in Wales—Inſurrection of Northumberland—Battle of Shrewſbury—Death of the King, &c.

HENRY having been elected, the archbiſhop of Canterbury took him by the right hand, and led him to the throne, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The primate having harangued the people on this occaſion, Henry thanked the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and all the eſtates of the land, for their cheerful concurrence in his elevation; and aſſured them he would aſſume the rights of a conqueror, to change the laws and cuſtoms of the realm.

A. D. 1399.]

He then appointed his principal officers and judges, who took the uſual oaths; and proclamation was iſſued, that the parliament ſhould meet on Monday after Michaelmas, and the coronation was fixed for the Monday following.

The

The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who expatiated on the power of parliament, and miſdemeanours of the late reign. They then paſſed an act of indemnity for thoſe who had taken up arms for the houſe of Lancaſter, and proceeded againſt the evil counſellors of Richard, by whoſe advice he had purſued all his pernicious meaſures. The ſentence of the earls of Arundel and Warwick were reverſed; and the dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, were reduced to their former rank of earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and their eſtates left to the king's diſpoſal; but Henry, willing to begin his reign by an act of clemency, reſtored to them their poſſeſſions. The diſpoſal of Richard was alſo taken into conſideration; and it was unanimouſly agreed that he ſhould be kept in perpetual confinement, but in other reſpects treated according to his rank. The ſucceſſion to the crown was eſtabliſhed in the houſe of Lancaſter by an authentic act. Henry was crowned the next Monday, at Weſtminſter; when he created his eldeſt ſon, Henry, prince of Wales and duke of Cornwall.

A. D. 1400.] The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, with lord Spenſer, offended at the loſs of their titles, entered into a conſpiracy with the earl of Saliſbury and lord Lumley, for raiſing an inſurrection, and for ſeizing the king's perſon at Windſor, but by the treachery of Rutland he was warned of the danger. He ſuddenly withdrew to London, and diſappointed the conſpirators, who came to Windſor with a body of five hundred horſe. Next day Henry appeared at Kingſton upon Thames, at the head of twenty thouſand men, moſtly drawn from the city; when his enemies diſperſed themſelves, with the view of aſſembling their followers: but in this expedition they were warmly purſued by the adherents of the king. The earls of Kent and Saliſbury were ſeized at Cirenceſter by the citizens; and were next day beheaded, without the form of trial. The inhabitants of Briſtol treated Spencer and Lumley in the ſame manner. The earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sealy, with many other conſpirators, who were alſo made priſoners, ſuffered death by orders from Henry. When the quarters of thoſe unhappy men were brought to London, no leſs than eighteen biſhops, and thirty-two mitred abbots, joined the populace, and met them with the moſt indecent demonſtrations of joy. This ſcene was followed by a ſpectacle yet more ſhocking to humanity: the earl of Rutland appeared carrying on a pole the head of lord Spenſer, his brother-in-law, which he preſented in triumph to Henry, as a token of his loyalty.

A. D. 1401.] But the ſuppreſſion of this conſpiracy could neither procure nor confirm the quiet of a kingdom which was not only torn with inteſtine diſcord, but threatened with foreign invaſions. The king of France had actually raiſed a great armament, with the view of ſuch an enterpriſe: but a truce for twenty-eight years was ſoon after concluded; and it was agreed, that queen Iſabel, who had been married to Richard, but whoſe marriage had never been conſummated, ſhould return to France, her native country. The Scots, in a ſhort time, began to renew their incurſions; and while the Engliſh army marched northward to oppoſe them, the Welch, on the other ſide, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, made an irruption into the weſtern quarter. The earl of Douglas, who commanded the Scots, was, on his return home, overtaken by the earl of Northumberland, at Homeldon, a place on the borders, where a fierce battle enſued, in which the Scots were totally routed, and Douglas, with many other perſons of diſtinction, made priſoners.

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranſom his priſoners; a prohibition which that nobleman conſidered as an infringement of his right, and at which he therefore took offence. His diſcontent being increaſed by the impatient ſpirit of Harry Piercy, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, his younger brother, he

was

Murderof the Duke of Orleans in 1407

was tempted to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed.

A. D. 1402.] For this purpoſe he entered into a correſpondence with Glendour; he ſet the earl of Douglas at liberty, and made an alliance with him; exciting at the ſame time all his own partizans to arms.

When the war was ready to break out, Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick; and young Piercy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewſbury, in order to join his forces with thoſe of Glendour. The king had a ſmall army, with which he had intended to act againſt the Scots; and with it he inſtantly haſtened down, that he might give battle to the Northumbrians.

A. D. 1403.] He came up with Piercy near Shrewſbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour, and a general engagement ſoon enſued. Piercy, the evening before the battle, ſent the king a manifeſto, renouncing his allegiance, and accuſing him of perjury and uſurpation. The two armies were nearly equal, each conſiſting of about twelve thouſand men; and the animoſity on both ſides was increaſed to the higheſt pitch. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody. Henry expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight; while his gallant ſon, afterwards the renowned conqueror of France, fought by his ſide; and though wounded in the face by an arrow, could not be induced to quit the field. The daring Hotſpur ſupported that fame which he had acquired in ſo many bloody engagements, and every where ſought out the king, as an object of his indignation; but his death, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royaliſts prevailed. There are ſaid to have fallen on both ſides near two thouſand three hundred gentlemen; but the perſons of greateſt diſtinction were on the king's ſide. There periſhed about ſix thouſand private men, of whom two-thirds were of Piercy's army. The earls of Worceſter and Douglas were made priſoners; the former of whom was beheaded at Shrewſbury.

As ſoon as the earl of Northumberland recovered from his ſickneſs, he levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but being oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland; and hearing of the defeat at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York. Henry thought proper to grant him a pardon, and the other rebels were treated with equal lenity, except the earl of Worceſter and Sir Richard Vernon, who periſhed by the hands of the executioner.

A. D. 1405.] Northumberland ſoon afterwards, with the archbiſhop of York, and the earl of Nottingham, entered into a conſpiracy to dethrone Henry, and ſet young Mortimer in his place. But the earl of Nottingham and the archbiſhop ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by the earl of Weſtmoreland, who lay near them with a ſmall body of royaliſts. He promiſed them the redreſs of their grievances; and obſerved, now amity was reſtored, it would be better on both ſides to diſmiſs their armies. The archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham immediately gave directions for that purpoſe; their troops diſbanded upon the field: but Weſtmoreland, who had iſſued contrary orders to his army, ſeized the two rebels without reſiſtance, and carried them to the king, who was advancing with haſty marches to ſuppreſs the inſurrection.

The capital puniſhment of an archbiſhop was ſo unprecedented a meaſure, that, without celerity in the execution, it might never have been effected. Henry, therefore, finding that Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, made ſome ſcruple of acting on this occaſion, appointed Sir William Fulthorpe for judge; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced upon the prelate ſentence of death, which was preſently executed. The earl of Nottingham was condemned and executed in the ſame ſummary manner. The earl of Northumberland fled for refuge to Scotland; but in an incurſion a year or two after he was ſlain by Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire.

Henry next turned his arms againſt Glendour,

dour, over whom his ſon, the prince of Wales, had obtained ſome advantages; but this inſurgent ſtill found means of defending himſelf in his faſtneſſes. His death, however, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies. But this prince employed policy as well as force to give ſecurity to his throne; and for that purpoſe he reſolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy; though, while a ſubject, he was believed to have ſtrongly imbibed the principles of his father, the duke of Lancaſter, who in the late reign favoured the ſentiments of Wickliffe, reſpecting the abuſes of the eſtabliſhed church. Hitherto no penal laws had been enacted againſt hereſy; of which, from the ignorance and ſimplicity of the people, there ſeemed to be little danger; but ſince the learning and penetration of Wickliffe had paved the way to theological inquiries, the eccleſiaſtics began to tremble for the influence of the ſacerdotal order over the people, and they called aloud for puniſhing the diſciples of that obnoxious reformer. The king was eaſily induced to ſacrifice his principles to his intereſt, and to acquire the favour of the clergy, by gratifying their vengeance againſt opponents; he therefore engaged the parliament to paſs a law, by which it was enacted, that, when any heretic was delivered over to the ſecular arm by the biſhop or his commiſſaries, the perſons ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate in the preſence of the people. This barbarous ſtatute was no ſooner paſſed, than the eccleſiaſtics were deſirous to give an example of it's efficacy. William Sautre, a follower of Wickliffe, and rector of St. Oſithe's, in London, had been condemned by the convocation of Canterbury; his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers; the king iſſued his writ for the execution, and the unhappy man was ſoon after burned alive. This was the firſt inſtance of any perſon ſuffering death in England for the ſake of religion.

Henry, having ſurmounted the oppoſition to his government, at length endeavoured, by acts of condeſcenſion, to acquire the affection of the people. With this view, he often permitted the Houſe of Commons to aſſume powers which had not been uſually exerciſed by their predeceſſors. In the ſixth year of his reign, when they voted him ſupplies, they appointed treaſurers of their own, to inſpect the diſburſement of the money. They propoſed thirty important articles for the government of the king's houſehold, and on the whole preſerved their privileges more entire during this reign than in any former period.

While Henry ſhewed himſelf ſolicitous to retrieve the reputation which by his ſeverity he had loſt, in the beginning of his reign, his ſon Henry, prince of Wales, ſeemed equally bent on incurring the contempt of the public. He became notorious for debauchery; and was conſtantly ſurrounded by a ſet of ruffians who exerciſed themſelves in committing the moſt illegal acts, with the prince at their head. The king was not a little mortified at this degeneracy in his eldeſt ſon, who had formerly given many proofs of his valour, conduct, and generoſity. Such were the exceſſes into which he ran, that one of his diſſolute companions having been brought to a trial for ſome miſdemeanour before Sir William Gaſcoigne, chief juſtice of the King's Bench, the prince was ſo exaſperated at the iſſue of the inquiry, that he ſtruck the judge in open court. The venerable magiſtrate, behaving with a dignity becoming his office, immediately ordered the prince to be committed to priſon. When this tranſaction was reported to the king, he exclaimed, in a tranſport, "Happy is the king that has a magiſtrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon ſuch an offender; but ſtill more happy in having a ſon willing to ſubmit to ſuch a chaſtiſement."

But notwithſtanding this inſtance of modeſty and ſubmiſſion in the prince, Henry, who was naturally of a jealous and ſuſpicious diſpoſition, liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of ſome officious paraſites, who inſinuated that the prince had formed a deſign on his crown and authority. Theſe inſinuations filled his breaſt with

with anxious fears; and he might probably have proceeded to ſome extremities, in order to aſcertain his ſecurity, had not his ſuſpicions been removed by the prudent conduct of the young prince. He was no ſooner acquainted with the jealouſy of his father, than he repaired to court in a ſtrange habit, as an emblem of his ſorrow and anxiety, and demanding a private audience of the king, threw himſelf on his knees, and called heaven to witneſs that he never entertained a thought repugnant to that duty and veneration he owed his majeſty. The king was ſo highly ſatisfied with this declaration, that he embraced the prince with great tenderneſs, aſſuring him his ſuſpicions were effectually removed, and that he would never more doubt his loyalty and honour.

A. D. 1413.] Henry, whoſe health had been for ſome time declining, was ſubject to fits, which deprived him, for the time, of his ſenſes. As his conſtitution decayed, his fears of loſing the crown redoubled even to a childiſh anxiety. He was ſeized with his laſt fit while he was at his devotions in Weſtminſter Abbey, and was carried thence to the Jeruſalem Chamber. When he had recovered from a ſtate of inſenſibility, perceiving himſelf in a ſtrange place, he deſired to know where he was. Being told that he was in the Jeruſalem Chamber, he ſaid, that he then perceived the accompliſhment of a prophecy, which declared, that he ſhould die in Jeruſalem. Having thus ſpoken, and recommended his ſoul to his Maker, he expired, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The limitations of regal power, and the influence of the Commons, ſeem to have been greater under Henry than any of his predeceſſors. They procured a law, that no judge, in concurring with any iniquitous meaſure, ſhould be excuſed by pleading the orders of the king, or the danger of his own life for diſobedience. They deſired the king to remove four perſons from his houſehold who had diſpleaſed them: Henry complied with their requeſt, though he told them that he knew of no offence theſe men had committed. They inſiſted on the practice of not granting a ſupply till they received an anſwer to their petitions. They appointed treaſurers of their own to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended, and required them to deliver in their accounts to the Houſe. They propoſed thirty articles for the regulation of the government, which were all agreed to; and they even obliged all the members of council, judges, and officers of the houſehold, to ſwear to the obſervance of them. If they made any unwary conceſſions to the crown, they ſhewed their freedom by a ſpeedy retraction.

The Commons twice recommended to the king to apply the lands of the church to the public uſe, and accompanied the laſt application with an addreſs for mitigating the ſtatutes againſt the Lollards; but Henry, afraid to provoke the vengeance of ſo powerful a body as the clergy, refuſed to comply.

The civil commotions during this reign did not ariſe from the ſufferings or diſcontent of the people, who ſeemed to be ſatisfied with his government; but from the ambition of the nobility.

The temper of Henry was remarkably even; neither elevated by proſperity nor dejected by adverſity, his mind was fortified againſt all the reverſes of fortune. He was brave in the field, and wiſe in the cabinet. He poſſeſſed many qualities which fitted him for his high ſtation; and his elevation to the throne was an advantage to the Engliſh during his reign, though attended with pernicious conſequences in after-times.

Henry was twice married. By his firſt wife, Mary de Bohun, he had four ſons; Henry, his ſucceſſor; Thomas duke of Clarence; John duke of Bedford; and Humphrey duke of Glouceſter: and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa; the former married to the duke of Bavaria, and the latter to the king of Denmark. By his ſecond wife, Jane, whom he married after he came to the crown, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, he had no iſſue.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XII.

Acceſſion of Henry V.—Invaſion of France—Battle of Agincourt—State of France—Treaty of Troyes—King's Marriage—Death, &c.

THE earl of Marche, according to the doctrine of hereditary right, was the lineal heir; he was ſtill living, arrived to maturity, and had a powerful party to ſupport his claims. However the parliament, regardleſs of theſe conſiderations, made no ſcruple to place the crown on the head of Henry; who, if his father had been an uſurper, could have had no better claim.

A. D. 1413.]

Notwithſtanding the failings of Henry in early life, he aſcended the throne with the prepoſſeſſion of the people in his favour. He diſcarded his former looſe companions; he paſſed a general amneſty; and, by an appeal to Heaven, declared, that he would rather be removed from life, than exerciſe a tyrannical ſway over his people. He was crowned on the 9th of April, and increaſed his popularity by reſtoring purity to the courts of juſtice, and diſplacing many judges, and others, who had perverted their power to the injury of the ſubject.

He expreſſed the utmoſt concern for the fate of the unhappy Richard; and cauſed his corpſe to be removed from Langley, and interred by his queen, Anne of Luxemburg, in Weſtminſter Abbey, where he attended as chief mourner. He treated the earl of Marche with ſingular courteſy and favour, who remained ever after ſincerely attached to him. He ſeemed deſirous to bury all party diſtinctions in oblivion. Thoſe who had been advanced in the preceding reign, from their blind zeal for the Lancaſtrian intereſt, more than from their merit, gave place every where to men of more honourable character; and he ſeemed ambitious to eſtabliſh his throne rather in the hearts, than in the fears of his people.

About this time the Lollards were rapidly increaſing. The head of this ſect was Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had acquired the eſteem both of the late and preſent king. His high character pointed him out to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity; he applied to Henry for a permiſſion to indict him: but the king, who was averſe to ſuch ſanguinary methods of converſion, obſerved, that reaſon and conviction were the beſt expedients for ſupporting truth; and that he himſelf would, by a converſation with Cobham, endeavour to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman determined not to ſacrifice truths of infinite moment to his complaiſance for ſovereigns, and therefore abandoned him to the ſeverity of eccleſiaſtical perſecution. Cobham was immediately indicted by the primate and his three ſuffragans, and condemned to be burnt; but made his eſcape from the Tower, where he was confined, before the day appointed for his execution.

After the condemnation of ſo great a man, the people ſaw what they had to expect for differing from the national church; they grew diſſatisfied with a government, that, inſtead of affording them protection, ſought their lives. Their clamours and menaces were repreſented to the king with ſuch exaggerations, that his averſion to their principles increaſed, and he began to conſider them as dangerous enemies both to church and ſtate.

A. D. 1414.] A number of the Lollards having aſſembled in St. Giles's Fields, the uſual place of their devotions, Henry had been perſuaded that it was their intention to aſſaſſinate

assassinate him, and overthrow the government. He therefore shut the gates of Westminster, to prevent a reinforcement from going to their assistance, and marched a body of soldiers to the place of meeting. Several of the Lollards were put to the sword, and the rest taken prisoners. Sixty or seventy of these afterwards suffered death, as heretics and traitors, and the rest were pardoned. Many were executed in other parts of the kingdom. Cobham was taken four years afterwards, and ingenuity seems to have exerted itself to devise a punishment sufficiently cruel: he was hung up with a chain by the middle, and thus by a slow fire burned, or rather roasted, to death.

"The treasonable designs of the sect," it is said, "were rendered certain, both from evidence, and the confession of the criminals themselves;" but the history of these times is sufficient to convince any one, that no justice was to be expected where the crown and the church were joined in the prosecution. False witnesses can be found at any time; and the evidence of men whose lives depended on the conviction of their colleagues deserves no credit. They were not taken in arms; and it is acknowledged that "a *few* only were in the secret of the conspiracy." The accusation, therefore, appears to have little or no foundation, and these men were murdered; they fell the victims of regal tyranny and ecclesiastical intrigue.

A. D. 1414.] The earl of Cambridge, second son of the late duke of York, having espoused the sister of the late earl of Marche, had zealously embraced the interests of that family, and had held some conferences with lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, about the means of recovering to that nobleman his right to the crown of England: but the plot being discovered, the conspirators were condemned, even without a regular process, and executed.

Henry, to divert the minds of the people, now resolved to pursue the dying injunction of the late king, who had recommended to him to employ his subjects in foreign expeditions, and thus give the turbulent spirits among them full occupation. The natural disposition of Henry sufficiently inclined him to follow this advice, and the civil disorders of France afforded a favourable opportunity for carrying it into execution.

Charles VI. who was then king of France, was subject to frequent fits of lunacy; during the paroxysms of which disease, the ambition of his vassals and courtiers had room for exertion. The administration of affairs was disputed between his brother, Louis duke of Orleans, and his cousin-german, John duke of Burgundy. Isabella, his queen, also had her party; and the king attempted, though in vain, to secure one in his own favour.

Henry, perceiving the advantage which might be made of those confusions, determined to avail himself of this opportunity. But to give his intended expedition the appearance of justice, he sent over to Paris ambassadors, with proposals of peace and alliance, on condition of being put in possession of all those provinces which had been ravished from the English during the preceding reign, and of espousing Catharine, the daughter of the French king, with a dowry of two millions of crowns.

Though the court of France was extremely averse to war, such exorbitant demands could not be complied with; and it is probable that Henry made them in hopes of a denial. He assembled, therefore, a great force, both military and naval, at Southampton; whence he put to sea, and landed at Harfleur, at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. He immediately laid siege to that place; which being weakly garrisoned, the governor agreed to surrender on a certain day, unless relieved before that time. The day arrived; but the garrison persisting to defend the place, Henry ordered an assault to be made; and taking the town by storm, put all the garrison to the sword.

But the English army were so wasted with the fatigues of the siege, and the unusual heat of the season, that Henry was obliged to abandon the prosecution of his enterprise, and to think of returning to England. Hav-

ing dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts, he lay under a necessity of marching to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. A numerous French army, of fourteen thousand men at arms, and forty thousand foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy, under the command of the constable D'Albret, and was now placed to intercept Henry's weakened forces on their return. Henry therefore offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur, for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposal being rejected, he determined to force his way against all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of a flight, he made slow and deliberate marches till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanquetague; but finding the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body of troops on the opposite bank, he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harrassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy, and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a desperate situation, when he was so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, where he safely carried over his army.

Henry immediately directed his march towards Calais; but the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, threw themselves in his way, with the purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe, from the heights, the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march, without coming to an engagement. No circumstances could be more unfavourable than those in which he now found himself. His army had been diminished by disease to half it's original number, and the soldiers laboured under every discouragement and necessity. Henry, however, drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and in this situation he patiently expected the attack of the enemy, who were commanded by the constable of France; while Henry in person, and Edward duke of York, were at the head of the English. For a time both armies gazed at each other; till at last the English began the fight, and the French cavalry were so entangled in the clayey ground on which they engaged, that, incapable of flight or resistance, they were slaughtered by the battle-axes of the English. The constable himself, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, the counts of Vaudemont and Marle, scorning to survive this national calamity, rushed into the midst of the tumult, and perished, with above ten thousand of their followers. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, the mareschal of Bouccicaut, and above fourteen thousand of inferior rank, were taken prisoners.

The duke of York was the chief person of distinction who fell among the English: he was succeeded in his title and estates by his nephew, son of the earl of Cambridge, who was executed in the beginning of this year. The whole loss of the English is said, by some writers, not to exceed forty, by others four hundred: but indeed the accounts given by authors of these great victories partake so much of the *marvellous*, as to deserve little credit; however, we have given them to our readers as we have received them.

This was called the battle of Azincour, or Agincourt, from the name of a castle which was within sight.

When the battle appeared completely over, Henry was informed that the French were in his camp; and being apprehensive of his prisoners, ordered them to be put to the sword; which was cruelly executed on a vast number, but stopped when he found it was only a few French peasants, who had come for plunder.

A. D. 1416.] Notwithstanding the victory, Henry prosecuted his retreat immediately after the battle; carrying with him his

his priſoners to Calais, and thence to England. On his arrival, the parliament, dazzled with the ſplendour of his ſucceſs, granted him freſh ſupplies, but ſuch as were unequal to the expence of a campaign.

A. D. 1418.] The duke of Burgundy had acknowledged Henry as king of France, and by a treaty engaged to aſſiſt him in getting poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Henry, therefore, taking advantage of the preſent troubles, and this treaty, and having procured the neceſſary ſupplies, and new levies, he once more landed an army of twenty-five thouſand men in Normandy, and met with no conſiderable oppoſition from any quarter, except at Caen, which made a reſolute defence, and was at laſt taken by ſtorm; when the haughty victor ſummoned the principal inhabitants to meet him in the town-hall, and ordered ſeveral of them to be put to death, for no other crime than that of defending their own habitations.

Having ſubdued all the Lower Normandy, and received a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand men from England, he formed the ſiege of Rouen, which was defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, ſeconded by the inhabitants to the number of fifteen thouſand. Being diſtreſſed for proviſions, they turned twenty thouſand miſerable wretches out of the city. Henry would not let them paſs, but drove them back to the walls, where they periſhed with cold and hunger.

But though Henry's ambition aſpired to the crown of France, to which the Engliſh monarchs had long made pretenſions, he continued to negociate with his enemies. It was at length agreed, that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine; that Charles ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king for life, but that Henry ſhould be declared heir to the crown, and ſhould be intruſted with the adminiſtration of the government; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould each retain it's reſpective laws and privileges; and that Henry ſhould unite his arms with thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, and ſubdue the dauphin and his partizans.

A. D. 1420.] The tenor of this treaty was too repugnant to the intereſts of both kingdoms to prove of long duration. Henry, however, married the princeſs Catharine; after which he carried his father-in-law to Paris, where he obtained from the eſtates of the kingdom a ratification of the late compact. He then turned his arms ſucceſsfully againſt the adherents of the late dauphin, who, in the mean time, wandered about a ſtranger in his own patrimony, and oppoſing his enemies only by ineffectual remonſtrances.

The neceſſity of providing ſupplies for the proſecution of his meaſures obliged Henry to come over to England; and he left the duke of Exeter, his uncle, governor of Paris, until his return. Upon his arrival in England, he found the nation but very little intereſted in his victories. A treaty which in it's conſequences might transfer the ſeat of empire to France, was not much reliſhed by the parliament; they therefore granted him only a ſubſidy of a fifteenth; with which, however, and the contributions levied on the conquered provinces, he raiſed a new army of twenty-four thouſand archers, and four thouſand horſemen.

A. D. 1421.] Henry was received at Paris with great demonſtrations of joy, and immediately marched his army to Chartres, which had long been beſieged by the dauphin, who fled at his approach. That prince was chaſed beyond the Loire, and he almoſt totally abandoned all the northern provinces. He was even purſued into the ſouth by the united arms of the Engliſh and Burgundians, and threatened with total deſtruction. To crown the proſperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a ſon at Windſor, who was called by his father's name, and univerſally regarded as the future heir of the Engliſh and French monarchies.

A. D. 1422.] The king immediately returned to Senlis, to preſs the operations of war; where amidſt the pride of victory, and the proſpect of dominion, he was attacked by

by a complaint which the ignorance of the age rendered mortal. A fiſtula with which he was ſeized ſoon terminated in a mortification; and Henry, ſenſible of his approaching end, devoted the few remaining moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom and family, and to the pious duties of religion.

He left the regency of France to his elder brother, the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the duke of Glouceſter; and the care of his ſon's perſon to the earl of Warwick. He expired in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

The commencement of the reign of this prince afforded a favourable preſage of future happineſs to the people; but his cruelty and intolerance towards the Lollards, whom he ſacrificed to gratify the clergy, the rivers of blood he ſpilt, and the horrors he ſpread over France, leave no favourable impreſſion on the humane and liberal mind. His victories were brilliant, but they drained England of men and money; and could he have maintained his conqueſts, they would have been a diſadvantage to England, by transferring the ſeat of government to France, and leaving this country to a viceroy, like a conquered nation.

Henry left by his queen, Catharine of France, only one ſon, not full nine months old, who ſucceeded him on the throne, and whoſe misfortunes, during a long reign, ſurpaſſed all the glories and ſucceſſes of his father.

In leſs than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. of France, his father-in-law, terminated his miſerable reign. Soon after Henry's death alſo, Catharine, his widow, married a Welch gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper, of whom the elder was created earl of Richmond, and the other earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, afterwards mounted the throne of England.

CHAPTER XIII.

Acceſſion of Henry VI.—Government during the Minority—Atchievements and Execution of the Maid of Orleans—Truce with France—King's Marriage with Margaret of Anjou—Duke of Glouceſter's Murder—War renewed—Parties of York and Lancaſter—Civil Commotions—Battles of Taunton and Hexham—Henry taken Priſoner—Reſtored—Battles of Barnet and Tewkeſbury—Death of Henry VI. &c.

NO ſooner was the death of the king aſcertained, than the Engliſh parliament aſſembled, and without attending to the verbal deſtination of Henry V. they aſſumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole adminiſtration: they declined altogether the name of *regent*, with regard to England; they appointed the duke of Bedford *protector* or *guardian* of that kingdom, a title which they ſuppoſed to imply leſs authority: they inveſted the duke of Glouceſter with the ſame dignity during the abſence of his elder brother; and in order to limit the power of both theſe princes, they appointed a council, without whoſe advice and approbation no meaſure of importance could be determined. The perſon and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort biſhop of Winchеſter, his great uncle, and the legitimate ſon of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter.

A. D. 1422.]

The affairs of England being thus ſettled, the duke of Bedford fixed his ſtation in France, in order to proſecute the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh, and repreſs the attempts of Charles

Charles VII. who ſucceeded his father. The Engliſh were now maſters of almoſt all France; and Henry VI. though yet an infant, was ſolemnly inveſted with regal power by legates ſent from Paris for that purpoſe. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppoſe every inſurrection; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, co-operated in his views. But Charles, notwithſtanding the preſent inferiority of his power, poſſeſſed ſome advantages, partly derived from his ſituation, and partly from his perſonal character, which ſerved to maintain him againſt the force and opulence of his enemies. All Frenchmen, who knew the intereſt, or deſired the independence of their country, conſidered him as their only hope.

A. D. 1424.] His firſt attempts for the recovery of the kingdom, however, were deſtitute of ſucceſs; until Bedford being obliged, from the want of ſupplies, to retire into England, Charles was furniſhed with an opportunity of exerting himſelf to greater advantage.

A. D. 1426.] Dunois, one of his generals, at the head of a thouſand men, obliged the earl of Warwick to raiſe the ſiege of Montargis; and this advantage, however inconſiderable, gave encouragement to thoſe who were averſe to the proſperity of the Engliſh. But the duke of Bedford, ſoon after his arrival, reſolved on an undertaking, which, if ſucceſsful, would have paved the way to the final conqueſt of France.

A. D. 1428.] The city of Orleans was ſo ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, that it opened an eaſy entrance to either; and the duke of Bedford having determined to make an effort for penetrating into the ſouth of France, it was neceſſary to begin with the reduction of this place, which was become the moſt important in the kingdom. He committed the conduct of this enterpriſe to the earl of Saliſbury, who had brought him a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men from England, and had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his abilities in the military ſervice. Saliſbury, paſſing the Loire, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall places which ſurrounded Orleans on that ſide; and as his intentions were known by thoſe operations, the French king uſed every expedient to ſupply the city with a garriſon and proviſions, that it might be enabled to maintain a long ſiege. The lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain, was appointed governor. The troops that compoſed the garriſon were inured to war; and even the inhabitants were ſo diſciplined, by the long continuance of hoſtilities, as to be capable of a vigorous defence. In this ſituation, the earl of Saliſbury approached the place with an army of ten thouſand men; which not being ſufficient for inveſting ſo great a city, that commanded a bridge over the Loire, he ſtationed himſelf on the ſouth ſide, towards Sologne, leaving the other, towards the Beauſſe, ſtill open to the enemy. He there attacked the fortifications which guarded the entrance to the bridge, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance he carried ſeveral of them, but was himſelf killed by a cannon-ball, while he was taking a view of the enemy. By his death the command devolved on the earl of Suffolk; who being reinforced with great numbers of Engliſh and Burgundians, paſſed the river with the main body of his army, and inveſted the city on the other ſide. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon rendering it difficult to throw up entrenchments all around, he contented himſelf with erecting redoubts at different diſtances, where his men were lodged in ſafety, and were ready to intercept any ſupplies which the enemy might attempt to throw into the place. But while Suffolk lay in this ſituation, parties of the French ravaged all the adjacent country; and the beſiegers, who were obliged to draw their proviſions from diſtant places, were themſelves expoſed to the danger of a precarious ſubſiſtence. Sir John Faſtolffe, in bringing up a large convoy of every kind of ſtores, which he eſcorted with a detachment of two thouſand five hundred men, was attacked by a body of four thouſand French, under the

command of the counts of Clermont and Dunois. Faſtolffe drew up his troops behind the waggons; but the French generals, afraid of attacking him in that poſture, planted againſt him a battery of cannon, which threw every thing into confuſion, and would have inſured them the victory, had not the impatience of ſome Scottiſh troops, who were in confederacy with the French king, broke through the line of battle, and brought on an engagement, in which Faſtolffe proved victorious. This action was called the battle of Herrings, becauſe the convoy brought a great quantity of that kind of proviſions for the uſe of the Engliſh army during Lent.

The French were exceedingly diſpirited by this defeat, and there ſeemed but one expedient for ſaving this city. The duke of Orleans, who was ſtill priſoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to conſent that all his demeſnes ſhould be allowed to preſerve a neutrality during the war, and ſhould, for greater ſecurity, be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This prince, who was become much leſs cordial in the Engliſh intereſt than formerly, went to Paris, and made the propoſal to the duke of Bedford; but the latter coldly replied, "that he was not of a humour to beat the buſhes, while others ran away with the game;" an anſwer which ſo diſguſted the duke, that he recalled all the troops of Burgundy that acted in the ſiege. The place, however, was every day more cloſely inveſted by the Engliſh; and great ſcarcity began to be felt by the garriſon and inhabitants. Charles not only gave up the city for loſt, but thought of retiring with the remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princeſs of great ſpirit and prudence, vehemently oppoſed this meaſure, which tended to the utter diſcouragement of all his party. His miſtreſs alſo, Agnes Sorel, who lived in perfect friendſhip with the queen, ſeconded her remonſtrances with the moſt powerful arguments. Their perſuaſions prevailing, Charles at laſt reſolved to maintain the conteſt with unremitting aſſiduity; and rather to periſh with honour in the midſt of his friends, if they muſt periſh, than yield ingloriouſly to bad fortune. An incident, the moſt ſingular in human events, ſoon occurred to juſtify this reſolution, and ſhews the eaſe with which a nation may preſerve it's independence, if it will but be faithful to itſelf; for without freſh alliances or reſources the French, under a ſpirited leader, recovered from their torpor, and expelled the Engliſh.

A. D. 1429.] In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, their lived a country girl, of twenty-ſeven years of age, called Joan d'Arc, who was ſervant in a ſmall inn. In that ſtation ſhe had been accuſtomed to tend the horſes of the gueſts, to ride them without a ſaddle to the watering places, and to perform other offices, which, in well-frequented inns, commonly fall to the ſhare of men ſervants. The young woman was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any ſingularity. The progreſs of the Engliſh in the ſiege of Orleans, the great diſtreſs of the garriſon and inhabitants, with the extreme importance of ſaving the place, were conſiderations which excited the public attention; and Joan, inflamed by the general ſentiment, was ſeized with the deſire of extricating her ſovereign, if poſſible, from his preſent diſtreſſes. Her mind, brooding conſtantly on this favourite object, began to feel ſome impulſes which ſhe miſtook for heavenly inſpirations, prompting her to expel the foreign invaders, and re-eſtabliſh the ancient throne of the kingdom. Impelled by this enthuſiaſm, ſhe had recourſe to one Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, informed him of her inſpirations and intentions, and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, but to ſecond, with all his power, her meritorious efforts in the cauſe of their common country. Baudricourt treated her at firſt with ſome neglect; but her importunities at length prevailed upon him to adopt the ſchemes which ſhe propoſed, and he therefore gave her

her ſome attendants, who conducted her to the French court, at that time reſiding at Chinon.

It was aſſerted that Joan, who had never before ſeen the king's face, knew him immediately on her admiſſion, though he purpoſely kept himſelf in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aſide every mark of diſtinction; that ſhe offered him, in the name of the Supreme Being, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, to conduct him to Rheims, in order to be there anointed: that, on his expreſſing doubts of her miſſion, ſhe removed all his ſuſpicions, by diſcloſing to him a ſecret unknown to all the world beſide himſelf, and which nothing but a heavenly inſpiration could have diſcovered to her; and that, as the inſtrument of her future victories, ſhe demanded a particular ſword, kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen it, ſhe minutely deſcribed.

Thoſe ſtories being ſpread abroad to captivate the vulgar, it was thought proper to confirm the illuſion by the moſt reſpectable authorities; for this purpoſe ſhe was brought before the doctors of the univerſity, who, having with great ſolemnity examined her miſſion, pronounced it undoubted and ſupernatural. She was next ſent to the parliament, then reſiding at Poictiers, where that aſſembly alſo gave evidence to the truth of her divine inſpiration. The preparations for her miſſion being thus completely blazoned, ſhe was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horſeback, and ſhewn in that martial habiliment before the people; who received her with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, as the future deliverer of their country.

It being now determined to make an experiment of this female champion againſt the enemy, Joan was ſent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the ſupply of Orleans, and an army of ten thouſand men aſſembled to eſcort it. She ordered all the ſoldiers to confeſs themſelves before they ſet out on the enterpriſe; and ſhe diſplayed in her hands a conſecrated banner, with which ſhe aſſured the troops of the interpoſition of Heaven in their favour. She inſiſted, in right of her prophetic capacity, that the convoy ſhould enter Orleans by the direct road from the ſide of Beauſſe; but the count of Dunois, preferring to her authority the rules of the military art, ordered the troops to approach by the other ſide of the river, where he knew the weakeſt part of the Engliſh army was ſtationed. Joan, previous to this attempt, had diſpatched a meſſenger to the Engliſh generals before Orleans, commanding them, in the name of the Omnipotent Creator, by whom ſhe was commiſſioned, immediately to raiſe the ſiege, and evacuate the kingdom; manacing them at the ſame time, in caſe of diſobedience, with the vengeance of Heaven. All the Engliſh affected to conſider the behaviour of Joan either as a ridiculous deluſion or a palpable artifice; but knowing the confidence and enthuſiaſtic ardour which it excited in the enemy, their imaginations were ſecretly ſtruck with apprehenſions for the iſſue of ſo extraordinary a tranſaction.

As the convoy approached the river, a ſally was made from the garriſon on the ſide of Beauſſe, to prevent the Engliſh from ſending any detachment to the other ſide. Meanwhile Joan, at the head of ſome French troops, covered the embarkation, and eſcorted the whole convoy of proviſions ſafe into Orleans, where ſhe was univerſally received by the inhabitants as a celeſtial deliverer. During the progreſs of the convoy, a general aſtoniſhment, expreſſive of religious horror, pervaded the Engliſh army, which, in the midſt of it's conſternation, was attacked by a ſally of the garriſon, led on by Joan, bearing in her hand the ſacred ſtandard, and encouraging the troops both by exhortation and example. The attack was directed on one redoubt, and it proved ſucceſsful. All the Engliſh who defended the intrenchments were either put to the ſword or made priſoners. The heroine now urged the generals to attack the main body of the Engliſh in their intrenchments; but Dunois, unwilling to adopt a counſel ſo apparently hazardous, propoſed to her firſt to expel the enemy from their forts on the other ſide of the river, and thus lay open the communi-

cation

cation with the country, before they attempted any more important enterprise. Joan consenting to his proposal, the forts were vigorously assailed. In one attack the French were repulsed, and the Maid was left almost alone. She was therefore obliged to retreat, and join the fugitives; but displaying her sacred standard, and animating the troops by her courage, as well as by her admonitions, she led them back to the charge, and overpowered the English in their intrenchments. In the attack of another fort, she was wounded in the neck with an arrow; but, retreating behind the assailants, she instantly pulled out the weapon with her own hands, and getting the wound quickly dressed, she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. The English, finding it impossible to resist troops animated with the idea of the divine assistance, abandoned the siege, and retreated with the greatest precaution.

Charles now formed a body of six thousand men, whom he sent to attack Jergeau, whither Suffolk, the English commander, had retired with a detachment of his army. The place, though obstinately defended, was taken in ten days. Joan displayed her usual intrepidity. As she led on the attack, she received a blow on the head with a stone, by which she was beaten to the ground; but recovering herself, she rendered the assault successful. Suffolk yielded himself a prisoner, and Joan entered the city in triumph at the head of the army. A battle was soon after fought at Patay, where the English were again defeated, and the generals Scales and Talbot were made prisoners.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of Joan's promise to Charles, the crowning him at Rheims was the other; and she now insisted that she should complete her mission, by performing that ceremony. In pursuance of her desire, Charles set out for that city, at the head of twelve thousand men. The towns through which he passed opened their gates to receive him; and Rheims, upon his approach, sent him a deputation with it's keys. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity. The Maid of Orleans stood by his side in complete armour, displaying her sacred banner, which had so often intimidated and vanquished his enemies. After the completion of the ceremony she threw herself at the king's feet, embracing his knees, and, with a flood of tears, which joy and tenderness extorted from her, congratulated him on this extraordinary event. She then desired leave to retire, alledging that she had now accomplished the end of her mission; but the king, dreading the consequences of her departure, pressed her so earnestly to stay, that at length she complied with his request. Immediately after this coronation, Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, with many other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, submitted to him on the first summons. On the other hand, the English, who beheld this sudden reverse of fortune with equal terror and astonishment, fled in every quarter.

A. D. 1430.] The duke of Bedford, in order to revive the declining state of his affairs, resolved to have Henry crowned king at Paris; where the splendour of the ceremony might yet impress the natives with a respectable idea of the English power. Henry was accordingly crowned, and received the homage of all the vassals who still maintained their adherence to his party. But the progress of Charles could not be obstructed by the idle parade of a coronation; and the generality of the kingdom had now openly declared in his favour.

The Maid of Orleans had now entered the town of Compeigne, which was at this time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk; and the garrison, on her appearance, prognosticated the interposition of Heaven in their favour. But their joy proved of short duration: the day after her arrival she headed a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg; she twice drove the enemy from their intrenchments: finding their numbers increase every moment, she ordered a retreat;

when

when hard preſſed by the purſuers, ſhe turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but being here deſerted by her friends, and ſurrounded by the enemy, ſhe was at laſt, after exerting the utmoſt valour, made priſoner by the Burgundians. It is ſaid, that the French officers, finding the merit of every victory aſcribed to her, had, from motives of envy, purpoſely expoſed her to this accident.

A. D. 1431.] A complete victory could not have given greater ſatisfaction to the Engliſh. This event was celebrated with every demonſtration of joy; and the duke of Bedford purchaſed from John of Luxemburg his important captive. He commenced a proſecution againſt her, which, whether undertaken from policy or revenge, ſtains his character with barbarity. As a priſoner of war, Joan was entitled to the courteſy of good uſage, practiſed by civilized nations; and in her military capacity ſhe never had been impeached of acting with treachery or cruelty. But her enemies were inexorable; and, to diſguiſe the ſource of ther enmity, they prevailed on the biſhop of Beauvais, a prelate looſe in his principles, and wholly devoted to their intereſts, to proſtitute the ſacred name of religion to the perſecution they meditated. The biſhop pretended that Joan had been taken in his dioceſe, and deſired to have her tried by an eccleſiaſtical court for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic: the univerſity of Paris diſgraced itſelf by joining the requeſt. But Joan for a long time defended herſelf with manly firmneſs; ſhe acknowledged her intention to expel the Engliſh, the invaders of her country; and replied, that ſhe ſubmitted her inſpirations, which her judges urged as magical, to God, the fountain of truth. But ſhe was already prejudged; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil, to delude the people; and ſhe was ſentenced to be delivered over to the ſecular arm. It is with indignation the reader muſt peruſe her fate: after relieving her country from the oppreſſive yoke of it's enemies, after reſtoring her prince to his native throne, and his ſubjects to their freedom, the Maid of Orleans was condemned to be burnt in the market-place of Rouen; the inhuman ſentence was ſoon after executed, and the unhappy victim was delivered alive to the flames.

A. D. 1432.] This unneceſſary act of barbarity ſerved only to inflame the animoſity between the contending powers, and the affairs of the Engliſh viſibly declined every day. The French triumphed in repeated encounters; which, though of ſmall conſequence in themſelves, ſerved to confirm their confidence, and proclaim an approaching revolution. This event was accelerated by a rupture between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy: the death of the ducheſs of Bedford, who was ſiſter to Burgundy, ſerved to looſen the bands of friendſhip; and Bedford ſhortly after marrying Jaqueline of Luxemburg, Burgundy conceived himſelf inſulted by the diſreſpect ſhewn to the memory of his ſiſter, in ſo precipitate a marriage. A reconciliation was propoſed by the cardinal of Wincheſter, and St. Omer's was appointed for the place of meeting. The duke of Bedford, from his rank and connections, expected the firſt viſit; but the duke of Burgundy, proud of his independence, and conceiving himſelf to have been injured, refuſed to pay this compliment to the regent; they therefore parted without an interview.

A. D. 1434.] The duke of Burgundy began to perceive that it was as much againſt his own intereſt, as the intereſt of France, to unite the two kingdoms under one head. The miſeries to which his native country had been ſo long expoſed began to move his compaſſion; and the intreaties of the count of Richemont and the duke of Bourbon prevailed upon him to unite himſelf to the royal family of France, from which his own was deſcended. But before he could with propriety withdraw himſelf entirely from the Engliſh, it was propoſed that a congreſs ſhould meet for the purpoſe of ſettling the terms of a general peace. They accordingly aſſembled at the abbey of St. Vaaſt, at Arras, under the mediation of deputies from the pope and the council of Baſle. The cardinal of Wincheſter, the biſhops of Nor-

wich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, and others, attended as ambaſſadors from England. The duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, and others of high rank, were deputed by France. The duke of Burgundy attended in perſon; and moſt of the other ſtates of Europe ſent deputies.

It was propoſed by Charles, that Normandy and Guienne ſhould be ceded to England, with the uſual ſtipulations of homage and fealty, and that the king of England ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of France. As the claims of England were unpopular throughout Europe, theſe terms were thought to be very reaſonable; however, the cardinal of Wincheſter and his colleagues were ſo diſſatisfied, that they left the congreſs without giving a detail of their demands. Nothing remained to adjuſt but the differences between Charles and Philip, and theſe were eaſily ſettled; the conditions were dictated by the commanding ſituation of Philip, and ſubſcribed by the neceſſities of Charles. Beſides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke's father, in the guilt of which he had no ſhare, the king of France ceded to him all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the Low Countries; he agreed that theſe, and all the other dominions of Philip, ſhould be held by him during his life, without doing any homage, or ſwearing fealty to the preſent king; and he freed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. This has been ſince known by the name of the treaty of Arras.

A. D. 1435.] A herald was ſent to England with a letter, by the duke of Burgundy, to notify the concluſion of this treaty; he was received with great coldneſs, and his life expoſed to danger from the populace, who inſulted and murdered ſeveral of the ſubjects of Philip that were in London: this converted him into an open enemy.

Shortly after this tranſaction the duke of Bedford expired; a prince of great abilities, but whoſe memory is tarniſhed by the execution of the Maid of Orleans. A little before him, Iſabella, the queen-dowager of France, had breathed her laſt, univerſally deteſted and deſpiſed.

A. D. 1436.] After the death of Bedford, the court of London was diſtracted by the rival parties of the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter. It was ſeven months before the duke of York, ſon to the earl of Cambridge, who had been executed in the laſt reign, was appointed to the command in France. On his arrival, the new governor found the capital already loſt; the Pariſians, attached to the houſe of Burgundy, imitated the example of that duke; they opened their gates to the count of Richemont, and proclaimed Charles the Seventh. Lord Willoughby, with an Engliſh garriſon of fifteen hundred men, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the Baſtile; but being inveſted, he delivered up that fortreſs, and was content to ſtipulate for the ſafe retreat of his troops into Normandy.

The duke of Burgundy at the ſame time commencing againſt England open hoſtilities, laid ſiege to Calais, the poſt of greateſt importance which the Engliſh then occupied in France. His great popularity enabled him to intereſt all the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe; and he inveſted the place with a numerous, but undiſciplined army. On the firſt alarm of this ſiege, the duke of Glouceſter, aſſembling ſome forces, ſent a defiance to Philip, and challenged him to battle, ſo ſoon as the wind ſhould permit him to reach Calais. The Flemings, who were more expert in manufactures than in arms, dreaded an engagement with ſo warlike a people as the Engliſh; for which reaſon the duke of Burgundy, having already been foiled in ſome attempts before Calais, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and to retreat before the arrival of the enemy.

The Engliſh were ſtill maſters of many fine provinces in France; but retained poſſeſſion more by the extreme weakneſs of Charles, than by the number of their troops. The inhabitants, however, being now generally diſpoſed in favour of that monarch, his partizans were continually, though ſlowly, gaining

gaining ground of the Engliſh. The duke of York, who was a prince of great abilities, ſtruggled againſt all the difficulties of a declining cauſe during the courſe of five years; and then reſigned his government to the earl of Warwick, a nobleman of reputation, who ſurvived his appointment but a ſhort time. On his demiſe the duke reſumed the adminiſtration; during which there was concluded, between England and the duke of Burgundy, a truce, which had become neceſſary for the commercial intereſts of their ſubjects. The war with France continued in the ſame languid ſtate as before.

A. D. 1443.] The Engliſh councils were at this time much divided by the animoſity between the duke of Glouceſter and Henry Beaufort biſhop and cardinal of Wincheſter. Theſe two leaders differed in their ſentiments, particularly with regard to France. The cardinal encouraged every propoſal of accommodation with that country; while the duke of Glouceſter, who had been educated in the loſty pretenſions which the firſt ſucceſſes of his two brothers had rendered familiar to him, inſiſted on maintaining the honour of the Engliſh arms, and winning back all that had been loſt during the courſe of the war. But, notwithſtanding his oppoſition, the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman who adhered to the cardinal's party, was diſpatched to Tours, in order to negociate with the French miniſters; and the duke of Orleans, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years, was alſo releaſed, in conſideration of the vaſt ſum of fifty-four thouſand nobles, equal to thirty-ſix thouſand pounds of our preſent money, which was offered for his liberty. As it was impoſſible to adjuſt the terms of a laſting peace, a truce, which left every thing on the preſent footing between the parties, was concluded for twenty-two months. The great diſorders under which the French government laboured, induced Charles to aſſent to this truce, which he afterwards prolonged from the ſame motives.

As Henry advanced in years, his character became more fully known: of the moſt harmleſs, ſimple manners, but of the moſt ſlender capacity, he was fitted to be always governed: and it was eaſy to foreſee, that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of chooſing him a queen. The duke of Glouceſter propoſed a daughter of the count of Armagnac; but the cardinal and his friends caſt their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem; a princeſs accompliſhed both in perſon and mind; of a maſculine ſpirit and enterpriſing temper, and who had not been able to conceal theſe talents even in the privacy of her father's family. The earl of Suffolk, in concert with his aſſociates of the Engliſh council, made propoſals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. But this nobleman, beſides pre-occupying the princeſs's favour, by being the chief means of her advancement, endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with her and her family by very extraordinary conceſſions. Though Margaret brought no dowry with her, he ventured, of himſelf, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the approbation of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage, by a ſecret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle, who was prime miniſter and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his maſter the grant of that province as his appanage.

A. D. 1445.] The treaty of marriage was ratified in England. Suffolk obtained firſt the title of marquis, then that of duke, and even received the thanks of parliament for his ſervices in concluding it. The princeſs fell immediately into cloſe connection with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Somerſet, Suffolk, and Buckingham; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, reſolved on the final ruin of the duke of Glouceſter. One of the principal ſteps which his enemies took to render him odious, was to accuſe of witchcraft his wife, the ducheſs, daughter of Reginald lord Cobham. It was pretended that

that there was found in her poſſeſſion a waxen figure of the king, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Margery Jordan, of Eyre, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, with an intention of conſuming Henry's vigour by inſenſible degrees. The accuſation was readily believed in an ignorant age, and the ducheſs, with her confederates, was brought to trial. The unhappy perſons were pronounced guilty. The ducheſs was condemned to do public penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; the two others were executed. But the duke of Glouceſter's popularity was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the mercileſs violence of his enemies; while Wincheſter and his partizans were ſenſible that it was now neceſſary to deſtroy a rival, whoſe reſentment they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend.

A. D. 1447.] In order to effect their purpoſe, a parliament was ſummoned to meet, not at London, which was ſuppoſed to be too well affected to the duke, but at St. Edmundſbury, where they expected to overwhelm him with their influence. He no ſooner made his appearance than he was accuſed of treaſon, and thrown into priſon. He was ſoon after found dead in his bed; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. His murder was aſcribed to the machinations of his uncle, the cardinal of Wincheſter, who died in ſix weeks after that event, and teſtified in his laſt moments the utmoſt remorſe for the bloody ſcene which he had acted. What ſhare the queen had in the guilt of this tranſaction, is uncertain; but it was preſumed that ſhe had favoured the deſigns of the duke's enemies.

A. D. 1448.] The court of France, perſuaded that it would be in vain to demand the province of Maine by virtue of the king's marriage and contract with Margaret of Anjou, during the life of the duke of Glouceſter, had been ſilent on that ſubject; but that obſtacle being removed, they now inſiſted on the immediate performance of the treaty, and orders were ſent to Surienne, the governor, commanding him to deliver up that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne believing that the Engliſh council would never agree to ſuch a pernicious meaſure, and therefore doubting the authority of the order, abſolutely refuſed to obey the command, in conſequence of which the place was inveſted by a French army, under the conduct of the count de Dunois. After a gallant defence, he was compelled to yield, and to deliver up not only the town, but the whole province of Maine; and finding himſelf abandoned by the Engliſh, he marched into Bretagne, ſurpriſed the town of Fougeres, and plundered the inhabitants. The duke, incenſed at this violence, diſpatched an embaſſy to Somerſet, then regent at Rouen, to demand reſtitution of the place and pillage; and the regent promiſed him ample ſatisfaction. He alſo appealed to the king of France, who embracing this as a favourable opportunity to avail himſelf of the weakneſs of Henry, and diſcontent of his ſubjects, affected to intereſt himſelf in the concern of the duke, and ſent two ambaſſadors to London to demand reparation for the injury, as well as the payment of ſixteen hundred thouſand crowns, to indemnify his vaſſal for the loſs he had ſuſtained.

A. D. 1449.] Charles, perſuaded of the great advantage which the preſent ſituation of affairs gave, was determined to avail himſelf of ſuch a favourable opportunity for expelling the Engliſh from his dominions; accordingly he invaded Normandy with four different armies; and as the Engliſh had not a body of troops ſufficient to oppoſe him in the field, proceeded in his conqueſts without interruption, and in a few weeks reduced many of the moſt important fortreſſes in that province. The duke of Somerſet, regent of the province, retired with the few forces he had into Rouen, and fortified himſelf in the palace, which he defended twelve days; at the expiration of which he found himſelf obliged to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his artillery, paying fifty thouſand crowns in gold, reſtoring to the French king Arques, Tancarville,

Tarcanville, Caudebec, Honfleur, Lillebonne, and other places in higher Normandy, and give hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles.

The arms of Charles were no leſs ſucceſsful in Guienne, where the count de Foix reduced the caſtle of Mauleon, which was ſituated on a rock, and therefore deemed almoſt impregnable; and thus ended the firſt campaign, ſo fatal to the Engliſh intereſt.

A. D. 1450.] Henry's want of abilities became every day more apparent: his title alſo of ſovereignty was diſputed, and there now appeared a pretender to the crown. All the males of the houſe of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the ſiſter of the laſt earl of Marche, having eſpouſed the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V. had tranſmitted her latent claim to her ſon, Richard duke of York. This prince, thus deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Henry III. ſtood plainly in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that monarch. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct, and mild diſpoſition. In the right of his father, he bore the rank of firſt prince of the blood. He poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune from the union of ſo many ſucceſſions; thoſe of Cambridge and York on the one hand, with thoſe of Mortimer on the other; which laſt inheritance had before been augmented by an union of the eſtates of Clarence and Ulſter with the patrimonial poſſeſſions of the family of Marche. The alliances, too, of Richard, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, had widely extended his intereſt among the nobility, and had procured him many connections in that formidable order.

The odium which fell upon the earl of Suffolk for Glouceſter's aſſaſſination being increaſed by his uncontrouled authority as miniſter and favourite of the queen; the Commons were provoked by his imprudence, and, challenging an inquiry into his conduct, ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the Houſe of Peers. They accuſed him of aſpiring to place his own ſon on the throne, of having occaſioned the loſs of Normandy and Guienne, and of having ceded Maine to Charles of Anjou without ſufficient powers: but as they were conſcious theſe charges would not bear a ſtrict ſcrutiny, they arraigned him for having obtained exorbitant grants from the crown, and having embezzled the public money. As Suffolk ſeems to have been a bad man and a bad miniſter, it is probable many of theſe circumſtances could be proved againſt him. The court was alarmed at the proſecution, and an expedient was fallen upon to ſave him from preſent ruin. The king ſummoned all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, to his apartment; the priſoner was produced before them, and aſked what he could ſay in his own defence? He denied the charge, but ſubmitted to the king's mercy. Henry expreſſed himſelf not ſatisfied with regard to the firſt impeachment for treaſon; but in conſideration of the ſecond, for miſdemeanors, he declared, that, by virtue of Suffolk's own ſubmiſſion, not by any judicial authority, he baniſhed him the kingdom during five years. The Lords remained ſilent; but as ſoon as they returned to their own Houſe, they entered a proteſt, that his ſentence ſhould nowiſe infringe their privileges.

Thoſe irregular proceedings in favour of Suffolk, afforded reaſon to conclude that he would ſoon be reſtored, not only to his country, but to his former power and credit. His enemies, therefore, employed a captain of a veſſel to intercept him in his paſſage to France. He was ſeized near Dover, his head ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea. No inquiry was ever made after the perpetrators of this murder.

The duke of Somerſet ſucceeded to Suffolk's power in the miniſtry, and credit with the queen; and as he was the perſon under whoſe government the French provinces had been loſt, he became of courſe the object of animoſity and hatred. The duke of York was abſent in Ireland during

all theſe tranſactions; and however it might be ſuſpected that his partiſans had excited and ſupported the proſecution againſt Suffolk, no immediate ground of complaint could, on that account, lie againſt him. But there happened ſoon after an incident which rouſed the jealouſy of the court, and diſcovered to them the extreme danger to which they were expoſed from the pretenſions of that popular prince.

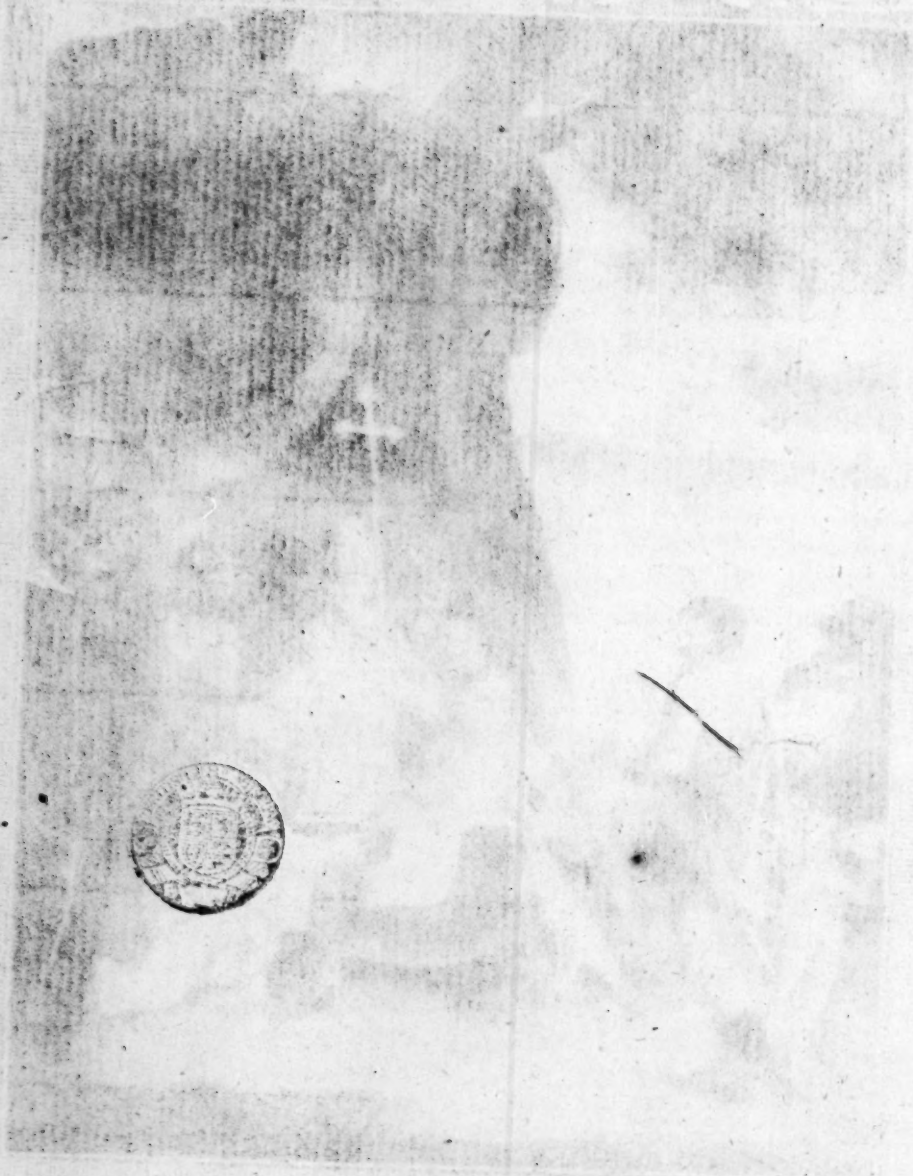
The indirect attack which the parliament had made on the court, by the impeachment of Suffolk, encouraged among the people a ſpirit of mutiny, which, in ſome places, broke forth into inſurrections. Among thoſe, one in Kent was attended with dangerous conſequences. A man of low condition, named John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly over to France for his crimes, taking advantage of the commotions in England, came thither, and endeavoured to avail himſelf of the general turbulence. He aſſumed the name of Mortimer; with the view, as is ſuppoſed, of paſſing himſelf for a ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who had been ſentenced to death by parliament, and executed in the beginning of this reign, merely upon an indictment of high treaſon given in againſt him. On the firſt mention of that popular name, twenty thouſand of the people of Kent flocked to Cade's ſtandard. He immediately publiſhed complaints againſt the abuſes of government, and urged his aſſociates to demand a redreſs of grievances. The court, not yet ſenſible of the danger, ſent againſt the rioters a ſmall force, under the command of Sir Humphry Stafford, who was defeated and ſlain in an action near Sevenoaks; and Cade, advancing towards the capital with his followers, encamped on Blackheath. The king ſent thither a meſſage, to demand the cauſe of their aſſembling in arms; and Cade, in the name of the community, anſwered, that their only aim was to puniſh evil miniſters, and to procure for the people a redreſs of grievances. The king's council deeming thoſe demands ſeditious, a body of fifteen thouſand men was levied, to oppoſe the inſurgents; and Henry marched at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach Cade retired, as if afraid of an engagement, and lay in ambuſh in a wood, not doubting but he ſhould be purſued by the whole royal army. But the king was content with ſending after the fugitives a detachment, and himſelf returned to London. This was an event which Cade had deſired; and therefore ſallying out from his ambuſcade, he cut the detachment in pieces. The citizens of London ſoon after opened their gates to the inſurgents; and Cade maintained, during ſome time, great order and diſcipline among his followers. He conſtantly led them into the fields during the night-time, and publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt plunder and violence of every kind: but being informed that lord Say, the treaſurer, who with Cromer, ſheriff of Kent, was particularly obnoxious to the inſurgents, was in the city, he cauſed that nobleman to be apprehended, and beheaded without any form of trial. Thus, for ſome days, he continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night; but, at length, being unable to reſtrain the riotous diſpoſition of his followers, the citizens reſolved to ſhut their gates againſt him. Cade endeavouring to force his way, there enſued between him and the citizens an engagement, which laſted the whole day. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed of the ſituation of affairs, found means to draw up the ſame night an act of amneſty, which was privately diſperſed among the inſurgents. This meaſure had the deſired effect. Cade found himſelf in the morning abandoned by moſt of his followers, and, retreating to Rocheſter, fled alone into the wolds of Kent. A price being ſet upon his head by proclamation, he was diſcovered in his retreat by one Alexander Eden, who, in recompence for his ſervice, was appointed governor of Dover Caſtle.

It was ſuſpected that Cade had been ſecretly inſtigated to this attempt by the duke of York, in order to make an experiment of the diſpoſitions of the people towards his title

Cowin delin. Chambers Sculpt.

MAGNA CHARTA,
Signed by JOHN,
In Runnemead Meadow.

Published by H.D. Symonds Nov.r 9. 1796.



title and family. It being at the ſame time reported that he intended to return from Ireland, and the court apprehending that he meant to bring with him an armed force, orders were iſſued, in the king's name, for debarring him entrance into England. But the duke refuted his enemies, by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue. He now, however, ſaw the neceſſity of proceeding forward in ſupport of his claim. For this purpoſe his partizans were inſtructed to diſcriminate the opinion of his right by ſucceſſion, and the laws of the kingdom; while the adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter maintained, that the elevation of Henry VI. was founded on general conſent; that the principles of liberty, no leſs than the maxims of internal peace, were injured by the pretenſions of the houſe of York; and if ſo many reiterated acts of legiſlature were now invalidated, the Engliſh muſt be conſidered not a free people who could diſpoſe of their own government, but as a troop of ſlaves who were implicitly tranſmitted from one maſter to another. It was contended, on the other hand, that the maintenance of order in the ſucceſſion of princes, far from doing injury to the people, was eſtabliſhed for the purpoſes of government, and ſerved to prevent the numberleſs inconveniences which muſt reſult from a diſregard to any eſtabliſhed rule. In ſhort, both ſides of the queſtion were argued with ſo much ſhrewdneſs, that the people were divided in ſentiments; and though the noblemen of greateſt power and influence ſeem to have eſpouſed the party of York, the oppoſite cauſe had the advantage of being ſupported by the preſent laws, and by the poſſeſſion of royal authority. There was alſo in the Lancaſtrian party a great number of noblemen, who balanced the power of their antagoniſts, and kept the nation in ſuſpence between them.

The diſpoſition which appeared in a parliament aſſembled ſoon after the arrival of the duke of York from Ireland, increaſed the expectations of his partizans. The Commons ventured to preſent a petition againſt the duke of Somerſet, lord Dudley, Sir John Sutton, and ſeveral others of inferior rank, praying the king to remove them for ever from his perſon and council, and alſo to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court. The king, though diſſatisfied with ſo violent a meaſure againſt his favourites, durſt not openly oppoſe it. He replied, that, except the lords, he would baniſh from court, during a year, all thoſe who were obnoxious to the Houſe of Commons, unleſs he ſhould have occaſion for their ſervice in ſuppreſſing any rebellion. At the ſame time he rejected a bill, which had paſſed both Houſes, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which, in ſeveral of it's clauſes, diſcovered a prejudice againſt the meaſures of the court.

A. D. 1452.] The duke of York, encouraged by thoſe ſymptoms of diſcontent, raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, with which he marched towards London; demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerſet from all power and authority. He unexpectedly found the gates of the city ſhut againſt him; and, on his retreating into Kent, he was followed by the king, at the head of a ſuperior army. A parly enſued: Richard ſtill inſiſted upon the removal of Somerſet, and his ſubmitting to a trial in parliament. The court pretending to comply with his demand, that nobleman was put under arreſt. The duke of York was then perſuaded to pay his reſpects to the king in the royal tent; where, on repeating his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, he was ſurpriſed to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to maintain his innocence. Richard now found that he had been betrayed, and that it was neceſſary for his own ſafety to lower his pretenſions. No violence, however, was attempted againſt him; he was peaceably diſmiſſed, and retired to his ſeat of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

A. D. 1454.] While the duke of York lived in this retreat, the king fell into a diſtemper, which ſo far increaſed his natural imbecility, that it rendered him incapable of maintaining

maintaining even the appearance of royalty. York was appointed, by the parliament, lieutenant and protector of the kingdom; all the adherents of the Lancaſtrian party were diſmiſſed from court; and the duke of Somerſet was ſent to the Tower.

York being thus inveſted with a plenitude of power, continued in the enjoyment of it for ſome time, and conducted himſelf with extraordinary moderation; but the king being ſo far recovered from his diſtemper as to ſeem capable of exerciſing the royal power, the duke of York's enemies urged him to reſume his authority, to releaſe the duke of Somerſet from the Tower, and again to put the adminiſtration into the hands of that nobleman. Richard, unwilling to lay aſide the authority with which he had been inveſted, levied an army; but ſtill without advancing any pretenſions to the crown. He complained only of the king's miniſters, and demanded, as before, a reformation of the government.

A. D. 1455.] A battle was fought at St. Alban's, in which the York party was ſuperior. About five thouſand of the royaliſts were killed; among whom was the duke of Somerſet; the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The king was made priſoner by the duke of York, who treated him with great reſpect and tenderneſs, but took into his hands the whole authority of the crown.

A. D. 1456.] Henry, indolent and ſickly, did not regret that power which was not to be exerciſed without fatigue; but it was otherwiſe with Margaret, his queen. She, naturally bold and active, could not be contented with the appearance alone of authority, which her enemies permitted her to exerciſe. She continued to inſtigate the wretched monarch to a reſumption of the regal power. He was therefore once more induced to aſſert his prerogative.

A. D. 1458.] By this time the Engliſh were convinced that union was the only preſervative for liberty; and therefore, through the mediation of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome others, it was agreed, that all the great leaders on both ſides ſhould meet at London, and be ſolemnly reconciled. Terms were adjuſted; but the ground of difference was not removed, and only an outward reconciliation took place. To notify to the people this event, a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's was appointed, at which the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a leader of one party walked hand in hand with a leader of the oppoſite.

A. D. 1459.] In a ſhort time mutual diſtruſts brought both parties again into the field Their armies met at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, and the Yorkiſts gained ſome advantages; but when a more general action was like to enſue, the night before the intended engagement, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a body of veterans on the ſide of the duke of York, deſerted with all his men to the king; which ſo intimidated the whole army of the Yorkiſts, that next day they ſeparated without ſtriking a ſingle blow. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, accompanied by many of the other leaders, eſcaped to Calais, where his popularity ſoon procured him many partizans, and rendered his power very formidable. The friends of the houſe of York in England diſſembled their reſentments, and waited a more favourable opportunity for renewing hoſtilities.

A. D. 1460.] Warwick, after meeting with ſome ſucceſſes at ſea, landed in Kent; and being met by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction, he marched amidſt the acclamations of the people to London. The city immediately opened it's gates to him; and his force continually increaſing as he marched, he ſoon was in a condition to meet the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to give him battle. It was fought at Northampton, and was decided againſt the royaliſts by the infidelity of lord Grey of Ruthin, who, having the command of Henry's van, deſerted to the enemy during the heat of the action, and ſpread a conſternation through the troops. The ſlaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility.

nobility. The common people were ſpared by orders of the earls of Warwick and Marche. Henry was again made priſoner, and brought back to his capital in triumph by the victors.

A parliament was ſummoned in the king's name, and at Weſtminſter; where the cauſe of Henry, and the duke of York, who arrived from Ireland, was ſolemnly debated. The duke advanced towards the throne; and being met by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him, whether he had yet paid his reſpects to the king? he replied, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then ſtood near the throne, and ſtated to the Houſe of Peers his own claim; exhorted them to do juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſion; and pleaded his cauſe before them as his lawful judges. But the Lords remained ſilent; and Richard, who had expected an invitation to aſcend the throne, finding himſelf diſappointed, withdrew, after having deſired them to reflect on what he had propoſed. The Peers took the ſubject into conſideration, and deſired the preſence of ſome of the moſt conſiderable commoners to aſſiſt their deliberations. In ſeveral ſucceſſive days they heard the reaſons alledged for the duke of York, and propoſed their objections to his claim, founded on former entails, and on the oaths of fealty ſworn to the houſe of Lancaſter. However, the parliament, foreſeeing that to reject his claims entirely would involve the country in a civil war, adopted a meaſure which they thought would accommodate both parties. It was reſolved, that Henry ſhould enjoy the crown during his natural life, and the duke of York be declared his ſucceſſor, in whoſe hands the government ſhould remain in the mean time. The duke acquieſced in this deciſion; Henry, being a priſoner, could not oppoſe it; and the act thus paſſed with the unanimous conſent of the whole legiſlative body.

Richard, notwithſtanding this ſolemn deciſion of the parliament in his favour, ſtill apprehended danger from the genius and ſpirit of queen Margaret, who beheld with the utmoſt concern her ſon, the prince of Wales, then a child, excluded from the ſucceſſion. The duke therefore ſought a pretence for baniſhing her the kingdom. He ſent her, in the king's name, a ſummons to come immediately to London; intending, in caſe of diſobedience, to proceed to extremities againſt her; but the queen was too ardent in defending the rights of her family to be intimidated by this menace. After the defeat at Northampton, ſhe had fled with her infant ſon to Durham, and thence to Scotland; but ſoon returning, ſhe applied to the northern barons, whom ſhe endeavoured to ſtimulate by every motive to give her aſſiſtance. Her amiable and brilliant qualities, joined to the ſympathy which her ſituation excited, procured her many friends. It alſo happened, that the nobility of that quarter, who regarded themſelves as the moſt warlike in the kingdom, were moved by indignation to find the ſouthern barons preſume to diſpoſe of the crown without their concurrence. That they might allure the people to their ſtandard, they promiſed them the ſpoil of all the provinces on the other ſide of the Trent. By theſe means the queen had, beyond all expectation, collected with great celerity an army of twenty thouſand men.

A. D. 1460.] The duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, haſtened thither with a body of five thouſand men, to ſuppreſs, as he imagined, the beginnings of an inſurrection; but on his arrival at Wakefield he found the enemy ſo powerful, that he judged it proper to throw himſelf into Sandal Caſtle, where he was adviſed to remain, until his ſon, the earl of Marche, who was levying forces on the borders of Wales, could advance to his aſſiſtance: but the duke, ſcorning to reſign the victory into the hands of a woman, deſcended into the plain, and offered the enemy battle, which was inſtantly accepted. The great inequality of the two armies was alone ſufficient to decide the victory; but the queen, by ſending a detachment to attack the rear of the duke's army, rendered her advantage more certain. The duke was killed in the action; and the

body being found, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. He perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret. His other son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was brought to lord Clifford; who, to revenge the death of his father, who had been killed in the battle of St. Alban's, murdered him with his own hand. The earl of Salisbury, being wounded and made prisoner, was immediately beheaded, by martial law, at Pomfret, with several other persons of distinction. In this battle there fell near three thousand of the York party.

A. D. 1461.] After this important victory, the queen divided her army; sending the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half-brother to the king, against Edward, the new duke of York. With the other, herself marched towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, with the loss of near four thousand men. The remainder of his army was dispersed; himself escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was made prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders.

Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick. That nobleman, on the approach of the Lancastrians, led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of Londoners, who were attached to his cause; and he gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. While the two armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, withdrew from the field, and thereby afforded a decided victory to the queen. About two thousand three hundred of the vanquished perished in the battle and pursuit, and the king fell again into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonville, to whose care he had been entrusted by the Yorkists, remained with him after the defeat, on assurances of pardon given him by Henry; but Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, ordered the head of that nobleman to be struck off by the executioner.

The queen derived but small advantage from this victory. Young Edward advanced against her from the other side; and collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition of giving her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger, while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and therefore retreated with her army towards the north. Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens. He now determined openly on his claim to the crown, to assume the name and dignity of king, and to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels. But as the consent of the nation, or at least the appearance of it, was necessary to render this bold measure successful; and as the assembling a parliament might occasion too much delay, and be attended with other inconveniences, neither could he with certainty rely upon them; he therefore determined to proceed in a less regular manner, and prevent any impediment being thrown in the way of his elevation. His army was ordered to assemble in St. John's Fields, in consequence of which a great number of persons went to gratify their curiosity. The earl of Warwick, embracing this opportunity, addressed this mixed multitude, and in an appropriate speech inveighed against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster, and then asked, whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king? which being rejected, he then asked, whether they would accept of Edward, eldest son of the duke of York, for their king? and they unanimously exclaimed, "A York! a York!" A number of prelates, peers, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's Castle, where this popular election (or rather the election of his army) was ratified; and the following day, March the 5th, he was proclaimed by the title of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. who while

while in his cradle was proclaimed king both of France and England. The transfer of the regal power from the houſe of Lancaſter to that of York was the cauſe of much calamity to the people, but was almoſt indifferent to Henry, who was utterly incapable of exerciſing the regal authority, and who in the plenitude of his power enjoyed little more than the name of king. The loſs of France rendered this reign unpopular; but when we conſider the number of lives which were loſt, and treaſure expended, in ſupporting a ridiculous claim, and the manifeſt injury this country would have ſuffered if it had been realized, we muſt ſay, that to relinquiſh it was meritorious, and the loſs of France an advantage to England.

After the eſtabliſhment of the Houſe of Commons, every freeholder had a vote for a knight of the ſhire; but in the eighth and tenth years of this reign laws were enacted limiting the electors to ſuch as poſſeſſed forty ſhillings a year in land within the county, which was nearly equal to twenty pounds a year of our preſent money; under a pretence that the electors were too numerous, that they were likely to become outrageous, and that people of ſmall ſubſtance pretended to have a *right* with the beſt knights and eſquires; but the obvious reaſon was, the people being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the miniſtry, would have returned ſuch members to parliament as ſhould check their operations, and therefore, to ſecure a majority, the number of electors were reduced.

"*The firſt inſtance of debt contracted upon parliamentary ſecurity occurs in this reign. The commencement of this pernicious practice deſerves to be noted; a practice the more likely to become pernicious, the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become but too apparent, and threaten the very exiſtence of the nation.*" HUME.

The diſpoſition of Edward was fitted to make his way through ſuch a ſcene of war, havoc, and devaſtation, to a throne which he claimed by hereditary right, but obtained by violence, and the tumultuous election of his own party. He was bold, active, and enterprifing; his hardneſs of heart, and ſeverity of character, rendered him impregnable to all thoſe movements of compaſſion which might relax his vigour in the proſecution of the moſt bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave ſymptoms of his ſanguinary diſpoſition. A publican, whoſe ſign was the crown, having ſaid that he would make his ſon heir to the crown, this harmleſs pleaſantry was interpreted to be ſpoken in deriſion of Edward's aſſumed title, and he was condemned and executed. Such an act of tyranny was a proper prelude to the events which enſued. The ſcaffold and the field inceſſantly ſtreamed with blood, ſpilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whoſe animoſity became implacable. Party diſtinctions were now aſſumed; the Lancaſtrians choſe the red roſe, and the Yorkiſts the white. Theſe civil wars were thus known throughout Europe by the name of the quarrel between the two roſes. Unhappy people of England! What were either of the roſes to you? Whether a Yorkiſt or a Lancaſtrian was your maſter, you were equally oppreſſed. It only concerned the ariſtocracy; to whoſe power and riches it might add, if their party was triumphant; and therefore your blood muſt be ſpilt, and your bodies lie mangled and unburied in the fields, in this unnatural conteſt!

The enterpriſing ſpirit of the queen would not permit her to renounce the pretenſions of the family. Upon her retiring to the north, great numbers flocked to her ſtandard; and ſhe was able, in a few days, to aſſemble an army of ſixty thouſand men in Yorkſhire. On the other ſide, the earl of Warwick conducted young Edward, at the head of forty thouſand men, to oppoſe her. Both armies met near Towton in the county of York. While that of Edward was advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of ſnow; which driving full in the face of the enemy, blinded them; and this advantage, ſeconded by an impetuous onſet, decided the victory in his favour. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter. The routed

army

army was purſued to Tadcaſter with great bloodſhed. It is computed that above thirty-ſix thouſand men fell in the battle and purſuit. Among theſe were ſeveral noblemen; and the earl of Devonſhire, who was taken priſoner, was beheaded, by martial law.

Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but being informed of the defeat, and knowing that they could not now be ſafe any where in England, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied thither by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's ſiſter, had joined the Lancaſtrians; and by Henry duke of Somerſet, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Towton, and whoſe father had been killed in the firſt battle of St. Alban's.

Edward returned to London, and aſſembled a parliament; but as he was in the full poſſeſſion of power, it was eaſy for him to pack one to his mind; and they readily ſhewed their obſequiouſneſs. They recogniſed the title of Edward, by hereditary deſcent, through the family of Mortimer. They paſſed an act of forfeiture and attainder againſt Henry VI. queen Margaret, and their infant ſon, prince Edward; the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter; the earls of Northumberland, Devonſhire, Pembroke, and Wilts; the viſcount Beaumont; the lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Welles, Dacre, Gray of Rougement, and Hungerford; Alexander Hedie, Edmund Mountfort, John Heron, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The parliament veſted all their eſtates in the crown, though their ſole offence was adhering to a prince whom every individual of the parliament had long recogniſed, and whom that very king himſelf had acknowledged as his lawful ſovereign. John earl of Oxford, and his ſon, Aubrey de Vere, were detected in a correſpondence with Margaret; they were tried by martial law before the conſtable, condemned, and executed. Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Thomas Tudenham, and John Montgomery, convicted in the ſame arbitrary court, were executed, and their eſtates forfeited.

A. D. 1462.] Unſubdued by adverſity, the queen reſolved once more to take up arms, with five thouſand men, granted her by the French king, and reinforced by many partizans of the family of Lancaſter. The unfortunate Henry was led onward, to enforce her claims by his preſence: but her efforts again proved unſucceſsful; her little fleet was diſperſed by a tempeſt; while herſelf with ſome difficulty eſcaped, by entering the mouth of the Tweed. She received, ſoon after, a total defeat at Hexham; where the duke of Somerſet, the lords Roos and Hungerford, were made priſoners, and immediately beheaded, by martial law. Many others ſuffered the ſame fate. In ſhort, all who were ſpared in the field, ſuffered on the ſcaffold; and the utter extermination of their adverſaries was now the object of the York party.

Margaret, after this defeat, flying with her ſon into a foreſt, in hopes to conceal herſelf, was beſet during the night by robbers, who deſpoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. Concerning the partition of the ſpoil there aroſe among them a quarrel; during which ſhe fled with her ſon into the thickeſt of the foreſt, where ſhe wandered ſome time, overcome with hunger and fatigue. In this wretched condition, ſhe ſaw a robber approach with his naked ſword; when finding it was impoſſible to eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly embraced the reſolution of throwing herſelf for protection upon his generoſity. She therefore advanced towards him; and preſenting to him the young prince, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of your king's ſon." The man, charmed with the confidence repoſed in him, vowed not only to abſtain from all injury againſt the princeſs, but to devote himſelf entirely to her ſervice. She dwelt ſome time concealed in the foreſt, and was at laſt conducted to the ſea-coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape into Flanders; and having reached her father's court, lived ſeveral years in retirement. The unfortunate Henry was conveyed by ſome of his friends into Lancaſhire,

Lancaſhire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; being at laſt detected, he was delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower. The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter fled to the court of France; where they felt all the miſeries of want.

A. D. 1465.] Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, gave a looſe to his paſſions. In order to reclaim him from his diſſolute courſe of life, the earl adviſed him to marry; and, having obtained his conſent, went over to France, to procure Bona of Savoy as queen; and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilſt Warwick was employed in this negociation, the king rendered it abortive, by marrying Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Sir John Gray, ſlain in battle, fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. The earl being informed of this tranſaction, returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation; and the king, inſtead of ſoothing, reſolved to drive him from the council. The favour which was ſhewn to the queen's party contributed to increaſe the diſcontent of this powerful and ambitious nobleman, and he ſoon formed a plan of revenge. For this purpoſe he ſeduced the king's brother, the duke of Clarence, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. Thus an extenſive and dangerous combination was formed againſt Edward and his miniſtry.

A. D. 1468.] While the confederates were ſpreading among the people the ſeeds of inſurrection, the inhabitants about St. Leonard's Hoſpital, in Yorkſhire, complained that the duties levied for that inſtitution, which were originally voluntary contributions, and allotted for pious uſes, were ſecreted by the managers, and they refuſed to contribute their part. In conſequence of which, civil and eccleſiaſtical cenſures were iſſued againſt them, their goods were diſtrained, and their perſons thrown into gaol. Irritated at theſe violent and arbitrary proceedings, they ſoon after roſe in arms, fell upon the officers of the hoſpital, whom they put to the ſword, and proceeded in a body of fifteen thouſand to the gates of York. Lord Montague, who commanded in thoſe parts, oppoſed them in their progreſs; and having in a ſkirmiſh ſeized Robert Hulderne, their leader, he ordered the delinquent immediately to be led to execution. The malcontents, however, continued in arms; and being ſoon headed by men of greater diſtinction, they advanced ſouthwards, and began to appear formidable to government. Herbert earl of Pembroke, who had received that title on the forfeiture of Jaſper Tudor, was ſent by Edward againſt them, at the head of a body of Welchmen; and he was joined by five thouſand archers, under the command of the earl of Devonſhire; but a trivial difference about quarters ariſing between theſe two noblemen, the earl of Devonſhire, with his archers, retired, and left Pembroke to encounter the revolters with his own troops. The two armies approached each other near Banbury; and Pembroke having taken Sir Henry Nevil in a ſkirmiſh, ordered him immediately to be put to death. The revolters, enraged at this execution, attacked the Welch army, routed them, put them to the ſword without mercy, and, having ſeized Pembroke, they took immediate vengeance on him for the death of their leader. The king, imputing this misfortune to the deſertion of the earl of Devonſhire, ordered him to be executed in a like ſummary manner.

A. D. 1470.] Another inſurrection aroſe in Lincolnſhire, and, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, was headed by Sir Robert Welles, ſon to the lord of that name, who, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt any injurious ſuſpicions of diſloyalty, fled into a ſanctuary. From this retreat he was allured by a promiſe of ſafety; notwithſtanding which he was, with Sir Thomas Dymoc, ſoon after beheaded, by Edward's orders. In a battle which the king fought with the rebels, they were utterly defeated; when Sir Robert Welles and Sir Robert Launde being made priſoners, were immediately beheaded.

Edward, during theſe tranſactions, had entertained ſo little jealouſy of the earl of Warwick, or the duke of Clarence, that he

ſent them with commiſſions to levy forces againſt the inſurgents; but thoſe malcontents, inſtead of diſcharging the truſt repoſed in them, raiſed troops in their own name; and, complaining of grievances, oppreſſions, and bad miniſters, iſſued declarations againſt government. The unexpected defeat of Welles diſconcerted all their meaſures; and they retired northwards into Lancaſhire, where they expected to be joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's ſiſter; but that nobleman refuſing to concur with them, and lord Montague alſo remaining quiet in Yorkſhire, they were obliged to diſband their army, and fly into Devonſhire, where they embarked, and made ſail towards Calais. The deputy governor, whom Warwick had left at that place, ſeeing the earl return as a fugitive, refuſed him admittance; and would not even permit the ducheſs of Clarence to land, though ſhe had been delivered on ſhip-board of a ſon a few days before, and was at that time extremely indiſpoſed. Hereupon the earl ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels which he found lying off Calais, and immediately made ſail towards France.

The king of France, uneaſy at the cloſe alliance between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, and hoping, through the means of Warwick, to re-eſtabliſh the houſe of Lancaſter, received the unfortunate earl with the greateſt demonſtrations of regard. The moſt virulent animoſity had long ſubſiſted between that houſe and the earl of Warwick. The earl's father had been executed by orders from Margaret; himſelf had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had baniſhed the queen, and had put to death, either in the field or on the ſcaffold, all their moſt faithful adherents. His preſent diſtreſſes, however, and the ſervices which it might yet be in his power to render the family of the depoſed king, inclined both parties to an accommodation. Margaret being therefore called from Angiers, where ſhe then reſided, an agreement, founded on common intereſt, was ſoon concluded between them. It was ſtipulated, that Warwick ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of Henry, and endeavour to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne; that the adminiſtration, during the minority of young Edward, ſhould be entruſted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward ſhould marry the lady Anne, ſecond daughter of that nobleman; and that the crown, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue in that prince, ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire excluſion of king Edward and his poſterity. This alliance, ſo repugnant to the ſecret diſpoſition of the contracting parties, was evidently the work of neceſſity; but to enforce the performance of the treaty, the marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated.

Edward foreſaw that it would be eaſy to diſſolve an alliance compoſed of ſuch diſcordant materials. He employed a lady in the train of the ducheſs of Clarence to repreſent to the duke the imprudence of the connection he had formed with the murderers of his father, (*this was not true; for he fell in battle, the victim of his own ambition,*) and the implacable enemies of his family. Clarence was ſtruck with the danger of his ſituation; and, on a promiſe of forgiveneſs, he ſecretly engaged to abandon the Lancaſtrian party.

Warwick, during this negociation, was ſecretly carrying on a correſpondence of the like nature with his brother, the marquis of Montague, who was entirely truſted with Edward; and like motives produced a like reſolution in that nobleman. Confiding in this promiſe of ſupport, Warwick availed himſelf of a ſtorm to croſs the Channel with a body of French troops, and landed at Dartmouth, accompanied by the duke of Clarence.

Edward had made no preparations for this event; and when warned by the duke of Burgundy of his danger, he had anſwered, he wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Warwick on Engliſh ground. When that nobleman landed, the king was engaged in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection in the north. The prodigious popularity of Warwick, the zeal

zeal of the Lancaſtrian party, the ſpirit of diſcontent with which many were infected, and the general inſtability of the Engliſh nation, occaſioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew ſuch multitudes to his ſtandard, that in a very few days his army amounted to ſixty thouſand men, and was continually increaſing. Edward haſtened ſouthwards to encounter him, and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a deciſive action was every hour expected. The rapidity of Warwick's progreſs had incapacitated the duke of Clarence from executing his plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague had here the opportunity of ſtriking the firſt blow. Having communicated the deſign to his adherents, they promiſed him their concurrence. They took to arms in the night-time, and haſtened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters. The king, alarmed at the noiſe, ſtarted from bed, and heard the cry of war uſually employed by the Lancaſtrian party. Lord Haſtings, his chamberlain, informed him of his danger, and urged him to make his eſcape by ſpeedy flight. He had juſt time to get on horſeback, and to hurry, with a ſmall retinue, to Lynne in Norfolk; where he fortunately found ſome ſhips ready, on board of which he inſtantly embarked. He was, however, not yet ſafe from the purſuit of his enemies: the Eaſterlings, or Hanſe Towns, were then at war both with France and England; and ſome ſhips belonging to that people, hovering on the Engliſh coaſt, eſpied the king's veſſels, and gave chace to them; nor was it without extreme difficulty that he made his eſcape into the port of Alcmaer in Holland, where he received a cool reception from the duke of Burgundy, with whom he had ſome time before entered into an alliance.

In the mean time Warwick advanced to London; and taking Henry from his confinement in the Tower, into which he himſelf had been the chief cauſe of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great ſolemnity. A parliament, ſummoned in the name of that prince, met at Weſtminſter; and this, poſſeſſing as much virtue and conſiſtency as the parliament of 1461, who had confirmed the title of Edward, now confirmed the title of Henry. But, conſidering his incapacity for the government, the regency was entruſted to Warwick and Clarence, until the majority of prince Edward; and in default of iſſue in that prince, Clarence was declared ſucceſſor to the crown. All the attainders of the Lancaſtrians were reverſed; while the more conſiderable among the Yorkiſts either fled to the continent, or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries, where the eccleſiaſtical privileges afforded them protection. In London alone, it is computed that no leſs than two thouſand perſons ſaved themſelves in this manner. Among this number was Edward's queen, who was there delivered of a ſon, called by his father's name.

Margaret, the other rival queen, on receiving intelligence of Warwick's ſucceſs, was preparing, with prince Edward, to return to England; but ſhe was detained by contrary winds, until a new revolution threw the Lancaſtrian party into greater diſtreſs than that from which it had juſt emerged.

A. D. 1471.] Edward, though an exile in Holland, had many partizans in England; and, after an abſence of nine months, being ſeconded by a ſmall body of forces granted him by the duke of Burgundy, he made a deſcent at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Finding that the new magiſtrates, who had been appointed by Warwick, kept the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the houſe of York, which of right belonged to him. His partizans, however, ſoon flocked to his ſtandard; and his army continually increaſing, he marched to London, which opened to him it's gates; and the unfortunate Henry was once more ſent into confinement from his throne.

Edward ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the earl of Warwick; who, being reinforced by his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, and his brother, the marquis of Montague, took poſt at Barnet, in the reſolution

lution of coming to an engagement with Edward's forces; but while he lay in this ſituation, the duke of Clarence deſerted to the king in the night-time, and carried over with him a body of twelve thouſand men. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and having rejected all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard an engagement. The battle was fought with obſtinacy on both ſides, and the victory remained long undecided. But an accident, at laſt, threw the balance on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward's cognizance was a ſun; that of Warwick a ſtar with rays; and the miſtineſs of the morning rendering it difficult to diſtinguiſh them, the earl of Oxford, who fought on the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, was, by miſtake, attacked by his friends, and chaſed off the field of battle. Warwick, contrary to his uſual practice, engaged that day on foot, reſolving to ſhew his army that he meant to ſhare with them every fortune. Leading a choſen body of troops into the thickeſt of the ſlaughter, he there fell in the midſt of his enemies. His brother underwent the ſame fate; and as Edward had iſſued orders not to give any quarter, ten thouſand of Warwick's party are ſaid to have been ſlain in the purſuit. There fell about fifteen hundred on the ſide of the victors.

The ſame day on which this battle was fought, queen Margaret and her ſon, now about eighteen years of age, and a prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, ſupported by a ſmall body of French forces She had hardly refreſhed herſelf from the fatigues of the voyage, when ſhe received the fatal news of the death of Warwick, and the total deſtruction of her party. Though ſhe had hitherto ſuſtained her fortitude under ſo many diſaſters, this irretrievable blow to the intereſts of her family overpowered her with affliction. Her grief, for the firſt time, found way in a torrent of tears; and, yielding to her unhappy fate, ſhe took ſanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampſhire; but encouraged by the appearance of Tudor earl of Pembroke, the earl of Devonſhire, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to perſevere to the laſt extremity in aſſerting the poſſeſſion of the throne. She proceeded through the counties of Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter, increaſing her army as ſhe advanced; but was at laſt overtaken by Edward, at Tewkeſbury, on the banks of the Severn. Her party was here totally defeated. The earl of Devonſhire and lord Wenlock were killed in the field. The duke of Somerſet, with twenty other perſons of eminence, having taken ſanctuary in the church, were dragged out, and immediately beheaded. About three thouſand Lancaſtrians fell in battle; and the army was entirely diſperſed.

Margaret and the prince were made priſoners after the battle, and brought into the preſence of Edward. The young prince appeared quite undaunted; and being aſked, in an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade the king's dominions? he replied, that he came thither to claim his juſt inheritance. The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; when the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, lord Haſtings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, dragged the prince into the next apartment, and there diſpatched him with their daggers. To complete the tragedy, Henry, who had long been the paſſive ſpectator of thoſe violences, was at laſt doomed to deſtruction. It was generally ſuppoſed that the duke of Glouceſter, afterwards Richard the Third, entering his chamber alone, murdered him in cold blood. Of all thoſe that were taken, none was ſuffered to ſurvive but Margaret; whoſe freedom the king of France purchaſed for the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIV.

Edward's Deſign of invading France—Pacific Meaſures adopted—Duke of Clarence condemned—Death of Edward, &c.—Adminiſtration of the Duke of Glouceſter during the Minority of Edward V.—His artful Means of obtaining the Crown, &c.

PEACE being now fully reſtored to the nation, Edward ſummoned a parliament, which, with it's uſual obſequiouſneſs, ratified all his acts, and recognized
A. D. 1472.] his authority. But this prince, at length freed from the danger of any competitor for the crown, again devoted himſelf wholly to pleaſure and amuſement. In a ſhort time, however, he was rouzed from this ſtate of diſſipation by the proſpect of foreign conqueſts; in which it is probable that he engaged more from a deſire of increaſing his popularity, than from motives of ambition.

A. D. 1474.] A league was formed between England and the duke of Burgundy, in which the former ſtipulated to paſs the ſeas with an army exceeding ten thouſand men, and to invade the French territories; while the latter promiſed to join him with all his forces. The king was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at leaſt the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; the duke was to acquire Champaigne, with ſome other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burden of homage to the crown of France. Neither party was to make peace without the conſent of the other.

Edward paſſed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers, attended by all the chief nobility of England. But their hopes were diſappointed, when they found, on entering the French territories, that St. Poll, the conſtable of France, who had ſecretly promiſed to join them, had broke his engagement, and that even the duke of Burgundy brought them no aſſiſtance. That prince, tranſported by his ardent temper, had carried all his forces to a great diſtance, on the frontiers of Germany, and againſt the duke of Lorrain. Though he came in perſon to Edward, and endeavoured to apologize for this breach of treaty, there was no proſpect that his troops would ſoon be able to make a conjunction with the Engliſh; a circumſtance which gave great diſguſt to Edward, and inclined him to hearken to the advances which Louis earneſtly made for an accommodation. In conſequence of this negociation, the two kings had an interview upon the bridge of Perpignan; and, upon the promiſe of a ſtipulated ſum, Edward agreed to withdraw his forces.

A. D. 1477.] Edward, on his arrival in England, again reſigned himſelf to the ſame diſſipated courſe of life which had formerly diſtinguiſhed his reign; but amidſt the moſt licentious indulgence of his amorous inclinations, he alſo gave way to the impulſe of private paſſions which were unworthy of a ſovereign and a ſtateſman. Jealouſy of his brother Clarence had cauſed him to neglect the advances which were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heireſs of Burgundy; to whom he ſent propoſals of eſpouſing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to the queen, who ſtill maintained an entire aſcendant over him. This overture, however, was rejected with diſdain; and Edward, reſenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted France to proceed unmoleſted in her conqueſts over his defenceleſs ally.

The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendſhip, which he had

forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. A pretext was therefore ſought to ruin him; and the openneſs of his haſty temper ſoon furniſhed the wiſhed-for occaſion. The king, hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow in Warwickſhire, had killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loſs, broke into a paſſion, and wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed the king to that act. For this trifling exclamation, Burdet was tried for his life, and publicly executed at Tyburn. About the ſame time, one John Stacey, an eccleſiaſtic, much connected with the duke, as well as with Burdet, was expoſed to a like iniquitous and barbarous proſecution. This clergyman, being more converſant in mathematics and aſtronomy than was uſual in that age, lay under the imputation of necromancy with the ignorant vulgar; and the court availed itſelf of this popular rumour to effect his deſtruction. He was accordingly brought to his trial for that imaginary crime, was condemned, put to the torture, and executed. The duke of Clarence exclaimed loudly againſt the iniquity of theſe proſecutions; and the king, either offended with this freedom, or uſing it as a pretence againſt him, committed him to the Tower, had him arraigned before the Houſe of Peers, and appeared in perſon as his accuſer. In thoſe times innocence was no protection againſt the violence of the prevailing party, and the duke was therefore found guilty. The Houſe of Commons was no leſs ſlaviſh and unjuſt; they petitioned for the execution of Clarence, and afterwards paſſed againſt him a bill of attainder. The only favour which the king granted his brother, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his death, and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmſey in the Tower;—a whimſical choice, implying that he had an extraordinary paſſion for that liquor. The duke left, by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick, two children; a ſon, created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury. Both this prince and princeſs were alſo unfortunate in their end, and died a violent death.

A. D. 1481.] The remainder of Edward's life was ſpent in riot and debauchery; in uſeleſs treaties with France, in which he was conſtantly deceived; and in empty menaces againſt the power that had deluded him. His parliaments were merely the miniſters of his will; and the laſt conſented, at his requeſt, to a war with France, at a time when his alliances on the continent were ſo broken, that it was impoſſible ſuch a meaſure could ſucceed. The people, however, ſeemed equally pleaſed with the proſpect of an expedition which tended only to impoveriſh the nation; and there prevailed a general hope of once more conquering France. While Edward was making preparations for this enterpriſe, he was ſeized with a diſtemper of which he expired in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Never was the throne of England diſgraced by a greater monſter! Having obtained it by force, he eſtabliſhed it in blood! His cruelty, perfidy, and low debauchery, are beyond all example. He accuſed the rich of treaſon, that he might confiſcate their eſtates; and oppreſſed the people by arbitrary levies of money which was ſpent in riot. He even became infected with avarice. In ſhort, he was the perpetrator of every vice, and deſtitute of every virtue, unleſs courage is allowed to be one.

Beſide five daughters, he left two ſons; Edward prince of Wales, his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard duke of York, in his ninth: he had alſo a numerous illegitimate offſpring, by different women.

A. D. 1482.] The kingdom was now divided into two factions; one conſiſted of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers, her brother, and the marquis of Dorſet, her ſon; the other was compoſed of the ancient nobles, who envied the ſudden elevation and unlimited credit of that family. At the head of the latter party was the duke of Buckingham; a man no leſs diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed for birth and fortune, than by his great alliances and ſhining abilities.

Edward, by his laſt words, had entruſted the regency to his brother the duke of Glouceſter, then abſent in the north, and he had ineffectually exhorted the rival nobles to live in peace and unanimity during the tender years of his ſon: he had no ſooner expired than their jealouſies broke out; and all were anxious to conciliate the favour of the duke of Glouceſter.

A. D. 1483.] That prince, whoſe ambition was unbounded, as his conſcience was unreſtrained, already aſpired to the throne. He was ſenſible the moſt profound diſſimulation was neceſſary for effecting his criminal purpoſes; by his profeſſions of attachment he gained credit with the queen, and prevailed on her to countermand the order which ſhe had iſſued to her brother, the earl of Rivers, to levy an army; and to direct him to bring up the young prince from the caſtle of Ludlow to London, with only his ordinary retinue. Meanwhile he ſet out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry; and having reached Northampton, was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was alſo attended by a ſplendid retinue. Being informed that the king was hourly expected at this place, he reſolved to await his arrival, under colour of conducting him to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehenſive that the place could not accommodate ſo many attendants, ſent his pupil forward, by another road, to Stony Stratford; and came himſelf to Northampton, in order to apologize for this meaſure, and pay his reſpects to the duke of Glouceſter. He was received with the greateſt appearance of cordiality; and proceeded next day, in company with Glouceſter and Buckingham, on the road to join the king; but, as he was entering Stony Stratford, he was arreſted by orders from the duke of Glouceſter. At the ſame time the latter put under a guard Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons by her former huſband, with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who held a conſiderable office in the king's houſehold; and all the priſoners were inſtantly conducted to Pomfret. Glouceſter approached the young prince with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect; and endeavoured to ſatisfy him with regard to the violences committed on his uncle and brother; but all his apologies could not abate the diſpleaſure of Edward, who bore a ſtrong attachment to thoſe near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated. This revolution, however, was extremely acceptable to the people; and the duke was received in London with the loudeſt acclamations.

When the queen was informed of her brother's impriſonment, ſhe began to ſuſpect that Glouceſter entertained dangerous deſigns againſt her whole family; accordingly ſhe fled into the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, attended by the marquis of Dorſet, another ſon by her firſt marriage; and ſhe carried thither the five princeſſes, with her ſon the duke of York. But Glouceſter, anxious to have this young prince in his power, propoſed to take him from the ſanctuary by force, and for this purpoſe he made direct application to the privy council. At laſt the queen, by the perſuaſion of the primate and the archbiſhop of York, was induced to comply; and claſping her child in her arms, with a tranſport of affection which indicated the moſt fatal apprehenſions, ſhe delivered him into the hands of the prelates. In a few days after this tranſaction, the duke of Glouceſter, who had, by the council, been made protector of the realm, upon a pretence of guarding the perſons of the young princes from danger, conveyed them both to the Tower. His next reſource was to ſpread a report of their illegitimacy; and, by pretending obſtacles, to put off the day appointed for the young king's coronation. Lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the firſt to diſcloſe his fears of the protector's evil deſigns; and he communicated his ſuſpicions to lord Haſtings, who at firſt conſidered the ſuſpicions as imaginary, but was ſoon undeceived; for Cateſby, a man of a profligate character, and entirely devoted to the intereſts of the protector, was ſent to ſound him, and to try whether he could not be

be brought over to aſſiſt the projected uſurpation. Haſtings, however, proved unalterable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with marks of friendſhip; and his ruin was therefore reſolved on by the protector.

On the day on which lord Rivers and the other priſoners who were confined in Pomfret Caſtle were beheaded, the protector ſummoned a council in the Tower, whither, as a member of that body, repaired lord Haſtings, who entertained not the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of his own ſafety. The duke of Glouceſter was capable of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. He joined the council at nine o'clock in the morning with a moſt chearful countenance, and diſcovered unuſual good-humour. Indulging himſelf in the moſt familiar converſation, he complimented the biſhop of Ely on his early ſtrawberries, and begged to have a diſh of them. The protector then left the council, as if called away by other buſineſs; and returned about an hour after, with his behaviour totally changed. In a tone of voice that expreſſed the ſtrongeſt reſentment, "My lords," cried he, "what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve who have conſpired againſt my life?" At this queſtion the council ſtood aſtoniſhed; and, after a ſhort ſilence, lord Haſtings replied, that whoever did ſo, deſerved to be puniſhed as a traitor. "Thoſe traitors," cried the protector, "are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his miſtreſs, with others, their aſſociates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" Thus ſaying, he laid bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. But the counſellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked at each other with amazement; and above all lord Haſtings, who, having ſince Edward's death maintained an intrigue with Jane Shore, was particularly anxious concerning the iſſue of ſuch extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," ſaid he, "if they be guilty of thoſe crimes, they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment."—"And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your ifs and your ands? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: yourſelf are a traitor; and I ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me." He then ſtruck the table with his hand, and the room was inſtantly filled with armed men. "I arreſt thee for high treaſon," continued he, turning to Haſtings, and at the ſame time gave him in charge to the ſoldiers. Haſtings was immediately ſeized, hurried out to an area before the Tower chapel, and there beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the way. Two hours after a proclamation was read to the citizens of London, palliating the ſuddenneſs of his execution.

Lord Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and other counſellors, were committed priſoners in the different apartments of the Tower; and the protector, to give a colour to his accuſations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be ſeized; alſo ſummoning herſelf to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs, which could be admitted even in that ignorant age, could be produced againſt her, he directed that ſhe might be tried in the ſpiritual court for her incontinence; and ſhe did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's, in the preſence of the whole congregation. Jane Shore was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but had unhappily been ſeduced by the late king, with whom ſhe lived as one of his miſtreſſes. In other reſpects, her character was blameleſs, and ſhe was particularly celebrated for her generous and charitable diſpoſition. She languiſhed out her life in ſolitude and indigence for more than forty years after this ſentence.

After the murder of Haſtings, the protector no longer made a ſecret of his intentions to uſurp the crown. He cauſed it to be circulated, that Edward had been privately married to lady Eleanor Talbot, before he eſpouſed the lady Elizabeth Grey, and that conſequently the offſpring of the laſt marriage was illegitimate; his partizans maintained

maintained, that the act of attainder paſſed againſt the duke of Clarence had virtually incapacitated his children from ſucceeding to the crown; and theſe two families being ſet aſide, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the houſe of York. In conſequence of theſe abſurd pretenſions, Dr. Shaw, in a ſermon at St. Paul's, broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Glouceſter, whom he pronounced as alone capable to reſtore the loſt glory and honour of the nation; and it was concerted that the duke ſhould enter the church in the midſt of the diſcourſe, when it was expected the congregation would cry out, "God ſave king Richard!" but by a miſtake worthy of the farce, the protector arrived too late; the preacher was abaſhed; and the audience maintained a profound ſilence.

A new expedient was now tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely devoted to the protector, ſummoned an aſſembly of the citizens; at which the duke of Buckingham harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and drew of that prince an extremely favourable character. He then aſked them whether they would have the duke for king? and ſtopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, "God ſave king Richard!" Obſerving that all his eloquence had no effect, he turned about to the mayor, and aſked the reaſon of the general ſilence. The mayor replied, that perhaps the audience did not underſtand him. Buckingham then repeated his diſcourſe with ſome variation, aſked again the ſame queſtion, and was received as before. "I now ſee the cauſe," ſaid the mayor; "the citizens are not accuſtomed to be harangued by any but their recorder, and know not how to anſwer a perſon of your grace's quality." The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the ſubſtance of the duke's ſpeech; but being averſe to the office, he took care, through the whole diſcourſe, to have it underſtood, that he only conveyed to them the ſenſe of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience remained ſilent. "This is wonderful obſtinacy!" cried the duke, and again repeated his queſtion. At laſt ſome of the citizens, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's ſervants, raiſed a feeble cry, "God ſave king Richard!" The ſentiments of the nation, it was ſaid, were now ſufficiently declared; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham, with the mayor, haſtened to Baynard's Caſtle, where the protector then reſided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

When Richard was told that a great multitude appeared in the court, he refuſed to appear to them, under the pretence that he was apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety. Buckingham turned this circumſtance to advantage; and obſerved to the citizens, that the prince was ignorant of the whole deſign. At laſt the duke was perſuaded to come forth, but he ſtill kept at ſome diſtance, and aſked the meaning of their intruſion. Buckingham told him, that the nation was reſolved to have him for king. The protector declared his firm reſolution of maintaining his loyalty to the preſent ſovereign, and recommended to them the ſame conduct. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they muſt look out for one who would be more compliant. He immediately accepted of the crown, and thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful ſovereign.

CHAPTER XV.

Acceſſion of Richard III.—Deſertion and Execution of the Duke of Buckingham—Invaſion by the Earl of Richmond—Death of the King, &c.

MOST writers have ſaid, that Richard was no ſooner ſeated on the the throne, than he engaged Sir John Tyrrell, who aſſociated with him three others, namely Slater, Dighton, and Foreſt, to ſmother the young princes who were in the Tower, one night when they were aſleep, and buried them at the foot of the ſtairs; and that he might not appear to have any ſhare in this horrid tranſaction, it was executed while he was on a tour to the north, and crowned a ſecond time at York. This was eſtabliſhed on the confeſſion of the parties concerned, in the next reign. Henry VII. gave orders to ſearch the place for their bodies, but they could not be found; it was then ſaid, they had been removed by Richard. However, in the reign of Charles II. two bodies were found by accident, by ſome workmen who were digging in the place where they were reported to have been put; and being concluded to be their remains, they were by order of the king interred under a marble monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

A. D. 1483.]

The former part of this ſtory has been diſputed by other writers of credit; who ſay, that it was the intereſt of Henry and his partizans to ruin the credit of his predeceſſor by every means in their power. According to Buck, (Hiſtory of Richard III. p. 85,) "Edward died not long after, of ſickneſs and infirmity, being of a weak and ſickly diſpoſition." And it is very probable that the perſon who was executed under the name of Perkin Warbeck, in the next reign, was his brother, the duke of York: however, he was acknowledged as ſuch by the principal Yorkiſts, and the people were generally of opinion that he was not murdered by Richard. Further authorities may be found in Carte, Guthrie, lord Orford, and others. It is certainly very ſingular that their bodies could not be found by Henry VII. when Tyrrell and Dighton, who murdered and buried them, were living, and that they ſhould afterwards be found in the reign of Charles II. It has been ſaid that theſe ſkeletons were much larger, and therefore could not be their's. We have ſtated theſe contrary opinions for the ſatisfaction of our readers, without deciding poſitively on either, but we are moſt inclined to think that they were not murdered by Richard.

To give the greater validity to his uſurped power, Richard cauſed himſelf to be crowned firſt at London, and afterwards at York. He began his adminiſtration with beſtowing rewards on thoſe who had been inſtrumental in placing him on the throne: but the duke of Buckingham, who had been highly inſtrumental in Richard's elevation, not ſatisfied with the great rewards he had received, ſoon began to form a conſpiracy againſt the government, and attempted to overthrow that uſurpation, which himſelf had ſo zealouſly contributed to eſtabliſh. At firſt, however, this aſpiring nobleman heſitated between ambition and expedience, on whom the crown ſhould be conferred; but at length ſacrificing his ſecret wiſhes, he reſolved to declare for Henry earl of Richmond, who was at that time detained in a kind of honourable cuſtody by the duke of Bretagne. On account of his deſcent, which ſeemed to give him ſome pretenſions to the crown, he had incurred the jealouſy both of the late and preſent reign. He had long lived in exile; and

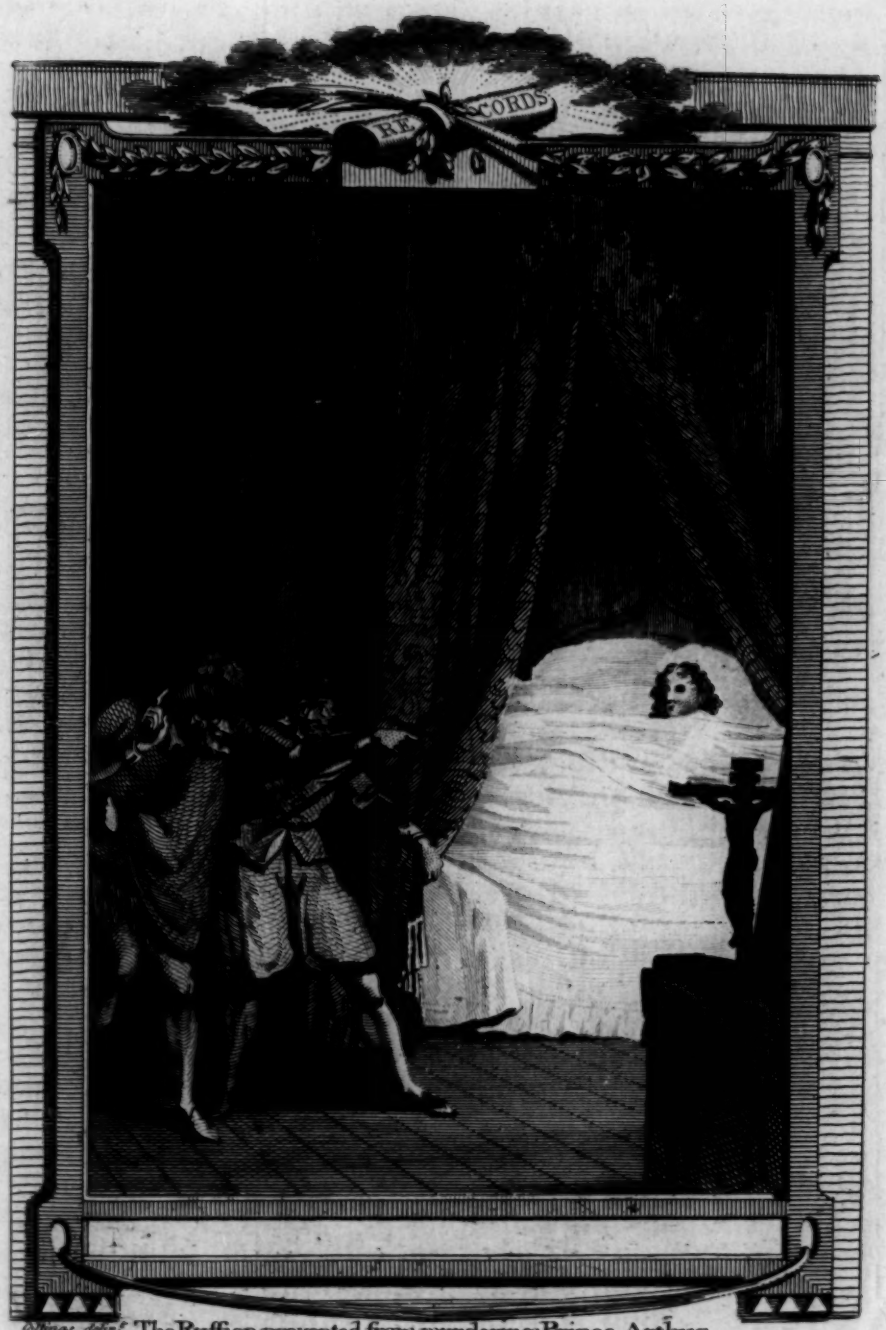
RICHARD III

HENRY VII

HENRY VIII

EDWARD VI

MARY



Wheatley delin.f The Ruffian prevented from murdering Prince Arthur.

and was, at one time, delivered to the ambaſſadors of Edward, who were preparing to carry him over to England; when the duke of Bretagne, who delivered him, repented of what he had done, and took him from the ambaſſadors juſt as they were leading him on ſhipboard. This was the youth for whom the duke of Buckingham had deſtined the crown; and a negociation was begun between them for that purpoſe. Henry's hereditary right to the crown was doubtful; but the deteſtation of Richard's conduct ſerved to ſtrengthen his claims. To give additional weight to his title, however, a marriage was projected between him and the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of the late king.

Richard apprized of the conſpiracy, rapidly levied troops, and ſummoned Buckingham to appear at court; that nobleman replied by taking arms in Wales; but at that very time there happened to fall ſuch heavy rains, ſo inceſſant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, ſwelled to a height which rendered them impaſſable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his aſſociates. The Welchmen, partly moved by ſuperſtition at this extraordinary event, partly diſtreſſed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himſelf deſerted by his followers, put on a diſguiſe, and took ſhelter in the houſe of Banniſter, an old ſervant of his family: but being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Saliſbury, and was inſtantly tried and executed, according to the ſummary method practiſed in that age. The other conſpirators, hearing of his misfortune, diſperſed; and the marquis of Dorſet and the biſhop of Ely made their eſcape beyond ſea; ſome who fell into Richard's hands were executed.

Meantime the earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had ſet ſail from St. Malo's, with a body of five thouſand men, levied in foreign parts: but he appeared not on the coaſt of England till after the diſperſion of his party; and he found himſelf obliged to return to the court of Bretagne.

A. D. 1484.] Richard, emboldened by the ill ſucceſs of his enemies, now ventured to ſummon a parliament; a meaſure which he had hitherto thought adviſeable to decline, from an apprehenſion that his title might be rejected by that aſſembly. The parliament, however, recogniſed his authority, and acknowledged his right to the crown. An act was paſſed, confirming the illegitimacy of Edward's children; and an act of attainder alſo was confirmed againſt Henry earl of Richmond. The duties of tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for life; and his only ſon, Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales. Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, paſſed ſome popular laws, particularly one againſt the late practice of extorting money by way of benevolence.

To gain the confidence of the Yorkiſts, Richard paid his court to the queen-dowager with much addreſs, and made ſuch proteſtations of his friendſhip, that ſhe ventured to leave her ſanctuary, and put herſelf and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he ſoon carried farther his views for the eſtabliſhment of his power. He had married Anne, the ſecond daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, ſon of Henry VI. By this princeſs he had but one ſon, who died about this time. The princeſs dying ſoon after, it was ſuſpected ſhe was carried off by poiſon, though without any ſort of evidence. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal diſpenſation, to eſpouſe this princeſs, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her authority, agreed to this alliance; the princeſs herſelf aſſented to it; and there is a letter, written with her own hand, preſerved

ſerved in the Arundel collection, expreſſing her impatience till her marriage with Richard took effect, and preſſing the duke of Norfolk to uſe all his intereſt to bring it to a concluſion; "as the king," ſhe ſays, "was her only joy in the world."—*Buck's Life of Richard the Third*, p. 128, 129.

A. D. 1485.] The earl having ſet ſail from Harfleur in Normandy, with about two thouſand men, landed at Milford Haven, in Wales, without oppoſition. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottingham, in the center of the kingdom; and having given commiſſions to different perſons in the ſeveral counties to oppoſe his enemy, himſelf propoſed to fly, on the firſt alarm, to the place expoſed to danger. Sir Rice ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert were entruſted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deſerted to Henry, and the latter made but a feeble oppoſition. Upon the news of this deſcent, Richard inſtantly reſolved to meet his antagoniſt, who boldly advanced with the ſame intention. The two rivals at laſt approached each other at Boſworth, near Leiceſter; Henry at the head of ſix thouſand men, and Richard with an army of above double the number; but the chief confidence of the latter was in the ſecret aſſurances of Stanley, who with a body of ſeven thouſand men hovered near the field of battle, and declined engaging on either ſide.

Richard, perceiving his enemy advance, drew up his army in order of battle. He entruſted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk, while himſelf, with the crown on his head, took poſt in the main body. The van of Richmond's army, conſiſting of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, Sir John Savage the left; and Henry, accompanied by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke, placed himſelf in the main body. Lord Stanley, who married Henry's mother, in the mean time poſted himſelf in one flank, between the two armies, while his brother took his ſtation directly oppoſite. Richard, obſerving him thus in a ſituation for joining either army, immediately ſent orders to unite himſelf to the main body; but the other refuſing to comply, he gave orders for inſtantly beheading lord Stanley's ſon, whom he had kept with him as a pledge of his father's fidelity; but was diſſuaded from putting it in execution, as it could be of no advantage to him.

The two armies now advancing towards each other, the battle began with a ſhower of arrows, and ſoon the adverſe fronts proceeded to cloſe action. Immediately lord Stanley, declaring for the earl of Richmond, turned the fortune of the day: for this meaſure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportionate effect on both armies; it inſpired unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers, while it threw thoſe of Richard into confuſion. The intrepid tyrant, perceiving the danger of his ſituation, ſpurred up his horſe into the thickeſt of the fight; while Richmond quitted his ſtation behind, to encourage his troops by his preſence in the front. Richard, deſcrying him, drove againſt him with fury, determining that either Henry's death or his own ſhould decide the conteſt. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, ſtandard bearer to the earl; he diſmounted Sir John Cheyney; and he was now within each of Richmond, who ſtood firm to oppoſe him; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded the uſurper; who, fighting bravely to the laſt moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and periſhed by a death too honourable for his multiplied enormities.

In this battle about four thouſand of the vanquiſhed fell; among whom were the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury. The loſs on the ſide of the victors was inconſiderable. Sir William Cateſby, a great inſtrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and ſoon after beheaded, with ſome others, at Leiceſter. The body of

THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

HENRY VII. receiving RICHARD'S Coronet.

of Richard was found among a heap of ſlain: it was thrown acroſs a horſe, and thus carried, amidſt a crowd of inſulting ſpectators, to Leiceſter, where it was interred in the Gray-Friars church of that place.

Richard's crown being found by one of Henry's ſoldiers on the field of battle, it was immediately placed on the head of the conqueror, while the whole army cried out, "Long live king Henry!"

Thus ended the reign of Richard III. and with him became extinct the race of the Plantagenet kings, who had been in poſſeſſion of the crown during the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years. Thus ended alſo the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, by which moſt of the ancient families in the kingdom were extinguiſhed, and more than an hundred thouſand men loſt their lives, either by the ſword or the executioner.

Richard was certainly a bad man, and guilty of much injuſtice, and many murders, to get poſſeſſion of the throne; but by no means ſo bad as the courtly writers of the Lancaſtrian party have repreſented him. Lord Verulam ſays, he was in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the Engliſh nation, and an excellent lawgiver: of this indeed many of his ſtatutes afford irrefragable proofs; they are full of equity and humanity; and though paſſed in all the confidence of power, and pride of conqueſt, (a junction too often employed by uſurpers to trample on the liberties of the nation,) were adapted to preſerve the eaſe, quiet, and rights of the ſubject. His perſonal, as well as moral and political character, has been miſrepreſented: he is ſaid to have been deformed, and that he was born with long hair and teeth; in ſhort, that he was a horrid figure. Notwithſtanding, there are hiſtorians of undoubted veracity, who had opportunities of ſeeing him, and ancient pictures, which ſhew the contrary; and that the whole of his deformity amounted to no more, than that he was ſhort and thick, like his father, whom he much reſembled in the face, which was comely, though ſtern and warlike.

CHAPTER XVI.

Acceſſion of Henry VII.—Lambert Simnel perſonates the Earl of Warwick—Revolt of Ireland—Battle of Stoke—War with France—Perkin Warbeck ſupported by the Ducheſs of Burgundy—Retreat of Perkin—Battle of Blackheath—Death of the King, &c.

NO prince, who had aſcended the Engliſh throne ſince the Conqueſt, had a worſe claim to the ſovereignty than Henry. John of Gaunt, fourth ſon of Ed-

A. D. 1485.] ward III. had three wives; Henry IV. king of England, was his ſon by the firſt marriage, but that race became extinct in Henry VI. His third wife, Catharine, widow of Sir Otter Swineford, had lived with him in adultery, and while in that ſtate bore him four children; the eldeſt, John Beaufort duke of Somerſet, had iſſue John, who ſucceeded him; he had only one daughter, Margaret, who eſpouſed Edmund earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI. and ſon of Sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V. She bore him Henry, who after his father's death inherited the title and fortune of Richmond; and in the event of his mother's death would inherit her fortune and claims. The children of John of Gaunt, by Catharine, were legitimatized by an act of parliament, and might ſucceed to honours and eſtates; but a particular exception was made, that they ſhould not ſucceed to the crown. Henry was therefore deprived of any claim to hereditary right, by expreſs act

of parliament; and if that had been admitted, his mother, who was ſtill living, had the prior right. Neither had he any claim from the choice of the people, for they were generally attached to the houſe of York. He was therefore an uſurper, and obtained the crown by conqueſt, through the Lancaſtrian faction and his foreign troops. However weak the title might be by hereditary deſcent, it was the beſt; on that he advanced his claims, and determined to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of regal authority, from which nothing but force of arms, and a ſucceſsful war, ſhould expel him.

The day after Henry arrived in London, he cauſed the earl of Warwick, ſon of the duke of Clarence, to be removed from the caſtle of Sheriff Hutton, and confined him in the Tower, to prevent any effort being made to place him on the throne; and in an aſſembly of the chief nobility and prelates, he pledged himſelf to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. but as he had an unconquerable averſion to the houſe of York, he determined to delay his marriage till after his coronation, leſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed he reigned in right of his wife; and ſhe was not crowned till two years after. Henry was crowned the 30th of October, by cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He appointed a body guard of archers, called yeomen, to attend his perſon; and theſe have been continued by his ſucceſſors, who have augmented them to one hundred, beſides ſeventy ſupernumeraries. This is the firſt inſtance of a ſtanding army. At this coronation it appears that Edward V. walked in the proceſſion.—See *Hiſtoric Doubts*, p. 65, by lord Orford, better known as Horace Walpole.

Henry, like his predeceſſor, did not venture to call a parliament till he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the government, when he aſſembled them in his own name; and they, like other parliaments, who are not the actual repreſentatives of the people, were obſequious to his will. They entailed the crown upon him, enacting, "that the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide, in him and the heirs of his body; and this ſtatute was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull, in which the titles of deſcent and conqueſt are mentioned. They reverſed the act of attainder paſſed by Richard's parliament, againſt Henry and his adherents. They next paſſed an act of attainder againſt Richard, and ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen who had ſupported him, and their eſtates were confiſcated. Henry thought proper to ſoften this act of ſeverity in the parliament, by an act of clemency in the prerogative, and publiſhed a general pardon for all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, on condition of their ſubmitting within a limited time; and immediately a great number left their ſanctuaries, and took the oath of allegiance. The laſt day of the ſeſſions, the Commons addreſſed the king, as he ſat upon the throne, that he would be pleaſed to marry the princeſs Elizabeth without delay, that he might have heirs of his body; and the Lords made the ſame requeſt. Henry promiſed to gratify them, and prorogued the parliament to January.

A. D. 1486.] On the 18th of January Henry performed his promiſe to the nation and the houſe of York, by eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth, whom he never cordially eſteemed.

He ſoon after reſolved to make a progreſs into the north, where the friends of the houſe of York, and even the partizans of Richard, were numerous; in hopes of extinguiſhing, by his preſence and converſation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham, he heard that viſcount Lovel, with Sir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, had ſecretly withdrawn from his ſanctuary at Colcheſter: but this information not appearing to him of ſuch importance as to ſtop his journey, he proceeded to York; where he received intelligence that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to beſiege the city of Worceſter; and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry ſent his uncle Jaſper, whom he had created duke of Bedford, to oppoſe them, with orders to try

previouſly

EDWARD PLANTAGENET SHEWN TO THE PEOPLE.

previouſly the effects of offering a general pardon. This expedient proved ſucceſsful; for Lovel was ſo terrified with the fear of deſertion among his troops, that he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf, and his army ſubmitted to the king's clemency. The other rebels, hearing of this tranſaction, raiſed the ſiege of Worceſter, and diſperſed themſelves. Lovel, after lurking ſome time in Lancaſhire, made his eſcape to Flanders, where he was protected by the ducheſs of Burgundy. The Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn; but the younger, pleading that he had been miſled by his brother, obtained a pardon.

The birth of a prince now added to Henry's joy; to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous Britiſh king, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived it's deſcent.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this haſty rebellion, the ſeverity he exerciſed againſt the earl of Warwick, and the harſhneſs with which he treated the queen, created a diſguſt to his government, which the following extraordinary incidents evinced.

A report had for ſome time prevailed that Richard duke of York had eſcaped from the Tower, that he was ſtill living, and ſomewhere concealed in England. The people having retained a ſtrong attachment to the houſe of York, induced one Richard Simon, an enterpriſing prieſt of Oxford, to avail himſelf of this incident to diſturb the government of Henry, by raiſing a pretender. For this purpoſe he choſe Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, a baker's ſon, who poſſeſſed accompliſhments ſuperior to his condition. He therefore began to train him to perſonate the duke of York: but at this time a report was circulated that the earl of Warwick, ſon of the duke of Clarence, had eſcaped from the Tower; and as this was more recent, Simon altered his plan, and made his pupil aſſume the character of Warwick. The duke of Clarence had been lieutenant of Ireland in the reign of Henry IV. where his memory was ſtill cheriſhed with reſpect; Simon therefore determined that this ſhould be the firſt place of action for his pupil.

The plot ſo well ſucceeded, that Simnel no ſooner preſented himſelf to the earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that nobleman acknowledged him, and the inhabitants of Dublin univerſally tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as the true Plantagenet. They lodged him in the caſtle, crowned him with a diadem from a ſtatue of the Virgin, and proclaimed him king by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole iſland followed the example of the capital.

A. D. 1487.] Henry, though ſtrongly inclined to ſuppreſs the revolt in perſon, dreaded the effects of leaving England, where he ſuſpected the conſpiracy was firſt framed. After mature deliberation, he determined to confine the old queen in the nunnery of Bermondſey, where ſhe remained till her death, which did not happen till ſeveral years after. His next meaſure was to ſhew Warwick to the people. The latter was therefore taken from the Tower, and led through the principal ſtreets of London; after which he was conducted, in a ſolemn proceſſion, to St. Paul's, where great numbers were aſſembled to ſee him. This expedient had it's effect; but in Ireland the people perſiſted in their revolt, and retorted on the king the reproach of practiſing an impoſture on the Engliſh. Simnel, being now joined by lord Lovel, and a few more lords of the diſcontented party, reſolved to paſs over into England, with a body of Iriſh, and two thouſand Germans. He accordingly landed in Lancaſhire, whence marching to York, he expected to be joined by the inhabitants of the country, but was diſappointed. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in ſpeedy victory, determined to bring the conteſt as ſoon as poſſible to an iſſue; and the king, being reinforced by a great acceſſion of volunteers, under the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Strange, declined

not

not the combat. The two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, where a battle enſued, more bloody and obſtinate than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces; but at length the king obtained a deciſive victory. Lord Lincoln periſhed in the field; and as lord Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the ſame fate. Simnel, with his tutor, Simon, were made priſoners. The latter, being a prieſt, was not tried at law, but only committed to cloſe cuſtody, and never more heard of. Simnel was too contemptible to excite either Henry's fears or reſentment; he was therefore pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the kitchen; from whence he was afterwards advanced to a falconer.

Henry having now leiſure to revenge himſelf on his enemies, made a progreſs in the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous diſpoſition. A ſtrict inquiry was made after thoſe who had aſſiſted or favoured the rebels; and on ſome of the delinquents, inſtead of inflicting capital puniſhments, heavy fines were levied. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themſelves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commiſſioners appointed for the occaſion, or they ſuffered puniſhment by the ſentence of a court-martial.

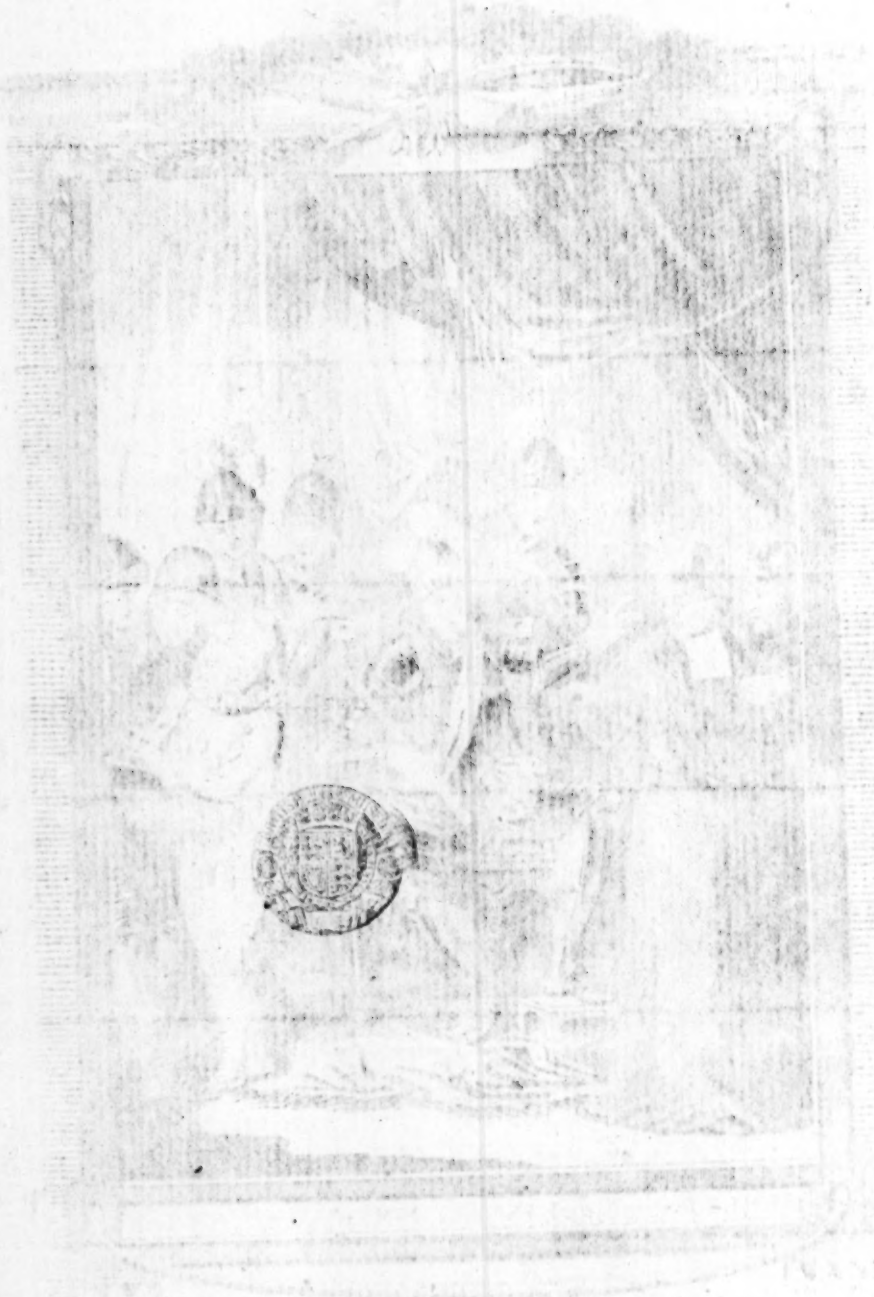
During the public tranquillity, Henry began to turn his thoughts towards his continental connections, and to eſtabliſh ſome degree of underſtanding with foreign powers. He had too much penetration not to perceive the error of proſecuting conqueſts beyond the ſea, by expeditions which were productive of no other advantages than that of military renown; yet, while he ſecretly deſpiſed ſuch pernicious triumphs, he was obliged to countenance them, with the view of gaining popularity. Urged by this motive, he frequently boaſted that he was determined to raviſh his kingdom of France from the uſurpers, who had long poſſeſſed it; and that he would lay the whole country in blood. But theſe were the idle menaces of a crafty politician, who thought it his intereſt to diſſemble. He endeavoured as much as poſſible, by negociations, to keep the intereſt of that kingdom ſo nearly balanced by negociations, as to prevent any of the princes becoming too powerful; but as to ſuccours of men and money, which his predeceſſors had laviſhed on ſuch fruitleſs projects, he was determined not to contribute.

About this time the nobles of Bretagne, diſguſted with their miniſter, Peter Landais, roſe in conſpiracy againſt him, and put him to death. Dreading the reſentment of the duke for this violence to his favourite, they requeſted the protection of the French monarch. He readily accepted the invitation; but, inſtead of only bringing them aſſiſtance, over-ran and took poſſeſſion of the greater part of the country. In this diſtreſs, the Bretons implored the aſſiſtance of Henry, who was more willing to aſſiſt them by negociation than by arms. But though determined to maintain a pacific conduct, he knew that the diſpoſition of his ſubjects was inclined to warlike enterpriſes; and therefore, under the pretence of aſſiſting the duke of Bretagne, reſolved to draw from his ſubjects ſome pecuniary ſupplies.

A. D. 1488.] He accordingly ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, and eaſily perſuaded them to grant him a conſiderable ſubſidy. But this meaſure involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always diſcontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppreſſions under which they had laboured, after the extinction of Simnel's rebellion, reſiſted the commiſſioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commiſſioners, terrified by this oppoſition, made application to the earl of Northumberland, who attempted to enforce the king's command; but the populace, concluding from his zeal that he was the adviſer of their oppreſſions, flew to arms, attacked his houſe, and put him to death. The inſurgents then proceeded to declare againſt the king; and chooſing for their leader Sir John Egremond, they prepared themſelves for a vigorous reſiſtance. Henry immediately levied a force, which he put under the

HENRY sentencing LAMBERT SIMNEL and his TUTOR

Ansell del.



the command of the earl of Surrey; who, encountering the malcontents, diſſipated the tumult, and made priſoner Achamber, one of their leaders. A great number of them received a pardon; and Sir John Egremond fled to the ducheſs of Burgundy, who afforded him protection.

A. D. 1489.] Henry, having obtained from parliament the late ſubſidy, would willingly have preſerved it in his coffers, and endeavoured to terminate the affair of Bretagne by negociation; but the diſtreſſes of the Bretons becoming every day more urgent, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of taking more vigorous meaſures, in order to ſupport them. He therefore ſent over ſix thouſand troops, who after waiting ten months without producing any effect, returned to England. Maximilian king of the Romans had been married by proxy to the ducheſs of Bretagne, and his daughter Margaret was affianced to Charles king of France, at whoſe court ſhe had been for education for ſome years; but as Charles thought it more adviſeable to get poſſeſſion of Bretagne by marriage than force of arms, a treaty to that effect was ſet on foot. The nobles of Bretagne approved of it, as the beſt means of reſtoring peace to their country; and in the end he was married to the ducheſs, Bretagne was united to the crown of France, and Margaret was ſent back to her father.

A. D. 1491.] Henry, finding himſelf outwitted by a raw youth, who had thus ſtrengthened himſelf by this acquiſition of territory, determined upon revenge; and he ſought, even from his diſappointment, to gratify his ruling paſſion, avarice. On pretence of a war with France, he iſſued a commiſſion for levying a *benevolence*; a ſpecies of taxation which had been aboliſhed by a recent law of Richard III. This violence fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation; thoſe who lived frugally, were told their parſimony muſt have enriched them; thoſe whoſe ſtile of living was ſplendid, were concluded to be opulent from their expences: by theſe arguments every perſon was expoſed to the plunder of theſe commiſſioners.

Parliaments had heretofore given ſuch proofs of their venality and obſequiouſneſs, that Henry was under no apprehenſion from them on account of this arbitrary proceeding: he therefore ſummoned that aſſembly; and even expected to enrich himſelf farther, by working upon their paſſions and their prejudices. He knew the diſpleaſure which the Engliſh conceived againſt the French, on the account of their acquiring Brittany; and in his ſpeech took care to inſiſt on that topic. He declared his determination to claim the crown itſelf of France, and maintain by force of arms ſo juſt a title, which had been tranſmitted to him by his gallant anceſtors; that it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treaſure; and that the invaſion of ſo opulent a kingdom as France would rather increaſe than diminiſh the riches of the nation. The parliament readily complied with his demands, and granted him a large ſubſidy: and the better to enable his vaſſals to attend him, an act was paſſed empowering them to ſell their eſtates, without paying fines for alienation. This was a maſter-ſtroke of policy in Henry, who had long been deſirous of breaking the power of his barons. The nobility were ſeized with the deſire of military glory; and, in the hope of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of France, borrowed money, or ſold their eſtates: theſe were purchaſed by commoners; which increaſed their power and influence, while it ſerved to deſtroy the feudal ſyſtem.

A. D. 1492.] Every thing being prepared for the expedition againſt France, an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, landed at Calais. Notwithſtanding this appearance of a hoſtile diſpoſition, there had been ſecret advances made towards a peace three months before, and commiſſioners had even been appointed to treat on the terms. Henry's demands were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who earneſtly de-

deſired the peaceable poſſeſſion of Bretagne, readily agreed to the propoſals. He engaged to pay Henry near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, as a reimburſement for the expences of his expedition; and he ſtipulated to pay him and his heirs a yearly penſion of twenty-five thouſand crowns more. This treaty was concluded at Eſtaples.

The authority of Henry at home ſeemed to be fully eſtabliſhed; every attempt to diſturb his government had been defeated, and ſerved only to give him greater ſecurity; but at this time his apprehenſions were again alarmed by another competitor for the crown.

A young man, whom hiſtorians have agreed to call Perkin Warbeck, of an elegant figure, and engaging addreſs, appeared in Ireland. He wrote to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, declaring himſelf to be Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, the only ſurviving ſon of Edward IV. and legitimate heir to the crown. Theſe noblemen were cautious; and either doubting the truth of his aſſertion, or ſmarting under what they ſuffered through having ſupported Simnel's impoſture, rejected his application. But John Waters, an eminent merchant, and then mayor of Corke, warmly eſpouſed his cauſe. The opinion which ever prevailed, that the duke of York was ſtill living, and the ſtrong attachment of the Iriſh to that houſe, drew to him a conſiderable number of people. The report ſoon reached France; and Charles ſent one Frion to Ireland, who had formerly been ſecretary to Henry VII. but was now in his ſervice, to aſcertain the true character of Perkin. Frion was an active and intelligent man; and having made every poſſible inquiry, declared himſelf perfectly ſatisfied that Perkin was the true Plantagenet: he carried him over to Paris, Charles received and treated him as and ſuch. Many perſons in England began to give credit to his pretenſions; and Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and above an hundred other perſons of diſtinction, went to Paris to ſee him; and after ſeveral converſations, they declared themſelves fully convinced that he was the real duke of York, who had eſcaped from the Tower.

When peace was concluded between France and England, Henry deſired to have Perkin put into his hands: but Charles would only agree to diſmiſs him; Perkin therefore retired into Burgundy. Margaret, the ducheſs, was ſiſter to Edward IV. and aunt of the duke of York. Though this princeſs had ſeen him received by Charles, and acknowledged by all the Engliſh at his court, as the duke of York, ſhe received him as a ſtranger, and even treated him as an impoſtor. She referred to the caſe of Lambert Simnel, to ſhew how far eaſy credulity might be impoſed upon, and threatened to impriſon him for his preſumption. Perkin only oppoſed this unexpected ſeverity by that modeſt aſſurance which generally accompanies truth: the ducheſs felt the force of it; and declared that ſhe only wanted to aſcertain his real character, and eſtabliſh the truth of it before the world. She examined every circumſtance minutely, and put to him queſtions of a domeſtic nature, which ſhe thought no ſtranger could be acquainted with, or prepared to anſwer: but he replied with the utmoſt readineſs; and conducted himſelf with ſo much dignity, that the principal Burgundian nobility, who were preſent at this examination, and the ducheſs herſelf, believed him to be the true duke Richard; ſhe aſſigned him a body guard, and diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of the White Roſe of England.

A. D. 1493.] Intelligence ſoon reached England that the duke of York was living, that he had been concealed in Ireland, and was now at the court of his aunt, in Burgundy. The government of Henry had become extremely unpopular, through his avarice; and the ſeverity with which the queen, and the former adherents of the houſe of York, were treated; and the news of a competitor of that family for the crown, was received by the people with pleaſure, but with caution. Accordingly a ſecret confederacy was entered into by Sir William Stanley, to whom and his brother Henry owed his victory at Boſworth, and conſequently in part his

DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, AND PERKIN WARBECK.

Collings del.

his crown,) lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, John Radcliffe, Sir Robert Clifford, and others, to ſupport the cauſe of the young adventurer. Sir Robert Clifford and William Borley were deputed to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy, to inquire minutely into the merits of the youth's identity; and, on receiving ſatisfaction, to concert means with the ducheſs for placing him on the throne.

After Sir Robert Clifford had been at the court of Margaret for ſome time, and had ſeveral converſations with Perkin, he wrote to his colleagues, that he knew the perſon of the youth as well as that of his own ſon; and that he was ſure he was no impoſtor. Many perſons on this authority believed the duke was living, and the whole nation was held in ſuſpence.

Henry was no ſtranger to the diſcontents of the people, and had ſome imperfect knowledge of the conſpiracy againſt him. To counteract the deſigns of his enemies, his firſt object was to prove the death of the duke of York. This could only be done by diſcoveries made by the murderers, two of whom were ſtill alive, Sir James Tyrrel and John Dighton. Tyrrel was then a man in high reputation; he had been employed by Henry in moſt of his important tranſactions with the courts of France and Burgundy, and was then governor of Guines. Tyrrel and Dighton were apprehended by the king's order, and ſent to priſon, where they underwent a private examination; after which it was given out that they agreed in their depoſition; namely, "that Dighton, Foreſt, and Slater, had ſmothered the two princes in their bed, and ſhewn their dead bodies to Tyrrel; after which they were buried under the ſtairs by a prieſt, who ſoon after removed them by Richard's order, and it was not known where." Henry cauſed ſearch to be made for them, but they could not be found.

The whole of this ſtory carries with it the air of improbability. How could Henry know that theſe men were parties to the murder, but by their own confeſſion, when no one knew how, or by whom the princes were diſpoſed of, till after they were apprehended, and then the diſcovery was made by a *private* examination. Search was made, or at leaſt it was ſo pretended, for the bodies, and they could not be found; therefore, to make the ſtory complete, a prieſt is introduced, who is unknown; he is ſaid to have removed them, and is ſince dead; yet in the time of Charles II. two bodies, *ſuppoſed* to be their's, were found in the place where they were *ſuppoſed* to have been buried. It is much more probable, that Henry prevailed upon theſe men to ſuffer the imputation to fall upon them, than that they were really guilty; for there was no public examination, neither is their confeſſion reduced into any form of a record. Tyrrel was a uſeful man to Henry, and no ſtranger to court intrigue; Dighton was very able to ſecond him in this buſineſs; and beyond their own teſtimony no ſort of evidence was offered. If the princes had been buried as was ſaid, Henry *muſt* have found them; if they had been removed, Charles could *not* have found them: but it is moſt probable theſe were other bodies, as many perſons had been murdered in the Tower. In ſhort, this examination is ſo imperfect and obſcure, as to leave a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the vulgar ſtory of the murder of the princes muſt be falſe.

Henry then diſperſed ſpies in France and Flanders, to give him intelligence of Perkin, whoſe party they went over apparently to join; and in order to procure them greater confidence, he cauſed them to be publicly anathematized. An account of Perkin was now publiſhed; which ſtated him to have been the ſon of one John Oſbecke, a converted Jew of Tournay, whoſe buſineſs brought him to London, where Peter, or Perkin, as he was called, was born, and that Edward IV. was his godfather; that his parents returned to Tournay; and being at length grown a comely youth, he was introduced to Margaret, who thought him a proper perſon to aſſume the character of the duke of York; for which purpoſe he was kept a long time in ſecret, and carefully inſtructed.

A. D.

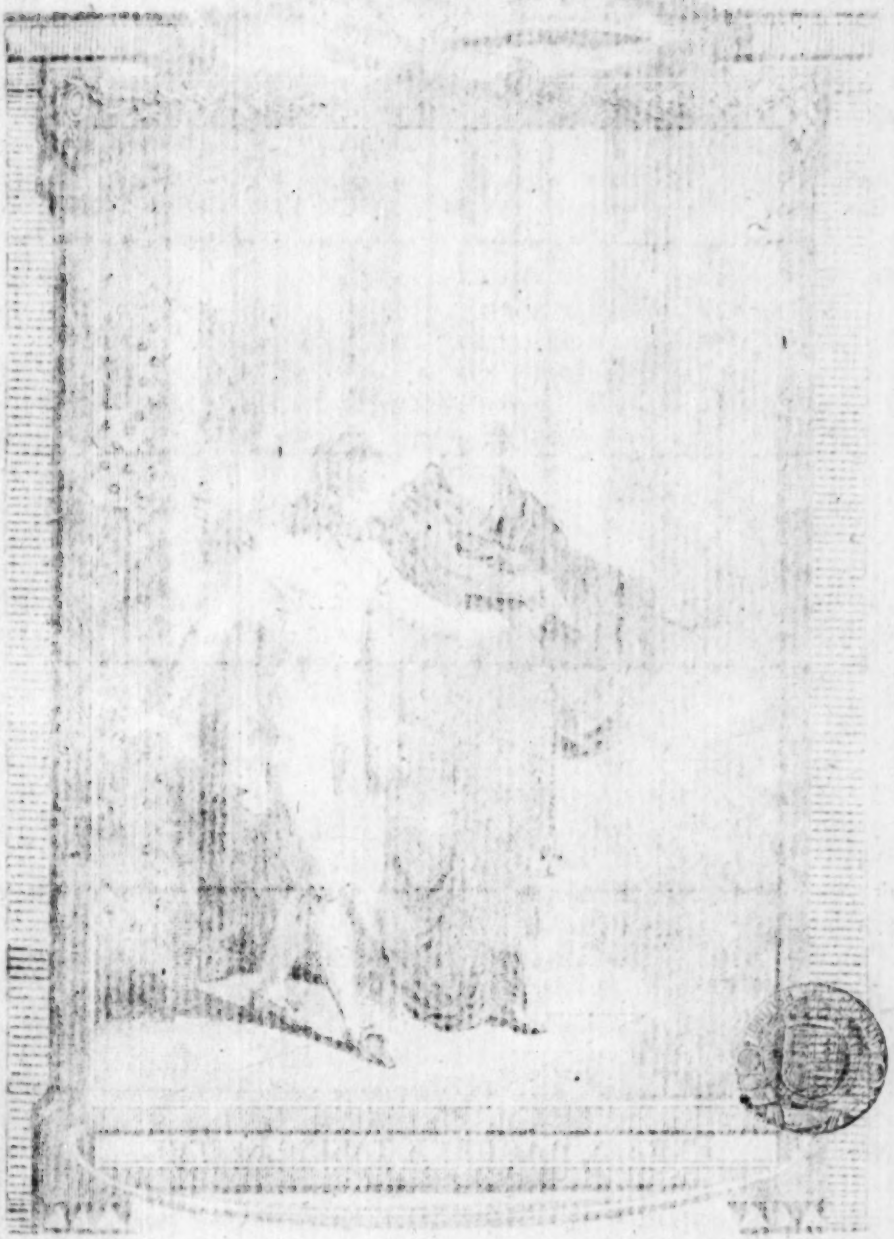
A. D. 1494.] Sir Robert Clifford had been bought over, and he diſcovered what he knew of Perkin's party, but nothing of his perſon. On his information, Fitzwalter, Radcliffe, Mountford, Thwaites, Daubeney, Creſſenor, and Athwood, were apprehended, tried, and convicted of treaſon. Radcliffe, Mountford, and Daubeney, were executed as traitors, and the reſt were pardoned. Lord Fitzwalter was ſent to Calais; but attempting to eſcape, he was diſcovered, and afterwards beheaded.

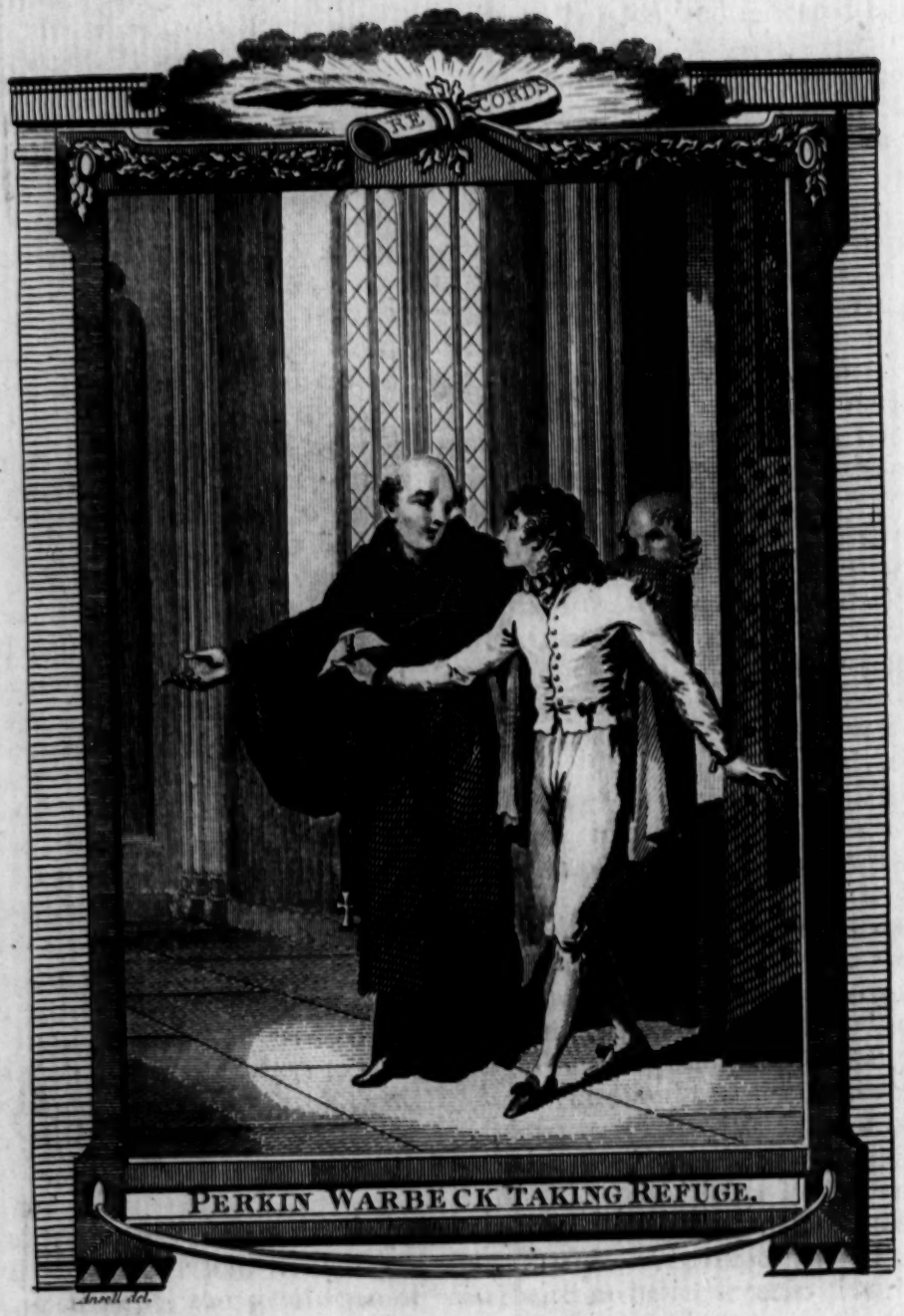
More ſolemn preparations were deemed neceſſary for the trial of Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain. Sir Robert Clifford was therefore directed to come over to England privately, and throw himſelf at the king's feet, in full council; craving pardon for all paſt offences, and offering to atone for them by any ſervices that ſhould be required of him. Henry told him, that the beſt proof he could give of his penitence was to make a full confeſſion of his guilt, and diſcover his accomplices, however exalted their rank or character. Clifford now gave up Stanley, who was preſent, as his chief abettor. Henry affected to conſider it as falſe and incredible; but Clifford perſiſting in his accuſation, Stanley was committed to cuſtody, and ſoon after brought to trial; when Clifford ſwore, that he had declared to him, in private converſation, "that if he thought the young man (Perkin) was really the ſon of Edward IV. he would never bear arms againſt him." Stanley acknowledged he had ſpoken thoſe words, or others to that effect; and on this evidence his venal judges, who knew no will but Henry's, pronounced him guilty of high treaſon, and he was executed on Tower-hill.

While the adherents of Perkin were ſuffering the rigours of perſecution, himſelf attempted landing in Kent; the gentlemen of which county aſſembled in a body to oppoſe him. Their deſign was to allure him on ſhore by proffers of aſſiſtance, and then ſeize his perſon; but the wary youth, ſuſpecting their intentions, refuſed to commit himſelf into their hands; they therefore ſet upon his attendants, who had come aſhore, of whom they made priſoners, to the number of an hundred and fifty. Thoſe were brought in chains to London, and executed by order of the king.

The attention of Henry was now directed to Ireland. He created his ſon Henry, a child of two years old, lieutenant, and appointed Sir Edward Poynings to be his deputy. To him was given very great power, and a body of one thouſand veteran troops, to enforce his authority. Soon after his arrival in Ireland, he endeavoured to ſecure the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, for having been privy to the appearance of Perkin in Ireland, and not having diſcloſed it. Deſmond eluded his vigilance; but Kildare was ſeized, and ſent to England; from whence Henry ſent him back, loaded with favours, on a promiſe to exert all his intereſt to the advantage of Henry. Poynings next called a parliament, which ſoon ſhewed their venality, by baſely betraying their country; and proves that a corrupt parliament is worſe than none; for Henry would not have ventured on theſe meaſures, without their authority. They paſſed ſeveral acts to the diſadvantage of Ireland, and favourable to England; but the moſt memorable is that which has been called Poynings' Act; the ſubſtance of which was, "that no parliament ſhould for the future be held in Ireland, till after the chief governor and council have certified to the king, under the great ſeal of the kingdom, the acts they intended to paſs, and received the ſanction of the king and Engliſh council; and that all the former laws of England be of force in Ireland." This infamous act continued in force till lately.

A. D. 1496.] After Perkin's diſappointment in Kent, he had proceeded to Ireland; but through the precaution of Poynings, he met with no better ſucceſs. He then went to Scotland; where he was received with great cordiality by James the Fourth. That monarch, believing the ſtory of his birth and adventures, carried his confidence ſo far as to give him in marriage to lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and nearly




RE
CORDS
PERKIN WARBECK TAKING REFUGE.
Ansell del.

nearly related to the royal family. Not content with theſe tokens of his favour, he was reſolved to attempt ſetting him on the throne of England. James therefore entered England with a numerous army, and wherever he went proclaimed the adventurer as ſovereign of the country; but the inhabitants being overawed by the late rigorous executions, and not approving the company he was in, very few of them joined his ſtandard. He once more, therefore, returned to Edinburgh; where he continued to reſide, until, upon the concluſion of a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, he was obliged to quit the Scottiſh dominions, and ſeek for a new protector.

Meantime Henry found little uneaſineſs at Perkin's irruption, knowing that it would ſerve as a pretext for demanding from parliament freſh ſupplies. He therefore ſummoned that aſſembly, to which he made bitter complaints againſt the inroads of the Scots, and the devaſtations committed by them in England. The parliament made the expected return to this ſpeech, by granting a ſubſidy to the amount of an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, and two fifteenths; after which the aſſembly was diſſolved.

Though the vote of parliament for impoſing the tax was eaſily obtained, Henry found it a matter of difficulty to levy the money upon his ſubjects. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the firſt to refuſe contributing ſupplies for the ſafety of the northern parts of the kingdom, which were ſo far remote from them. Their diſcontents were farther inflamed by one Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, who had acquired an authority among them. To him was joined one Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who enforced the arguments of his aſſociate, by affirming that the tax, though impoſed by parliament, was entirely illegal; and that the northern nobility were bound, by their tenures, to defend the nation againſt the Scots.

A. D. 1497.] Under the conduct of thoſe two leaders, the inſurgents paſſed through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerſet, where they were joined by lord Audley. They thence continued their march, breathing deſtruction to the king's miniſters and favourites, particularly to Morton, now a cardinal, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the moſt active inſtruments in all his oppreſſions. They moved with great ſpeed towards London; and at laſt pitched their camp on Blackheath, not far from that city. Henry had ſome time before raiſed an army to oppoſe the Scots; and this he ordered ſouthward, to quell the inſurrection. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceleſs, he diſpatched thither the earl of Surrey, who aſſembled the forces on the borders, and made head againſt the enemy. On other occaſions, it was uſual with Henry to haſten to a deciſion; and it was a ſaying with him, that he only deſired to ſee his enemies; but as the Corniſh inſurgents behaved in an inoffenſive manner, he protracted his attack for ſome time.

After his forces were collected, he divided them into three bodies; the firſt, under the earl of Oxford, took poſt behind the hill, where the inſurgents were encamped; the ſecond, commanded by lord Daubeney, where the inſurgents were encamped; and the third, who were kept as a body of reſerve in St. George's Fields, were commanded by the king. To put the enemy off their guard, he ſpread a report that they were not to be attacked till Monday; and the better to confirm them in that opinion, he did not begin the action till near evening of Saturday, the time which he really had deſigned. The inſurgents amounted to about ſixteen thouſand, and were formidable from their valour and reſolution; but being ill-armed, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, were an unequal match for the king's forces, who were very well provided, and ſuperior in number. The attack was begun by lord Daubeney; who ſurpriſed, and, after a vigorous reſiſtance, defeated the inſurgents, who were placed at Deptford-bridge. The alarm had by this time reached the main body, who were preparing for the attack; when lord Daubeney appeared among them

them at the head of his troops. The battle was obſtinately diſputed, and might have been decided in favour of the malcontents; but at this time they were attacked in the rear by the earl of Oxford, and being ſurrounded on all ſides, they were obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, after a violent conflict, in which two thouſand of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſubmitted to the king's mercy. Their leaders Flammock and Joſeph were executed at Tyburn, and lord Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill. The other priſoners were ſent home; Henry hoping by this act of lenity to obliterate the memory of his former ſeverities.

During theſe commotions, the Scottiſh king had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Norham in Northumberland; but on the appearance of the earl of Surrey, he abandoned his enterpriſe. Soon after a truce was concluded between the two crowns; and James, perceiving that while Perkin remained in Scotland he ſhould never enjoy a ſolid peace with Henry, ſent him in an honourable manner out of the kingdom.

Perkin, meeting with a cold reception from the Flemings, among whom he had retired on quitting Scotland, and who now deſired to be at peace with the Engliſh, reſolved to continue his pretenſions, and took refuge once more among the wilds and faſtneſſes of Ireland.

A. D. 1498.] When the Corniſhmen returned to their own country, they reported, that the king's clemency was not the effect of principle, but fear of his ſubjects, the greater of whom were as diſcontented as themſelves, and equally ſuffering by his oppreſſions. New confederacies were formed to oppoſe the government; and it was propoſed to ſend to Ireland for Perkin, and place him at their head. Perkin readily accepted the invitation; and having landed on the coaſt of Cornwall, with one hundred and ſeventy men, he marched to Bodmin, where he was joined by three thouſand. He then publiſhed a proclamation as king of England, by the appellation of Richard IV. and proceeded to Exeter, which he beſieged. Finding the inhabitants obſtinate in refuſing to admit him, and being unprovided with artillery to force an entrance, he reſolved to continue before the city until he ſhould be ſo much reinforced as that he might make a farther progreſs into the kingdom. Meanwhile Henry, being informed of his new enterpriſe, expreſſed great joy upon the occaſion; declaring that he ſhould now have the pleaſure of an interview with a perſon whom he had long wiſhed to ſee. All the courtiers, ſenſible of Perkin's deſperate ſituation, were now forward in ſhewing their zeal for Henry's ſervice, and exerted themſelves with alacrity in preparations againſt his enemies. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with Sir Rice ap Thomas, haſtened with four thouſand troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonſhire, and the moſt conſiderable men in the county of that name, took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himſelf at the head of a troop, conſiſting of young nobility and gentry; while the king prepared to follow in perſon, with a conſiderable army.

Perkin, informed of thoſe great preparations, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. His followers now amounted to ſeven thouſand men, and ſeemed ſtill determined to maintain his cauſe; but himſelf, deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſecretly withdrew to the ſanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Foreſt. His adherents, having loſt their leader, ſubmitted to the king's mercy: ſome of them were executed, others were fined, and the reſt were diſmiſſed with impunity. Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generoſity which does him honour. He endeavoured to conſole her with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen, and aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed even under his ſucceſſor.

Perkin was perſuaded to deliver himſelf into Henry's hands, under a promiſe of pardon. He accordingly ſubmitted, and was brought to London; where he was conducted

HENRY introducing the LADY GORDON to His QUEEN.

ducted through the ſtreets in a mock triumph, amidſt the deriſion and inſults of the populace; who but a ſhort time before conſidered him as the deſcendant of Edward IV. and true heir to the crown, and now ſported with his misfortunes; however, he bore it with becoming fortitude. Henry required that he ſhould make a confeſſion of his life and adventures, which was publiſhed; but, as lord Bacon ſays, "there was a laboured tale of particulars of Perkin's father and mother, grandſire and grandmother, uncles and couſins, by names and ſurnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; ſo there was little or nothing to any purpoſe; ſo that men, miſſing what they looked for, looked for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before." The only part of any conſequence is that in which Perkin acknowledges, that, by ſome perſons in Ireland, he was againſt his will taught Engliſh, and what he ſhould do and ſay; and that after this he was called the duke of York, ſecond ſon of Henry IV. However, very little credit was given to his narrative; and this confeſſion, abſurd and imperfect as it is, Buck ſays, (p. 555,) was extorted from the young man by the rack. The reputed father of Perkin was a converted Jew, and their national character is ſtrongly marked in the countenance, but Perkin was remarkably fair and handſome, and like Edward IV. To account for this circumſtance, a report was circulated, that Edward had an amour with Catharine de Farro, Perkin's mother; and that he was the offspring of that intercourſe.

A. D. 1499.] Though his life was granted him, he was detained in cuſtody, and keepers were appointed to watch over his conduct. Impatient of confinement, however, he made his eſcape, and, flying to the ſanctuary of Shene, put himſelf into the hands of the prior of that monaſtery. The prior prevailed on the king again to grant him a pardon; but, in order to reduce him to greater contempt, he was ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, and obliged, in both places, to read aloud to the people the confeſſion which had formerly been publiſhed in his name. He was then confined to the Tower, where he inſinuated himſelf into the intimacy of four ſervants of the lieutenant of the Tower; and by their means opened a correſpondence with the earl of Warwick, who had been many years confined in the ſame priſon, and kept in a ſtate of utter ignorance. This unfortunate prince, therefore, being ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, and actuated by a natural love of liberty, was induced to attempt his eſcape by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterpriſe. It was generally believed that the ſcheme had been laid by the king, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the ſnare; for though two of the ſervants were executed, the other two, who were ſuppoſed to be his immediate agents, were never examined.

About this time one Wilford, the ſon of a cordwainer, had undertaken to perſonate the earl of Warwick; and a prieſt ventured to recommend his cauſe from the pulpit to the people, who diſcovered a propenſity to adopt it. Wilford was apprehended, tried, and executed; and the prieſt was impriſoned for life.

Henry now determined to free himſelf from all pretenders and competitors, by the deſtruction of Perkin and Warwick; accordingly Perkin was arraigned, condemned, and executed at Tyburn, with Waters, the mayor of Corke, who had been his conſtant companion. Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowledged lawful king in England, Scotland, France, and Flanders. His hiſtory has come to us chiefly through party writers; who, to accommodate Henry, put the beſt appearance upon it poſſible; but is, at the ſame time, full of contradictions and abſurdities, and utterly inconſiſtent with truth. As to the confeſſion which he had made, and confirmed at the place of execution, may we not ſuppoſe him to have been influenced by hopes given of a pardon, even to the laſt moments of his life?

The earl of Warwick was the next victim. He

He was accuſed with forming a deſign to diſturb the government, and raiſe an inſurrection in favour of Perkin, and deſtroy the king. This innocent youth, who was a ſtranger to the deceit of mankind, was perſuaded to plead guilty to the indictment, and he received ſentence; which the unrelenting king ſuffered to be executed on Tower-hill, November 21ſt. Thus periſhed the laſt male branch of the houſe of Plantagenet.

This act of tyranny filled the kingdom with ſuch an averſion to Henry's government, that, to throw the odium from himſelf, he imputed it to his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he ſaid, had ſcrupled to give his daughter Catharine in marriage to Arthur, while any male deſcendant of the houſe of York remained alive. This was held to be no excuſe, becauſe the marriage had been ſolemnized by proxy the May before.

A. D. 1501.] But though diſcontents feſtered in the minds of men, they were prevented, by Henry's watchful policy, from weakening his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely ſecure, began to court his alliance. The prince whoſe alliance he valued the moſt was Ferdinand of Arragon, between whom and the king there was a great ſimilarity of character. Henry had now the ſatisfaction of completing a marriage, which had been projected and negociated during ſeven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella; the prince near ſixteen years of age, and the infanta eighteen. But this marriage proved in the iſſue unproſperous; the young prince, a few months after, ſickened and died, much regretted by the nation.

A. D. 1502.] Henry, deſirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and alſo unwilling to reſtore Catharine's dowry, obliged his ſecond ſon, Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the oppoſition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but the king perſiſting in his reſolution, the nuptials were at length, by means of the pope's diſpenſation, contracted between the parties; an event which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences.

The ſame year was celebrated another marriage, which was alſo, in the next age, productive of great events; the marriage of Margaret, the king's elder daughter, with James king of Scotland. Amidſt thoſe incidents the queen died in childbed, and the infant did not long ſurvive her. This princeſs was deſervedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increaſed on account of the harſh treatment which ſhe received from her conſort.

A. D. 1503.] The ſituation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now, in every reſpect, fortunate. Uncontrouled, therefore, by any apprehenſion, he gave full ſcope to his natural propenſity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling paſſion, receiving increaſe from age, broke forth into all the exceſſes of tyranny and injuſtice. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his rapacious inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceleſs people. Theſe inſtruments of oppreſſion were both lawyers; the former of low birth, of brutal manners, and an unrelenting temper; the latter, his ſuperior in birth, education, and breeding, but equally unjuſt, ſevere, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law, thoſe men were qualified to pervert the forms of juſtice to the oppreſſion of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king ſupported them in all their iniquities.

It was at firſt their practice to obſerve ſo far the appearance of law as to give indictments to thoſe whom they intended to oppreſs. The perſons were, therefore, committed to priſon, but never brought to trial; and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ranſoms, which were called mitigations and compoſitions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two miniſters ſent forth their precepts to attach men, whom they ſummoned before themſelves and ſome others, at their private houſes, in a court of commiſſion;

commiſſion; where, in a ſummary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were iſſued, both in pleas of the crown, and controverſies between private families. Even juries, when ſummoned, proved but ſmall ſecurity to the ſubject; being brow-beaten by thoſe oppreſſors, nay fined, impriſoned, and puniſhed, if they ventured to give ſentence againſt the inclination of the miniſters. The whole ſyſtem of the feudal law, which ſtill prevailed, was turned into a ſcheme of oppreſſion. Even the king's wards, after they came of age, were not ſuffered to enter into poſſeſſion of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were alſo harraſſed with informations of intruſion upon the moſt falſe pretences. But the chief means of oppreſſion employed by thoſe miniſters were the penal ſtatutes; which, without any regard to rank, quality, or ſervices, were rigidly put in execution againſt all men. Spies, informers, and inquiſitors, were encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom. The ſole end of the king and his miniſters was to amaſs money, and bring every one under the laſh of their authority.

A. D. 1504.] Amidſt thoſe flagrant violations of juſtice, in vain did the people look for protection from the parliament; which was only ſummoned when he wanted their authority, to extort more money from the people, or for ſome other act of violence and oppreſſion. That aſſembly was ſo overawed and venal, that, at this very time, during the greateſt rage of Henry's oppreſſions, they choſe for their ſpeaker Dudley, the chief inſtrument of his iniquities. And though the king was known to be immenſely opulent, and had no pretence of wars, or any expenſive enterpriſes, they granted him the ſubſidy which he demanded; and numbers of perſons, even ſo far back as the beginning of his reign, were attainted for high treaſon, and their eſtates confiſcated.

A. D. 1505.] So inſatiable was his avarice, that now he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppreſſive method of taxation. By thoſe various methods of accumulation, joined to rigid frugality in his expence, he ſo filled his coffers, that he is ſaid to have poſſeſſed in ready money the ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds; a treaſure almoſt incredible, if we conſider the ſcarcity of money in thoſe times.

One opponent alone ſeemed to diſturb the domeſtic tranquillity of the king; Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. who had fled into Flanders, and whoſe only crime was being related to the houſe of York. While Henry was indefatigable in every artifice to ſeize him, a violent tempeſt obliged the archduke Philip, who had juſt ſucceeded to the crown of Caſtile, and was paſſing into Spain, to ſeek ſhelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Fatigue and ſickneſs induced him to land; and the king received his gueſt at Windſor with all poſſible magnificence. He neglected not, however, the opportunity to complain of the reception which Suffolk had found in his dominions. "I really thought," replied the king of Caſtile, "that your greatneſs and felicity had ſet you far above apprehenſions from any perſon of ſo little conſequence; but, to give you ſatisfaction, I ſhall baniſh him my ſtate."—"I expect that you will carry your complaiſance farther," ſaid the king; "I deſire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his ſubmiſſion and obedience."—"That meaſure," ſaid Philip, "will reflect diſhonour upon you, as well as myſelf. You will be thought to have treated me as a priſoner."—"Then the matter is at an end," replied the king, "for I will take that diſhonour upon me; and ſo your honour is ſaved." The king of Caſtile found himſelf under the neceſſity of complying; but he firſt exacted Henry's promiſe that he would ſpare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip, as if the king would grant him a pardon, on the interceſſion of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance, he was committed to the Tower; and the king of Caſtile, having fully ſatisfied Henry, as well by this conceſſion, as by ſigning a treaty of commerce between England and Caſtile,

which was advantageous to the former kingdom, was at last allowed to depart, after a stay of three months.

A. D. 1509.] Nothing memorable occurred in the latter part of his reign; but finding his health decline, he began to cast his eye towards that future state of existence in which he dreaded retribution for his iniquities. He endeavoured to make atonement for his crimes by distributing alms, and founding religious houses. Even during this state of mind, he countenanced various oppressions, till the near approach of death impressed him with new terrors. He then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, in the fifty-second year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign, at Richmond Palace, universally hated and despised. He had six children: Arthur Tudor, prince of Wales, who was married to Catharine of Spain, and died 1502; Henry, who succeeded his father, and married his brother's widow; Edmund, who died young; Margaret was first married to James IV. king of Scotland, and afterwards to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and had children by both; Elizabeth, who died young; Mary, affianced to Charles prince of Castile, afterwards emperor, married first to Louis XII. king of France, and after his decease to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

This prince obtained the crown by his sword, without any legal claim; and maintained it by the destruction of his enemies, and the terror in which he held his subjects. By his alliance with the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. he put an end to the civil wars, with which the nation had long been harrassed, and he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility. He possessed capacity, insinuation, and address. Avarice, however, was his ruling passion; and to this, in the latter part of his reign, he sacrificed honour, justice, and humanity.

Henry not unfrequently summoned parliaments, but they were the mere instruments of his will; and notwithstanding his rapacity and oppression, many wholesome laws were enacted. The most important in it's consequences was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the entails, and of alienating their estates. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinements of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England.

It was during this reign, in 1492, that Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a passage to the East Indies. It was by accident only that Henry had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother, Bartholomew, to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for carrying them into execution. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and when he arrived, and laid his plan before him, the prudent caution and parsimony of Henry occasioned such delay, that Columbus, meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily accomplished his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol; and in 1498 sent him westwards, in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the sixtieth degree of northern latitude. He sailed southwards along the coast, and discovered Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot and other merchants in Bristol made a like attempt in 1502. The king expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship, called the Great Harry; which

which was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy. Before this period, when the king wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or preſſing ſhips from the merchants.

CHAPTER XVII.

Acceſſion of Henry VIII.—His Marriage—War with France and Scotland—Adminiſtration of Wolſey—Battles, &c.—Duke of Buckingham's Trial—Battle of Pavia—Henry's Application to the Pope for a Divorce—His Love for Anne Boleyn—Wolſey's Fall and Death—Commencement of the Reformation—Trials and Executions—Death of Queen Catharine—Diſgrace, Trial, and Execution of Queen Anne—Birth of Prince Edward—Death of Queen Jane—Diſputations---Henry's Marriage to Anne of Cleves—Cromwell's Death---King divorced---Marries Catharine Howard—Her diſſolute Life---Curſory Events—Execution of the Earl of Surrey---Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk---King's Death, Character, &c.

HENRY, now in the eighteenth year of his age, aſcended the throne under every advantage of birth and fortune. In his perſon were united the contending claims of York and Lancaſter. The country was in perfect peace, and the odium incurred by the laſt king ſerved to increaſe his popularity. He was in friendſhip with all the princes in Europe; and as commerce had been conſiderably promoted during the late reign, the commons were becoming more powerful and wealthy. His father had left him vaſt treaſures, but theſe he ſoon diſſipated in giddy expences.

He choſe moſt of the ſame miniſters who had been employed by his father, and publiſhed a general amneſty; from which, however, to the great ſatisfaction of the nation, Empſon and Dudley were excluded, and the people were invited by proclamation to prefer complaints againſt them. Petitions were accordingly ſent in, complaining of their injuſtice and extortion; and they were ſummoned to attend the privy council, to anſwer for their conduct. Empſon endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, by declaring that he and Dudley were only the agents of the late king, with whom the ſupreme power was lodged, and whoſe commands they had implicitly obeyed; that it did not belong to them to determine what laws were recent or obſolete, expedient or hurtful, ſince they were all alike valid while unrepealed. Notwithſtanding this defence, the two criminals were committed to the Tower, and ſoon after brought to trial.

The ſtrict execution of the laws, however obſolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and even where they had exerciſed arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the ſecret commands of his father, was unwilling that their conduct ſhould undergo too ſevere a ſcrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the puniſhment of theſe obnoxious miniſters, crimes very improbable, or indeed impoſſible, were charged upon them. It was affirmed, that they had entered into a conſpiracy againſt the ſovereign; and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have ſeized by force the adminiſtration of government. The jury was ſo far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give againſt them a verdict, and they were afterwards executed for high treaſon.

The court were at this time occupied with the marriage of Henry. At the age of fourteen he had entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt eſpouſing his brother's widow, Catharine infanta of Spain. But the king now conſulted his council; and they were all, except

except Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, of opinion, that the pope having granted a diſpenſation, his marriage would be legal, and that it would be very impolitic to provoke Ferdinand by ſending her back. Henry aſſented, and the nuptials were conſummated.

A. D. 1510.] A parliament was ſummoned, by which a law was enacted to prevent ſome abuſes which had crept in during the late reign. The forfeiture upon the penal ſtatutes was reduced to the term of three years. Coſts and damages were given againſt informers; more ſevere laws were enacted againſt perjury; the falſe inquiſitions procured by Empſon and Dudley were declared null and void; traverſes were allowed, and the time of tendering them enlarged.

The ſituation of the different monarchies of Europe, at this time, promiſed, by balancing each other, a long tranquillity; but the flames of war were kindled by Julius II. an ambitious and enterpriſing pontiff. By his intrigues a league had been formed at Cambray, between himſelf, Maximilian, Louis, and Ferdinand, to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice. Henry allowed his name to be inſerted in the confederacy; which proved but too ſucceſsful againſt the republic.

A. D. 1511.] Julius had no ſooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inſpired with the ambition of expelling all foreigners from Italy. He was determined to make the tempeſt firſt fall on Louis. He drew over Ferdinand to his party; and he ſolicited the favour of England, by ſending Henry a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk, and anointed with chriſm. He gave him hopes that the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, ſhould be annexed to that of England; and Henry, allured by this expectation, and impatient to diſtinguiſh himſelf in arms, joined the alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed againſt the French monarch.

A. D. 1512.] The marquis of Dorſet was firſt ſent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to aſſiſt the operations of Ferdinand; but that crafty monarch having no intentions of effectually ſeconding their attempts, they were obliged to return without effect. Henry was much diſpleaſed with the ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe; and it was with difficulty that Dorſet, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at laſt able to appeaſe him.

A. D. 1513.] A conſiderable fleet was equipped to annoy the enemy at ſea, and the command entruſted to Sir Edward Howard; who, having ſcoured the Channel for ſome time, preſented himſelf before Breſt, where the French navy lay, and challenged it to fight. The French, being unequal to the enemy, determined to wait for a reinforcement, which they expected under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But Howard reſolved to diſappoint them; and upon the appearance of Prejeant, with ſix gallies, who had time to take refuge behind ſome batteries, which were planted on the adjacent rocks, boldly rowed up with two gallies, followed by barges filled with officers of diſtinction. Upon coming up to Prejeant's ſhip, he immediately faſtened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spaniſh cavalier, and ſeventeen Engliſhmen. Meanwhile the cable, which faſtened both ſhips together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; but as he continued to fight with great gallantry, he was puſhed overboard by their pikes, and periſhed in the ſea. Upon this misfortune the fleet retired from before Breſt, and the French navy for ſome time kept poſſeſſion of the ſea.

Henry ſoon after ſent to Calais a body of eight thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury. Another body of ſix thouſand men followed ſhortly after, under the conduct of lord Herbert. The king prepared to follow in perſon, with the main body and rear, and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the Engliſh nobility. The emperor Maximilian had ſtipulated to aſſiſt him

him with eight thouſand men; but being unable to perform his engagements, joined the Engliſh army with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new levied troops. The emperor even enliſted himſelf in Henry's ſervice, wore the croſs of St. George, and received of pay an hundred crowns a day, as one of Henry's ſubjects and captains. His army being now fifty thouſand ſtrong, it was ſuppoſed that France muſt fall a victim to his ambition. The Swiſs, alſo, with twenty-five thouſand men, were prepared to invade it in another quarter; while the faithleſs Ferdinand of Arragon was only waiting an opportunity to interpoſe with advantage. However the Swiſs entered into a treaty with Tremouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms in the confidence that the whole would be reſcinded by his maſter, as the latter had inveſted him with no plenipotentiary powers. Ferdinand continued a quiet ſpectator, vainly waiting for ſome effectual blow to be ſtruck by his allies; while Henry ſpent his time in the ſiege of towns, which could neither ſecure his conqueſts, nor advance his reputation. Henry, hearing that the Swiſs were returned home, and being ſufficiently gratified with his trifling ſucceſſes, reſolved to tranſport his army back to England, where the courtiers exhauſted flattery in extolling his humble victories. A truce was ſoon after concluded between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to diſſipate, in more peaceful follies, thoſe immenſe ſums which had been amaſſed by his predeceſſor.

The ſucceſs which, during his foreign expedition, attended his arms in the north of England, was much more important and deciſive. A war having been declared between the Engliſh and Scots, the latter of whom ever took the opportunity of commencing hoſtilities while the former were embroiled with France, the king of Scotland aſſembled a great force; and having paſſed the Tweed with a body of fifty thouſand men, ravaged all the northern parts of Northumberland. His army being numerous, and the ſcene of their depredations unfruitful, he ſoon began to experience a ſcarcity of proviſions; ſo that many of his men deſerting, returned to their native country. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, at the head of twenty-ſix thouſand men, approached the invaders, who were encamped on a riſing ground, near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till running between the two armies, prevented an engagement; on which account the earl of Surrey ſent to the Scotch camp a herald, challenging the enemy to deſcend to the plain, and there to try their valour on equal ground; but they not accepting this offer, he made a feint, as if he intended marching towards Berwick. The Scots immediately began to attack his rear; and he, taking advantage of a great ſmoke, cauſed by the firing their huts, paſſed the little river, which had hitherto prevented their engagement.

Both armies now perceiving that an engagement was inevitable, prepared for the onſet with great regularity, and fought for a long time with incredible valour, until the Highlanders, being galled by the Engliſh artillery, ruſhed forward ſword in hand upon the main body, commanded by the earl of Surrey; and at the head of thoſe James fought, with diſtinguiſhed valour. They attacked with ſuch velocity, that the hinder line could not advance in time to ſuſtain them; ſo that a body of the Engliſh intercepted their retreat. James, though almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy, refuſed to quit the field while it was yet in his power. Alighting from his horſe, he formed his little body into a circle, and in this poſture fought with ſuch deſperate courage as reſtored the battle. The Engliſh, therefore, were again obliged to have recourſe to their artillery and arrows, which made a terrible havock; but night ſeparating the combatants, it was not known until the next day that the Engliſh had obtained a complete victory. They had loſt three or four thouſand men; but the flower of the Scotch nobility had fallen in battle, with the king, and ten thouſand of the common men.

When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her ſon, applied for peace, Henry readily granted it, and took compaſſion on the helpleſs condition of his ſiſter and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him ſo great a victory, was reſtored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, for engaging on the ſide of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created viſcount Liſle, was now raiſed to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolſey, who was both his favourite and his miniſter, was created biſhop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worceſter; Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle.

A. D. 1514.] Though peace with Scotland enabled Henry to proſecute in tranquillity his enterpriſe againſt France, yet other incidents opened his eyes to the raſhneſs of the undertaking. The pope, unwilling to puſh the French to extremities, had taken off the ſentence of excommunication. Ferdinand, flattered with the hope of obtaining the ſecond daughter of the French king, with the duchy of Milan in dowry, either for Charles prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, not only agreed to a truce for a year, but engaged Maximilian in the treaty; and Henry could not but be inſpired with reſentment towards thoſe who had impoſed on his youth and inexperience, and had abuſed his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made priſoner at Guinegate, was ready to take advantage of this diſpoſition; he repreſented, that as Louis was a widower, without male children, no marriage could be more ſuitable to him than that with the princeſs Mary, the ſiſter of Henry. The king ſeemed to hearken to this diſcourſe with willing ears. Longueville informed his maſter of the probability which he diſcovered of bringing the matter to a happy concluſion; and received full powers for negociating the treaty. The articles were eaſily adjuſted between the monarchs. Louis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole ſhould be baniſhed to Metz, there to live on a penſion aſſigned him by Louis; that Henry ſhould receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heireſs of Brittany. The two princes alſo agreed on the ſuccours with which they ſhould mutually ſupply each other, in caſe either of them were attacked by an enemy.

A. D. 1515.] The eſpouſals of Mary and Louis were ſoon after celebrated at Abbeville; but that monarch was ſeduced by the beauty of his young queen into a courſe of pleaſure very unſuitable to his conſtitution, and died three months after the marriae. He was ſucceeded by Francis duke of Angoulême, a youth of one and twenty, who had married the eldeſt daughter of Louis. When this happened, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, the moſt comely perſonage of his time, was at the court of France. He was Henry's chief favourite, who had once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his ſiſter. The young dowager aſked Suffolk, whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to eſpouſe her? and ſhe told him, that her brother would more eaſily forgive him for not aſking his conſent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not ſo inviting an offer; and their nuptials were ſecretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleaſed with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his ſiſter, interpoſed his good offices in appeaſing him; and even Wolſey was active in reconciling the king to his ſiſter and brother-in-law; and obtained them permiſſion to return to England.

The king had for ſome time diſcontinued aſking the advice of his old miniſters, who had been appointed by his father to direct him; and he chiefly confided in the counſels

ſels of Thomas Wolſey, afterwards the celebrated cardinal of that name, who ſeemed to ſecond him in all his favourite purſuits. This man is ſaid to have been the ſon of a private gentleman of Ipſwich, and not of a butcher, as is commonly reported. He was ſent to Oxford ſo early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and at that time was called the Boy Bachelor. Upon quitting the univerſity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorſet's family, as tutor to that nobleman's children, and ſoon gained the friendſhip of his patron, who made him rector of Lymington. He was afterwards recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a ſecret negociation, relative to his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himſelf entirely to the king's ſatisfaction, and obtained the praiſe both of diligence and dexterity. That prince having given him a commiſſion to Maximilian, who then reſided at Bruſſels, was ſurpriſed, in leſs than three days, to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him; and imagining that he had protracted his departure, began to reprove him. Wolſey, however, informed him that he was juſt returned from Bruſſels, and had executed all his majeſty's commands. His diſpatch on this occaſion procured him the deanery of Lincoln, in which ſituation he was introduced by Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, to the young king's notice, with the view of ſupplanting the earl of Surrey, who was at that time Henry's favourite. In this expectation the prelate was not diſappointed; for Wolſey, ſoon after being introduced at court, was made privy-counſellor; and as ſuch had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himſelf with the king, who found him both obſequious and enterpriſing. Wolſey practiſed every art that could recommend him to the royal favour: he was conſtantly the foremoſt in every frolic and entertainment; neither his own age, which was near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, being any reſtraint upon him, or inducing him to check the gaiety of his companions. Thoſe qualities, in a ſhort time, ſo much endeared Wolſey to his royal maſter, that he was entruſted with the chief adminiſtration of affairs. By this rapid advancement the character and genius of Wolſey had full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, nor leſs remarkable for magnificence; of extenſive capacity, of yet more unbounded enterpriſe.

He was advanced to the biſhopric of Lincoln; but this he afterwards reſigned, upon being promoted to the archbiſhopric of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been promoted to the ſee of that place; but he alſo got poſſeſſion, at very low leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford; biſhoprics filled by Italians, who, being allowed to reſide abroad, were glad to compound for this indulgence, by relinquiſhing a conſiderable part of their emoluments. Excluſive of many other eccleſiaſtical preferments, he was permitted to unite with the ſee of York, firſt that of Durham, next that of Wincheſter; and his appetite ſeemed to increaſe by the means which were taken to ſatisfy it. The pope, knowing his great influence over the king, was deſirous of engaging him in his intereſts, and therefore created him a cardinal. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: ſome, even of the nobility, put their children into his family, as a place of education. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but on his ſaddles, and the trappings of his horſes. Beſides thoſe various diſtinctions, the pope ſoon after conferred upon him that of legate. In this capacity he ſo well ſerved the court of Rome, that the poſt of legate was, ſome time after, conferred upon him for life; and he now united in his perſon the offices of legate, cardinal, archbiſhop, and prime miniſter.

Warham, chancellor, and archbiſhop of Canterbury, chooſing rather to retire from public employment than to maintain a perpetual conteſt with the haughty cardinal, Wolſey inſtantly ſeized on the chancellorſhip. His thirſt of power being yet unſatiated,

tiated, he procured from the pope a bull, enabling him to create knights and counts, to legitimate baſtards, to confer degrees in arts, law, phyſic, and divinity, and to grant all ſorts of diſpenſations.

A. D. 1518.] Wolſey, in order to divert the envy of the nobility from his inordinate exaltation, ſoon entered into a correſpondence with Francis I. of France; who, after trying many methods to work upon his vanity, at laſt ſucceeded by having given him a ſecret bribe. In conſequence of that monarch's wiſhes, Henry was perſuaded by the cardinal to deliver up Tournay to the French king; with whom he alſo agreed to have an interview.

A. D. 1520.] This expenſive congreſs was held between Guiſnes and Ardres, near Calais, within the Engliſh territory, in compliment to Henry, for croſſing the ſea. The two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for that purpoſe, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the firſt words of it, "I Henry, king," he pauſed for a moment, and then ſubjoined only "of England," without adding France, the uſual ſtyle of Engliſh monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed his approbation by a ſmile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occaſion: many of them involved themſelves in large debts, which they never after were able to diſcharge.

At the commencement of the congreſs, both parties betrayed an illiberal diſtruſt of each other; the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both ſides. Every ſtep was carefully adjuſted: when they went to viſit their queens, they paſſed each other in the middle point between both places; and at the ſame inſtant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. But Francis, who is conſidered as the reſtorer of true politeneſs in Europe, put an end to thoſe unworthy ceremonials. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guiſnes, crying out to the Engliſh guards that they were their priſoners, and deſiring to be carried to their maſter. Henry was not a little aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you have here given me the moſt agreeable ſurpriſe; you have ſhewn me what confidence I may place in you; I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner from this moment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls of great value, and putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis accepted the preſent; and giving the Engliſh king a bracelet of double the value, inſiſted on his wearing it in turn. The next day Henry went to Ardres without guards or attendants; and confidence being now eſtabliſhed between thoſe monarchs, they employed the remainder of the time in feaſts and tournaments.

A. D. 1521.] But amidſt thoſe empty ſplendors, the jealouſy of the nobles at home, and the murmurs of the people, were every day increaſing againſt the exorbitant elevation of Wolſey. The firſt to complain was the duke of Buckingham, the ſon of him who loſt his life in the reign of Richard III. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profuſion with juſt contempt; and he became the principal object of Wolſey's reſentment. The ſubſtance of his impeachment was, that he had conſulted a fortune-teller concerning his ſucceſſion to the crown, and had affected to make himſelf popular. He was brought to trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward, in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury conſiſted of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons; and they giving their verdict againſt Buckingham, it was ſoon after carried into execution.

A. D. 1523.] The immenſe treaſures which the late king had left being entirely diſſipated on empty pageants, voluptuous enjoyments, or vain expeditions, the king now relied on Wolſey for repleniſhing his coffers.

coffers. The minister's first step for this purpose was to procure from the people a large sum of money, under the title of a benevolence; but which, being extorted, was not levied without some opposition. The cardinal having exacted a considerable sum of money from the clergy, he next addressed himself to the House of Commons, which granted only half the supplies that he demanded. Wolsey was at first highly offended at their parsimony, and desired to be heard in the House; but they replied, that none could be permitted to sit and argue there, except such as were elected members. This was the first attempt made in the present reign to render the king master of the debates in parliament.

A treaty with France, which threatened to make a breach with the emperor, induced Henry to wish for new supplies; at least he made this incident a pretext for his demands. But the parliament having discovered a reluctance to comply with such requisitions, he followed the advice of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He therefore issued out commissions to all the counties of England, for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three shillings and four pence from the laity; nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the measure, by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable stretch of royal power was quickly opposed by the people, and a general insurrection threatened to ensue. Henry thought proper to declare, by circular letters, to all the counties, that the tax was demanded only by way of benevolence. But the discontents of the people were not so easily quieted; the citizens of London hesitated on the demand; and in some parts of the country there happened insurrections, but which were suppressed by the duke of Suffolk. The imposts which had been advised by Wolsey thus proving ineffectual, he began to decline in the royal favour; and this displeasure was increased by the complaints of the clergy, who accused him of extortion.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The emperor, in order to secure his interest at the English court, had secretly filled Wolsey with expectations of obtaining the papal chair; but the pope, Adrian VI. dying, and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, being elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party, Wolsey at last perceived the insincerity of the emperor. Meanwhile he concealed his disgust; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legatine powers, which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and by this extraordinary concession, he in a measure transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars, Wolsey made a laudable use of this extraordinary power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, and the other at Ipswich, the place of his nativity. He sought all over Europe for learned men, to supply the chairs of those colleges; and in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some of the smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents.

Hitherto the administration of affairs had been entirely conducted by Wolsey; but a period was now approaching, which was to put an end to this minister's extraordinary power. The church of Rome had, for more than a thousand years, been corrupting the primitive simplicity of the christian religion, which was now become an enormous mass of superstition and error. From the sovereign pontiff down to the cloistered monk, ambition, avarice, and voluptuousness, were almost universally the prevailing vices of the ecclesiastical order. Wherever the church governed, it exerted it's power with cruelty; so that to the luxuries of the clergy was usually added the crime of oppression. So flagrant was the licentiousness of the ecclesiastics, that in many parts of England and Germany the people obliged their priests to retain concubines, with the view of preserving

the chaſtity of their wives and daughters. The vices of the clergy, however, were not greater than their ignorance; which was ſo remarkable, that few of them underſtood the Latin maſs. But what moſt increaſed the hatred of the people againſt them, was the ſelling of pardons and abſolutions for ſins, at certain ſtated prices. A deacon, or ſub-deacon, who committed murder, was, upon paying twenty crowns, abſolved from his crime; a biſhop or abbot might commit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Abſolutions were given, not only for ſins committed, but for ſuch as ſhould be committed in future. In a word, the vices and impoſitions of the clergy were now become enormous, while the increaſe of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them reſiſt that power which was originally founded in deceit. Leo X. was at that time pope, and eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter, at Rome. In order to procure money for carrying on that expenſive work, he granted a commiſſion for ſelling indulgences; a ſpecies of traffic which had often been practiſed before. Thoſe were ſuppoſed to free the purchaſer from the pains of purgatory; and they would ſerve even for one's friends, if purchaſed with that intention. Shops for the ſelling of thoſe indulgences were every where opened; but the more common places of ſale were taverns, brothels, and gaming-houſes. The Auguſtine friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration; but the pope's miniſter, ſuppoſing that they had found out illicit methods of ſecreting the money, tranſferred this lucrative employment from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, an Auguſtine friar, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wittemberg, reſenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach againſt thoſe abuſes; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded to inveigh even againſt the authority of the pope. As he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport thoſe tenets, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome; and the promulgation of his doctrines was received with avidity in various parts of Europe. Frederic, ſurnamed the Wiſe, elector of Saxony, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed it's church according to the new model; and Luther, a man, naturally inflexible and vehement, could not be perſuaded, either by promiſes or menaces, to relinquiſh a ſect, of which himſelf was the founder. In vain, therefore, did the pope iſſue out his bulls againſt Luther; in vain did the Dominican friars procure his books to be burnt; he boldly inveighed againſt the Dominicans, and burned the papal bull in the ſtreets of Wittemberg.

The rumour of thoſe innovations ſoon reached England; and as there ſtill ſubſiſted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whoſe principles reſembled thoſe of Luther, the new doctrines ſecretly gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks. But Henry, who had been carefully inſtructed in ſchool-divinity, and educated in a ſtrict attachment to the church of Rome, oppoſed himſelf, with all the influence of his extenſive authority, to the progreſs of Luther's tenets. He even wrote a book in Latin againſt the principles of that reformer; of which having ſent a copy to Leo, the pontiff conferred on him the title of Defender of the Faith, an appellation ſtill retained by the kings of England. Luther ſoon publiſhed an anſwer to Henry; whom, without any regard to the royal dignity, he treated with all the acrimony of ſtyle, to which, in the courſe of his diſputations, he had ſo long been accuſtomed.

A. D. 1527.] Henry at this time began to ſtart ſome ſcruples of conſcience about the legality of his marriage; but his ſubſequent conduct fully evinces that this was only a pretence, advanced for the purpoſe of obtaining a divorce from the queen, who was ſix years older than him, whoſe perſonal beauty was on the decline, and who, notwithſtanding her excellence, had loſt her influence

influence over his affection. Though ſhe had borne him ſeveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck with this misfortune, becauſe the curſe of being childleſs is the threatening contained in the Moſaic law, againſt thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The ſucceſſion of the crown was alſo a conſideration that occurred, whenever the lawfulneſs of Henry's marriage was called in queſtion; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. Henry therefore was impelled, both by his private paſſions, and by motives of policy, to ſeek the diſſolution of his marriage with Catharine.

The king, being ſo great a caſuiſt and divine, next proceeded to examine the queſtion more carefully by his own learning and ſtudy; and having had recourſe to the writings of Thomas Aquinas, for whoſe authority he had the higheſt eſteem, he obſerved that this celebrated doctor had expreſsly treated of the caſe, and declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages. Application was then made to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and he was required to conſult his brethren. All the prelates of England, except Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, unanimouſly declared, under their hand and ſeal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful. Wolſey alſo endeavoured to confirm the king's ſcruples, partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catharine's nephew, partly deſirous of connecting the king more cloſely with Francis, by marrying him to the ducheſs of Alençon, ſiſter to that monarch; and perhaps, too, ſomewhat diſguſted with the queen, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbecoming his character and ſtation. But Henry was urged by an additional motive, more forcible than even the ſuggeſtions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn, who had lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being ſeen by Henry, who obſerved her perſonal charms, and finding the accompliſhments of her mind no wiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when he found that her virtue precluded all hopes of gratifying his paſſion in any other manner. Impelled by ſo many motives, therefore, to procure a divorce from Catharine, the king reſolved to make application to Clement; and for this purpoſe he diſpatched Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome.

The Engliſh ſecretary found the pope, who was ſtill in the hands of the emperor, favourably diſpoſed; and when Clement recovered his liberty, he confirmed his profeſſions, and delivered to the Engliſh miniſters a commiſſion to Wolſey as legate, in conjunction with any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage: he alſo granted them a proviſional *diſpenſation* for the king's marriage with any other perſon; and promiſed to iſſue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catharine. But he repreſented to them the dangerous conſequences which muſt enſue to him if theſe conceſſions ſhould come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publiſh thoſe papers, or make any farther uſe of them, till his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation, as to ſecure his liberty and independence. And his ſecret advice was, whenever they ſhould find the proper time for opening the ſcene, that they ſhould prevent all oppoſition, by proceeding immediately to a concluſion, by declaring the marriage with Catharine invalid, and by Henry's inſtantly eſpouſing ſome other perſon. Nor would it be ſo difficult, he ſaid, for himſelf to confirm theſe proceedings after they were paſſed, as previouſly to render them valid by his conſent and authority.

A. D. 1528.] The Engliſh counſellors, however, conſidered this manner of proceeding as too dangerous. Should the pope diſavow the clandeſtine advice he had given, the king would find his marriage with Catharine

tharine more firmly rivetted than ever. The judgment of Clement, it was well known, was biaſſed by his timidity; the emperor had even affected to call in queſtion his title to the papal throne, nor were menaces the only weapons he employed; he allured him with the hope of reſtoring the influence of his family in Florence; and theſe circumſtances determined the pope not to explain himſelf more fully.

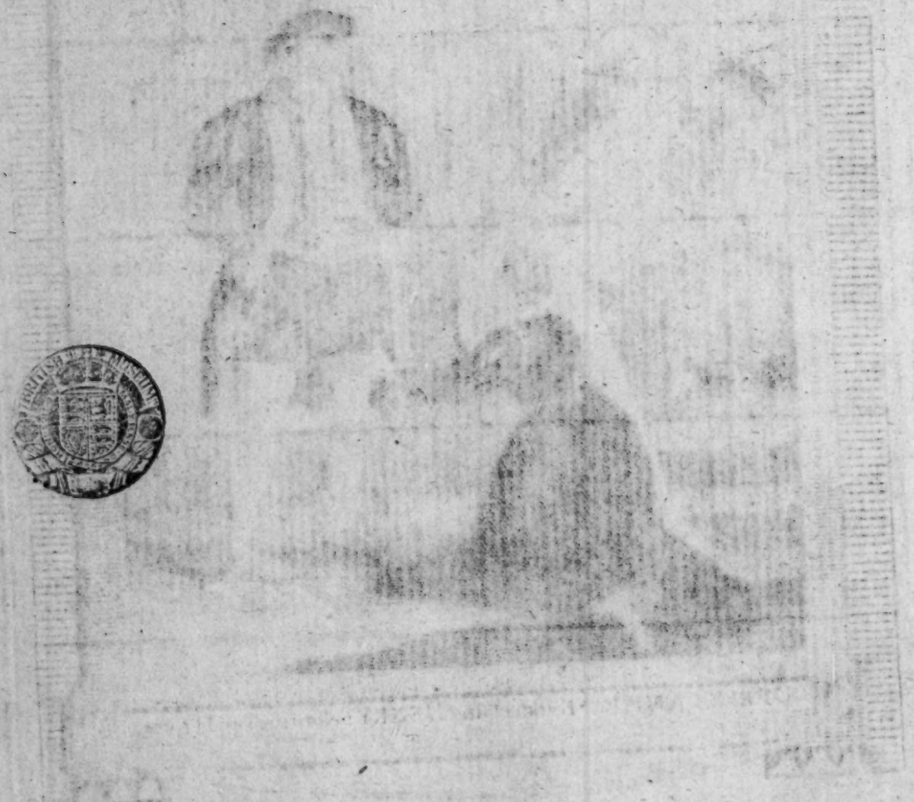
A. D. 1529.] He granted, therefore, a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolſey; but Campeggio was inſtructed to defer the deciſion by the moſt artful delays. The harangue of the queen was pathetic and affecting; ſhe obſerved, that ſhe was an unfortunate unbefriended woman, in a ſtrange land, and before a court where the judges were the ſubjects and ſervants of the king, who muſt obey his will, and from whoſe deciſion ſhe could not expect juſtice; ſhe refuſed to anſwer the citation of the judges, obſerving, ſhe had been the wife of Henry during twenty years, and would appeal to himſelf, whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited better treatment; and the king, while he urged again his ſcruples, was obliged to confeſs that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife. Having warmly urged the injuſtice and cruelty of ſuch a trial, ſhe roſe from her ſeat; and, after making the king a low reverence, departed from the court, nor would ever again appear in it. The trial, however, went forward; and Henry hoped to be ſhortly gratified in his moſt ſanguine expectations. The principal point which came before the legates was the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catharine, which a variety of circumſtances tended to confirm. The inquiry was ſpun out till the 23d of July, and the buſineſs ſeemed now to be drawing near to a concluſion, when, to the great ſurpriſe of all, Campeggio ſuddenly, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court until the 1ſt of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of ſucceſs which the king had ſo anxiouſly cheriſhed.

During the courſe of theſe negociations, the cardinal ſeemed to be nearly in the ſame dilemma with the pope. On one hand, he was ſolicitous to gratify his maſter, from whom he had received ſo many and ſo extraordinary marks of favour; and on the other, he dreaded to offend the pope, whoſe ſervant he more immediately was, and who beſides had power to puniſh his diſobedience. Wolſey had long foreſeen this meaſure as the ſure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at firſt deſired that the king ſhould rather marry a French princeſs than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity to bring the affair to a happy iſſue; but he knew, from the impatience of Henry's temper, to what inſurmountable diſpleaſure he would be expoſed, by the unſucceſsful iſſue of a tranſaction in which the king was ſo warmly intereſted. Anne Boleyn alſo had imputed to the cardinal the failure of her hopes; and ſhe therefore ſerved to fortify Henry's prejudices againſt him. Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolſey by the part which he had openly acted, had expreſſed great animoſity againſt him; and the moſt oppoſite factions ſeemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty miniſter. The king, however, for ſome time, either ſtifled his reſentment, or remained in ſuſpence; and he continued to receive Wolſey, if not with his former kindneſs, at leaſt with the appearance of truſt and regard. But at laſt the king determined on the ruin of this obnoxious miniſter. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to require of him the great ſeal; and on his ſcrupling to deliver it, without a more expreſs warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was ſurrendered; and it was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man who, beſides elegant literary talents, poſſeſſed the higheſt virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolſey was ordered to depart from York Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it belonged to the

ſee

QUEEN CATHERINE addreſsing HENRY before the Two Legates.



ſee of York, was ſeized by Henry, and became afterwards the reſidence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate, the richneſs and ſplendour of which befitted rather a monarch than a ſubject, were alſo ſeized. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or of ſilver. He had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold. There were found belonging to him a thouſand pieces of fine holland: the reſt of his riches and furniture was in proportion. The cardinal was commanded to retire to Eſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-Court, and there to await the king's farther pleaſure.

Wolſey, on this fatal reverſe of his fortunes, was entirely deſerted by thoſe who had formerly courted his favour. From the ſame turn of mind which had formerly rendered him ſo haughty, he felt the ſtroke of adverſity with double rigour. The ſmalleſt appearance of his return to royal favour threw him into tranſports of joy unbecoming a man. The king having ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted, and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received in that humble attitude the token of his majeſty's condeſcenſion. But his hopes were ſoon overturned; the king ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a ſentence was paſſed againſt him. Not content with this ſeverity, Henry abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again aſſembled. He was indicted on an obſolete ſtatute for having procured bulls from Rome, and he was pronounced to be out of the king's protection, his lands and goods forfeited, and that his perſon might be committed to cuſtody. But this proſecution of Wolſey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences, reſtored him part of his plate and furniture, and ſtill continued from time to time to drop expreſſions of favour and compaſſion towards him.

After Wolſey had remained ſome time at Eſher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a preſent from Henry in return for Hampton-Court; but his enemies, dreading his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to the ſee of York. The cardinal, therefore, took his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hoſpitality. But in this retreat he remained not long unmoleſted; the earl of Northumberland received orders to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order to take his trial. He at firſt refuſed to comply with the requiſition, as being a cardinal; but at laſt complied, and ſet out, by eaſy journies, for the capital. In his way he made ſome ſtop at the earl of Shrewſbury's; where, one day at dinner, he was taken ill, not without violent ſuſpicions of having poiſoned himſelf. But being brought forward from that place, he with much difficulty reached Leiceſter Abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he ſaid, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared, from which he never more aroſe. A little before he expired, he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, who had him in cuſtody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majeſty, and beſeech him, on my behalf, to call to his remembrance all matters that have paſſed between us from the beginning, eſpecially with regard to the buſineſs with the queen; and then will he know in his conſcience whether I have offended him. He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miſs or want any part of his royal will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do aſſure you, that I have often kneeled before him ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king,

he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me adviſe you, if you be one of the privy council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head; for you can never put it out again." He died ſoon after, in all the pangs of remorſe, leaving behind him two natural children, one of whom, being a prieſt, was loaded with church preferments.

The perſon who ſucceeded Wolſey in the king's favour was Thomas Cranmer, a man of greater talents, and probably of greater integrity. He was a doctor of divinity, and a profeſſor at Cambridge; but had loſt his office by marrying contrary to the canon law, which enjoined celibacy to all the clergy. He had travelled in his youth into Germany, where he became acquainted with Luther's works, and embraced his doctrines. This man happening to fall one evening into company with Gardiner, ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner, the converſation turned upon the divorce; and Cranmer gave it as his opinion, that the readieſt way to quiet the king's conſcience, or to extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe upon the affair. This advice being carried to the king, it pleaſed him ſo much, that Cranmer was immediately introduced at court, and engaged by the king to write in defence of the divorce.

A. D. 1530.] Henry now, in conformity to Cranmer's advice, had the legality of his marriage canvaſſed in the moſt noted univerſities of Europe. It was an uncommon ſcene, to ſee the king, on one ſide, ſoliciting the univerſities to be favourable to his paſſion; while, on the other, the emperor preſſed them with equal ardour to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded thoſe doctors who declared for the repudiation; and the emperor granted benefices to ſuch as oppoſed it with their opinion. In this conteſt, the pecuniary donations, and conſequently the intereſt, of Henry, prevailed. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimouſly declared his marriage with Catharine to be repugnant to all law, divine and human; and therefore affirmed, that it was not in the power of the pope to grant a diſpenſation. Oxford alone and Cambridge made ſome difficulty; but at laſt they concurred in the ſame opinion with the foreign univerſities. The convocations, likewiſe, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to diſpenſe. Henry, in order to give the more weight to all theſe authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, requeſting his holineſs to grant a bull for the divorce, and aſſuring him of the moſt dangerous conſequences in caſe of a refuſal. But Clement continued to ſummon the king to appear, either in perſon or by proxy, before his tribunal at Rome. The king, however, ſenſible that he could not, at preſent, expect any favourable deciſion from the papal court, refuſed to comply with ſuch a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high inſult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltſhire, carried to the pope the king's reaſons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the firſt inſtance of diſreſpect from England, refuſed to kiſs his holineſs's foot, which the latter graciouſly held out to him for that purpoſe.

A. D. 1531.] As the pope would not grant a divorce, Henry reſolved to oppoſe him, and began in parliament, by reviving an old law againſt the clergy; by which it was decreed, that all thoſe who had ſubmitted to the legatine authority had incurred ſevere penalties. A convocation was alſo held, and the clergy, to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of one hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds. An acknowledgment of the king's ſupremacy over the church and clergy of England, was likewiſe extorted from them.

Henry finding that the queen perſiſted in her appeal to Rome, ſent a meſſage, requiring her to remove from court; to which

ſhe

ſhe replied, that "in obedience to his majeſty's orders ſhe would remove from his preſence; but wherever ſhe was ſent, nothing could remove her from being his wife." She accordingly took her leave of him at Windſor, and he never ſaw her after.

A. D. 1532.] The parliament being reaſſembled, an act was paſſed againſt levying the annates, or firſt fruits, being a year's rent of the biſhoprics that fell vacant; a tax which was impoſed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to conſiderable ſums. It was alſo voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome on account of that law ſhould be entirely diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

After a ſhort prorogation, the parliament was again aſſembled: the king cauſed to be read to them the two oaths, that which the biſhops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their inſtallation; and as a contradiction might be ſuſpected between them, while the prelates ſeemed to ſwear allegiance to two ſovereigns, the parliament ſhewed their intention of aboliſhing the oath to the pope, when the proceedings were ſuddenly ſtopped by the breaking out of the plague at Weſtminſter, which occaſioned a prorogation. It is remarkable, that one Temſe ventured this ſeſſion to move, that the Houſe ſhould addreſs the king to take back the queen, and ſtop the proſecution of his divorce.

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreſeeing that all the meaſures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, deſired leave to reſign the great ſeal. The king received his reſignation with ſome difficulty, and delivered the great ſeal ſoon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

A. D. 1533.] This year the parliament was again aſſembled, and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, continued to proceed in thoſe gradual and ſecure ſteps by which they looſened their connections with the ſee of Rome. He privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioneſs of Pembroke; the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and doctor Cranmer, being preſent at the ceremony. Soon after, finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage; and, in order to remove all doubts with regard to it's lawfulneſs, prepared meaſures for declaring, by a formal ſentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catharine.

This ſentence was followed by another, ratifying his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who ſoon after was publicly crowned queen. To complete the king's ſatisfaction, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and was ſoon after created princeſs of Wales; a ſtep ſomewhat irregular, as ſhe could only be preſumptive, not apparent heir to the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to confer that title on his daughter Mary; and he was determined to beſtow on the offſpring of his preſent marriage the ſame mark of diſtinction, as well as to exclude the elder princeſs from all hopes of the ſucceſſion. In order to deface, as much as poſſible, all memorials of his former marriage, lord Mountjoy was ſent to the divorced queen, to inform her, that ſhe was thenceforth to be treated only as princeſs dowager of Wales.

When intelligence was carried to Rome of thoſe tranſactions, ſo injurious to the authority of the holy ſee, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by the cardinals, and frightened alſo by the menaces of the emperor, publiſhed a ſentence, declaring Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife; requiring him, at the ſame time, to take her again, with a denunciation of cenſures, in caſe of refuſal. On the other hand, Henry, finding that his ſubjects had willingly complied with his attempts to ſhake off a foreign dependence, reſolved never more to renew thoſe ſubmiſſions which no power could ex-

tort.

tort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Care had been taken, during ſome years, to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own dioceſe. The king therefore no longer delayed his meditated ſcheme of ſeparating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy had, by their declaration in favour of the divorce, manifeſted their compliance; and the people, above all, wiſhed for the humiliation of an eccleſiaſtical authority, which had ſo long controuled them, and grown opulent by their diſtreſſes. Every thing thus conſpiring to co-operate with his deſigns, Henry at once ordered himſelf to be declared by his clergy the ſupreme head of the church. The parliament confirmed the title, aboliſhed all authority of the pope in England, voted all tributes formerly paid to the holy ſee to be illegal, and entruſted the king with the collation of all eccleſiaſtical benefices. Monaſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the king alone; the law formerly made againſt paying firſt fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed; and a ſubmiſſion, which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this ſeſſion the ſanction of parliament. In this ſubmiſſion the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be aſſembled by the king's authority only; they promiſed to enact no new canons without his conſent; and they agreed that he ſhould appoint thirty commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative. An appeal was alſo allowed from the Biſhops' Court to the king in Chancery.

It was alſo enacted, that the crown ſhould deſcend to the iſſue of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn; and failing ſuch, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewiſe was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of ſucceſſion, under the penalty of impriſonment during the king's pleaſure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlander againſt the king was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon.

A. D. 1534.] Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note who ſcrupled the oath of ſucceſſion. More was the perſon of greateſt reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed, that his authority would have great influence on the ſentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulneſs of the oath. He admitted that parliament had full power to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and offered to draw an oath himſelf, which would inſure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refuſed the oath preſcribed by law, becauſe the preamble aſſerted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage was invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwell, now ſecretary of ſtate, who highly loved and eſteemed More, intreated him to lay aſide his ſcruples: but he perſiſted, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his reſolution; and the king, irritated againſt him as well as Fiſher, ordered both to be indicted upon the ſtatute, and committed priſoners to the Tower; and in the next ſeſſion of parliament they were attainted for miſpriſion of treaſon.

Though Henry had renounced the authority of the ſee of Rome, becauſe it would not gratify his will, yet he had not embraced the ſyſtem of any religious reformer, and even valued himſelf on maintaining the orthodoxy of the catholic doctrines: but his miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and ſeemed to fluctuate, during the whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The young queen, however, engaged by intereſt, as well as inclination, favoured the cauſe of the reformers, which was alſo eſpouſed by Cromwell; who, being a man of prudence and abilities, was very ſucceſsful in promoting the reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury had ſecretly adopted the proteſtant tenets;

tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents for peace or war, he had great authority in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had enliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and by the ſuppleneſs of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, was of great avail in it's ſupport. Meanwhile the king, who held the balance between thoſe contending factions, was enabled, by the courtſhip paid him both by catholics and proteſtants, to aſſume an immeaſurable authority.

The ambiguity of his conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, ſerved in the main to encourage the proteſtant doctrine among his ſubjects, and promoted the ſpirit of innovation with which the age was generally ſeized. But as the minds of thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments were extremely exaſperated, it naturally followed, that ſeveral muſt fall a ſacrifice in the conteſt between ancient eſtabliſhments and modern reformation; and the abettors of the latter were the firſt who experienced the horrible effects of religious prejudices. Henry had, two years before, ordered the laws to be ſtrictly enforced againſt heretics; in conſequence of which, one James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accuſed of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before Sir Thomas More, during his chancellorſhip; when that virtuous miniſter, though adorned with the gentleſt manners, had carried to the utmoſt height his averſion to heterodoxy. The unfortunate Bainham, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. The ſame was the fate of one Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, who had embraced the new doctrine; but being terrified into an abjuration, he was ſo ſtung with remorſe, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct, and expoſing the errors of popery. He was ſoon ſeized, tried in the biſhop's court, condemned as a relapſed heretic, and burnt accordingly. When brought to the ſtake, he diſcovered ſuch patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the ſpectators were much affected with the horrors of his puniſhment. Another perſon, yet more heroic, being brought to the ſtake for denying the real preſence, ſeemed almoſt in a tranſport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots, prepared for his execution, as the means of procuring him eternal reſt. In ſhort, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, thoſe ſevere executions ſerved only to diffuſe it the more among the people, and to inſpire them with horror againſt the unrelenting perſecutors. On the other hand, Henry was not remiſs in puniſhing ſuch as diſowned the propriety of his late defection from Rome; and the monks, as they ſuffered moſt by the reformation, ſo were they moſt obnoxious, from their free manner of ſpeaking, to the royal reſentment. The king, impelled by his violent temper, and deſirous of ſtriking terror into the whole nation, proceeded to make examples even of Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and the celebrated Sir Thomas More.

A. D. 1535.] Fiſher was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into priſon, on account of his refuſing the oath which regarded the ſucceſſion, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but even ſtripped of his cloaths; and, without conſideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which ſcarcely ſufficed to cover his nakedneſs. In this condition, he lay in priſon above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompenſe the ſufferings of ſo faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though the prelate was ſo indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not ſtoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his oppoſition to royal authority, rouſed the indignation of the king, and he reſolved to make the unfortunate biſhop feel his reſentment.

Fiſher was indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

Fiſher's execution was intended as a warning to Sir Thomas More; whoſe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiouſly deſired by the king. Henry alſo entertained for More as great a perſonal regard as his imperious mind, the ſport of paſſions, was ſuſceptible of towards a man, who, in any particular, oppoſed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed upon to acknowledge any opinion ſo contrary to his principles as that of the king's ſupremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpoſe. Rich, the ſolicitor-general, was ſent to confer with More, then a priſoner, who kept a cautious ſilence with regard to the ſupremacy. He was only inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion with regard to the law, which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was a two-edged ſword: if a perſon anſwers one way, it will confound his ſoul; if another, it will deſtroy his body. Nothing further was wanting to found againſt him an indictment for high treaſon. His reſerve was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and theſe words, which had caſually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the ſupremacy. Trials, during this reign, were mere formalities: the jury gave ſentence againſt More, who had long expected his fate. His fortitude, his cheerfulneſs, nay, his uſual facetiouſneſs, never forſook him. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me up; and when I come down again, let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard; "For," ſaid he, "it never committed treaſon." He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When theſe executions were reported at Rome, Paul III. who was then pope, immediately paſſed cenſures againſt the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear at Rome within ninety days, in order to anſwer for their crimes. This not being complied with, he excommunicated them, deprived the king of his crown, laid the kingdom under an interdict, declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate, and freed his ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance. But though theſe cenſures were paſſed, they were not at that time openly denounced.

Henry was ſenſible that he might expect the utmoſt reſentment which it was poſſible for Charles to diſplay; and he therefore endeavoured, with all his power, to incapacitate that monarch from taking any opportunity of revenge. He renewed his friendſhip with Francis, and opened a negociation for marrying his infant daughter, Elizabeth, to the duke of Angouleme, Francis the Third's ſon. Theſe two ſovereigns alſo made advances to the princes of the proteſtant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition; and Henry, beſides remitting them money, ſent Fox biſhop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them.

A. D. 1536.] During theſe negociations, however, an incident happened in England which ſeemed to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catharine was ſeized with a lingering illneſs, and died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote to the king a very tender letter, in which ſhe gave him the appellation of her moſt dear lord, her king, and huſband. By this laſt tender proof of Catharine's affection, the king was touched even to the ſhedding of tears; but queen Anne is ſaid to have expreſſed her joy for the death of a rival in a manner inconſiſtent with decency, or even humanity.

The emperor thought that, as the demiſe of

of his aunt had removed all perſonal animoſity between him and Henry, it might not be impoſſible to detach him from the alliance of France; but his advances were received with coldneſs, and the ill ſucceſs that he met in his invaſion of Provence, ſerved to render the king of England more indifferent to his proffered friendſhip.

Henry, conſcious of the advantages of his ſituation, at laſt determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues. He delegated his ſupremacy to Cromwell, who was then ſecretary of ſtate, who employed commiſſioners to inquire into the conduct and deportment of all the friars. The reports of theſe were moſt unfavourable; and, if we may credit the ſuſpicious evidence they collected, monſtrous diſorders prevailed in many of the religious houſes. Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdneſs; friars accomplices in their crimes; and pious frauds every where practiſed, to increaſe the devotion and liberality of the people. Thoſe charges, whether true or falſe, were urged with great vehemence; and a general horror was excited in the nation againſt them. Some few monaſteries, terrified with this rigorous inquiſition, carried on by Cromwell and his commiſſioners, ſurrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received ſmall penſions, as the reward of their obſequiouſneſs. Orders were iſſued for the diſmiſſion of ſuch nuns and friars as were under twenty-four years of age; whoſe vows were, on that account, ſuppoſed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to ſuch as were above that age. But as all theſe expedients did not fully anſwer the king's purpoſe, he had recourſe to his uſual inſtrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the viſitors was publiſhed. The king, though determined to aboliſh the monaſtic order, reſolved to proceed gradually in the enterpriſe; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no farther at preſent than to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries, which poſſeſſed revenues below two hundred pounds a year. By this act three hundred and ſeventy-ſix monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thouſand pounds a year, were granted to the king; excluſive of their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at an hundred thouſand pounds more.

About two years after a new viſitation was appointed, and freſh crimes were alſo produced. The ſame ſeverity was therefore exerciſed againſt all the remaining monaſteries, which amounted to ſix hundred and forty-five, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. There were beſides demoliſhed ninety-two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chauntries, and free chapels, with a hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of thoſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds, about a twentieth part of the national income.

In the convocation which ſat during this ſeſſion of parliament, a vote was paſſed for publiſhing a new tranſlation of the ſcriptures; and in three years time the work was finiſhed, and printed at Paris. Henry having obtained all that he deſired, the parliament was diſſolved, after having continued during ſix years. This is the firſt inſtance of any parliament having exiſted ſo long. Examples ought not to be brought from this iniquitous reign. While the abettors of the reformation were exulting in it's proſperity, their hopes were ſuddenly blaſted by the diſgrace and ſubſequent tragedy of the queen, who was their great patroneſs, and had on that account many enemies, ready to embrace any opportunity of deſtroying her credit with the king.

She had been delivered of a dead ſon; and Henry's extreme fondneſs for male iſſue being thus for the preſent diſappointed, his temper, equally violent and ſuperſtitious, was diſpoſed to make the innocent mother anſwerable for the misfortune. But the chief

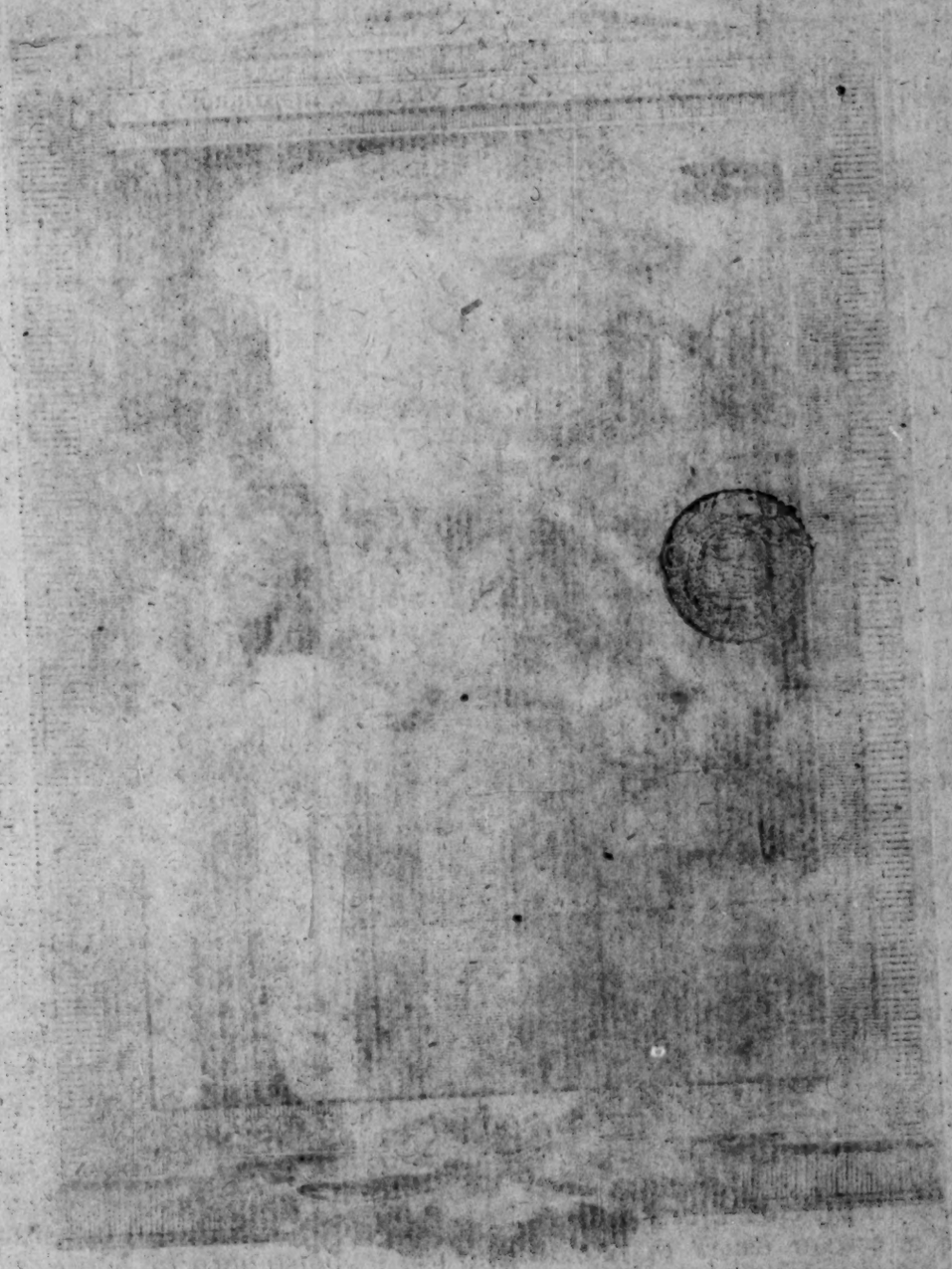
chief means employed by Anne's enemies to inflame the king againſt her, was his jealouſy. Anne, though ſhe appears to have been entirely innocent, and virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety of temper, which rendered her leſs circumſpect than her ſituation required. A malignant interpretation was therefore put upon her harmleſs levities. The viſcounteſs of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her ſiſter-in-law, inſinuated the moſt injurious ſuſpicions into the king's mind; and being a woman of a profligate character, ſhe paid no regard either to truth or humanity in the calumnies which ſhe ſuggeſted. She pretended that her own huſband maintained a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter. Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were obſerved to poſſeſs much of the queen's friendſhip. The king's jealouſy, once excited, was inflamed by the ſlighteſt circumſtance; and his love was alſo now transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over him; and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Having formed the deſign of raiſing this lady to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every ſuggeſtion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

Henry's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief. This incident, probably caſual, was interpreted by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours. He immediately retired, ſent orders to confine her to her chamber, arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, with her brother, Rocheford, and threw them into priſon. The queen, aſtoniſhed at thoſe tranſactions, thought that he meant only to try her temper; but finding him in earneſt, and knowing his unrelenting ſpirit, ſhe prepared herſelf for that doom which was awaiting her. Next day ſhe was ſent to the Tower; on her way thither ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been ignorant. Her ſurpriſe and confuſion threw her into hyſterical diſorders, from which when ſhe had recovered, ſhe thought that the beſt proof of her innocence was to make an entire confeſſion. She therefore acknowledged ſome trifling indiſcretions and levities of which ſhe had been guilty. The king, inſtead of being ſatisfied with what her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and avow, regarded theſe indiſcretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

Though the queen wrote Henry a letter, full of the moſt tender expoſtulations, and the warmeſt proteſtations of innocence, it produced no effect on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by her death. Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence appeared againſt them. The chief proof of their guilt conſiſted in a hearſay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confeſſion, for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed, as were Brereton and Weſton. Norris had been much in the king's favour, and an offer of life was made him, if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe the queen; but he generouſly rejected the propoſal, and ſaid, that he would rather die a thouſand deaths than calumniate an innocent perſon.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers: the chief evidence, it is ſaid, amounted to no more, than that Rocheford had been ſeen to lean on her bed before ſome company. Part of the charge againſt her was, that ſhe had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her affection; and had

Commitment of ANNA BULLEN to the Tower



had ſaid to each of them apart, that ſhe loved him better than any perſon whatſoever; which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the king and her. By this ſtrained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any ſlander upon the king, queen, or their iſſue. Such palpable abſurdities were at that time admitted, and they were regarded by the peers of England as a ſufficient reaſon for ſacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unaſſiſted by counſel, ſhe defended herſelf with preſence of mind; and the ſpectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court both againſt the queen and lord Rocheford; and their verdict contained, that ſhe ſhould be burned or beheaded at the king's pleaſure. When this dreadful ſentence was pronounced, ſhe was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not deſerved this fate!" Then turning to the judges, ſhe made the moſt pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not ſatisfied with this cruel vengeance, was reſolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iſſue illegitimate. He recalled to his memory that, a little before her appearance in the Engliſh court, ſome attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now queſtioned the nobleman with regard to theſe engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbiſhops, that no contract of marriage had ever paſſed between them; he received the ſacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk, and others of the privy council; and this ſolemn act he accompanied with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of veracity. The queen, however, was ſhaken by menaces of executing the ſentence againſt her in it's greateſt rigour, and was prevailed on to confeſs in court ſome lawful impediments to her marriage with the king. The afflicted primate, who ſat as judge, thought himſelf obliged by this confeſſion to pronounce the marriage null and void.

She, who had been once the envied object of royal favour, was now going to give a memorable inſtance of the capriciouſneſs of fortune, and prepared for ſuffering the death to which ſhe was ſentenced. She ſent to the king her laſt meſſage, acknowledging the obligations which ſhe owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement. From a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen, and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven. She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; continuing to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with cheerfulneſs. "The executioner," ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert, and my neck is very ſlender." Upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. On the 19th of May ſhe was brought to the ſcaffold, where ſhe prayed heartily for the king, and recommended to the world to judge candidly of him. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for on purpoſe, as being more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion; her only crime was that of having ſurvived the king's affections; and Henry made the moſt effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution.

The parliament had the meanneſs to join in gratifying his lawleſs paſſions; his divorce was ratified by that aſſembly; the iſſue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue by Jane Seymour, or

any ſubſequent wife; and in caſe he ſhould die without children, he was empowered by his will to diſpoſe of the crown.

The convocation were not leſs obſequious; according to the wiſhes of Henry, they determined the ſtandard of faith to conſiſt in the ſcriptures, and the three creeds, the Apoſtolic, Nicene, and Athanaſian; and this article was a ſignal victory to the reformers. Auricular confeſſion and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics. No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the proteſtants appeared. The real preſence was aſſerted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitably to the new principles. Theſe articles were formed by the convocation, corrected by the king, and ſubſcribed by every member of that aſſembly; while perhaps not one man could be found, except Henry himſelf, who had adopted preciſely theſe doctrines. The proteſtants, all of them, carried their oppoſition to Rome farther than thoſe articles; none of the catholics went ſo far; and the king, by being able to retain the nation in ſuch a delicate medium, diſplayed the utmoſt power of an imperious deſpotiſm, of which any hiſtory furniſhes an example. He made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient not only to his intereſts and paſſions, but even to his caprices. The concurrence of thoſe two national aſſemblies ſerved to increaſe the king's power over the people, and raiſed him to an authority more abſolute than any prince in even an abſolute monarchy by means of military force is able to attain.

The late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the monaſteries, had bred diſcontent among the people, and diſpoſed them to revolt. A ſpirit of diſſatisfaction had even ſeized ſome of the nobility and gentry, whoſe anceſtors had founded the monaſteries, and who placed a vanity in thoſe inſtitutions, as well as reaped ſome benefit from them, by the proviſions which they afforded them for their younger children; and as Cromwell was little acceptable to the eccleſiaſtics, the new and unlimited authority which he exerciſed inſpired them with diſguſt and terror. The firſt inſurrection was in Lincolnſhire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was diſguiſed in the habit of a mechanic, and who aſſumed the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thouſand men; but they ſhewed little diſpoſition of proceeding to extremities againſt the king, by whoſe authority they ſeemed ſtill to be overawed. They acknowledged him to be ſupreme head of the church in England; but they complained of ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, and of evil counſellors; and they prayed the king to conſult the nobility of the realm concerning the redreſs of thoſe grievances. Henry returned a very ſharp anſwer to their petition, and ſent againſt them a body of forces, under the command of the duke of Suffolk. There were ſome gentry, whom the populace had conſtrained to take part with them, and who kept a ſecret correſpondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that reſentment againſt the king's reply was the chief cauſe which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder anſwer would probably ſuppreſs the rebellion.

Henry had levied a great force in London, with which he was preparing to march againſt the rebels; and being ſo well ſupported by power, he thought that, without loſing his dignity, he might now ſhew them ſome greater condeſcenſion. He accordingly iſſued a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of pardon. This expedient had the deſired effect; the populace diſperſed; and Mackrel, with ſome other of their leaders, who fell into the king's hands, were executed. The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their uſual occupations; but a few of the more obſtinate fled to the north, where they joined the inſurrection that was raiſed in thoſe parts.

The

The malcontents in the north were not only more numerous, but more formidable than thoſe of Lincolnſhire, becauſe the people were more accuſtomed to arms, and becauſe of their vicinity to the Scots, who might take advantage of theſe diſorders. A gentleman, named Aſke, had taken the command of them, and he poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. They gave their enterpriſe the title of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Before them marched ſome prieſts, in the habits of their order, carrying croſſes in their hands. They all took an oath, that they had no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's perſon and iſſue, their deſire of purifying the nobility, of driving baſe-born perſons from about the king, of reſtoring the church, and of ſuppreſſing hereſy.

About forty thouſand men from the counties of York, Durham, and other northern provinces, flocked to their ſtandard; and their zeal, no leſs than their numbers, inſpired the court with apprehenſions. But theſe alſo were ſoon diſperſed, upon finding their proviſions grown ſhort; after having in vain endeavoured to attack the duke of Norfolk's army, which was ſent againſt them, and from which they were ſeparated by a rivulet, that was ſwoln by heavy rains. A new inſurrection broke out ſhortly after, headed by Muſgrave and Filby; but the inſurgents were diſperſed and put to flight by the duke of Norfolk. Several of their leaders were thrown into priſon, condemned, and executed.

This ſucceſs was ſoon followed by an event which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a ſon, who was baptiſed by the name of Edward; but the queen died two days after. The prince, not ſix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter.

A. D. 1538.] Henry was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have ſtopped his oppoſition againſt Rome, but ſome other object of animoſity. Though he had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem in which he had been educated, he was no leſs dogmatical in the few articles which he retained, than if the whole fabric had been unſhaken. The point on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy happened to be the *real preſence*, and all departure from this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable.

Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter of London, had preſumed to draw up his objections to the corporal preſence under ten ſeveral heads; in reply to a ſermon of Dr. Taylor, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, on that ſubject. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who was a Lutheran, and maintained, that though the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the ſacrament, yet the real body and blood of Chriſt were there alſo, and in a myſterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the laws and practice of the time, Barnes was no leſs expoſed to the ſtake than Lambert; yet ſuch was the perſecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign puniſhment. He therefore engaged Taylor to accuſe Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer; who, whatever might be their private opinion, conformed to the ſtandard of orthodoxy eſtabliſhed by Henry.

When Lambert was cited before the prelates, they endeavoured to perſuade him to recant; but, inſtead of complying, he appealed to the king. Henry, pleaſed with an incident which afforded him an occaſion, not only of exerting his ſupremacy, but diſplaying his theological learning, accepted the appeal. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the liſts with the ſchoolmaſter. Scaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience. Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enſigns of majeſty. The prelates were placed on his right hand, the temporal peers on his left. The judges and moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops; the courtiers of greateſt diſtinction behind the peers; and in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly

was

was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt.

The king, with a ſtern countenance, aſked Lambert, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar? and when Lambert began his reply with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with arguments drawn from ſcripture and the ſchoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning and the extent of his erudition. Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics. Gardiner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer; Tonſtal next took up the argument, and was followed by Stokeſley; after whom ſix more biſhops ſucceſſively ſpoke on the ſubject: at laſt Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abaſhed, was reduced to ſilence. The king then returning to the charge, aſked him whether he was convinced? and he propoſed, as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, Whether he were reſolved to live or to die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in a virtuous inflexibility, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency. The king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that were his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the ſentence againſt him.

Lambert underwent with great fortitude the puniſhment to which he was condemned. He was burned at a ſlow fire. His legs and thighs were conſumed to the ſtumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, ſome of the guards, more merciful than the reſt, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was conſumed. When they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud ſeveral times, "None but Chriſt! none but Chriſt!" and theſe words were in his mouth when he expired. This was ſucceeded by ſeveral other executions, equally cruel, of perſons of both ſexes.

Nothing can exceed the abject ſervility of parliament during this reign. Having reſigned their *religious liberties*, they now proceeded to an entire ſurrender of their civil, and without ſcruple or deliberation they made by one act a total ſubverſion of the Engliſh conſtitution. They gave to the king's proclamation all the validity of a ſtatute, authoriſing him to enforce obedience by ſuch pains and penalties as he might think proper, in the ſame manner as if it had been an act of the legiſlature. By another act, he was authoriſed to create as many biſhops and biſhoprics, and endow them, as he thought proper; he was alſo allowed to appropriate to his own uſe, and that of his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, all monaſteries, nunneries, abbeys, priories, colleges, hoſpitals, and other religious and eccleſiaſtical houſes, and manors belonging to them, as were already, or ſhould be diſſolved. But what rendered this parliament ſo remarkable in the hiſtory of thoſe times, was an act they paſſed called the Bill of the Six Articles, or as the proteſtants more juſtly termed it, the *Bloody Bill*. By this law, tranſubſtantiation, or the real preſence in the ſacrament, was eſtabliſhed, communion in both kinds was allowed to none but prieſts, the celibacy of the clergy was confirmed, vows of chaſtity were declared to be binding, private maſſes to be uſeful, and auricular confeſſion neceſſary to ſalvation. Whoever denied the real preſence was ſubject to death by burning, and forfeiture as in caſes of treaſon, without being admitted the privilege of abjuration. For the other five articles, if they recanted, they were only puniſhed by their effects, and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure; but an obſtinate adherence to their opinion, or a relapſe, was puniſhable with death and forfeiture. The marriage of prieſts ſubjected them to the ſame puniſhment; and thoſe who had illicit commerce with women, ſuffered for the firſt offence forfeiture and impriſonment; for the ſecond, death; and the women were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner as the prieſts.

Henry was preſent every day during this debate,

debate, and made a great parade of his learning in the House of Peers, so that the parliament gave him public thanks. Commissions were issued for the rigid execution of this act, and ecclesiastical incumbents were to read it once a quarter in their churches.

This detestable act opened the flood-gates of civil murder; and the reader may expect, during the remainder of this reign, to meet with barbarities, under the form of justice, as horrid as any in profane history, under the most bloody tyrants. This law, which was written in blood, threw the nation into a ferment. Catholics and protestants became alike the victims of Henry's indignation. Cranmer had the good fortune to weather the storm, though he opposed the act: he was obliged to part with his wife, and he sent her back to Nuremberg, of which she was a native. But Latimer and Shaxton were more obstinate; they refused to submit to the articles, threw up their bishoprics, and were committed to the Tower. Several persons of considerable rank were attainted of high treason. Cromwell, who drove on furiously those prosecutions, had consulted the judges, whether a person could be attainted without giving him trial, or citing him to appear before parliament? They replied, that no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner; but the parliament being the supreme judicature, their proceedings could not be questioned, but must remain good in law. By this answer Henry perceived that his method was practicable, though contrary to all the principles of natural justice.

Immediately on the death of Jane Seymour, Henry began to think of a new marriage. His friendship for Francis induced him to think of a French princess; and he proposed to Francis that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal; he was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser. Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

A. D. 1539.] The king next turned his thoughts towards a German alliance, and was encouraged in that intention by Cromwell, who proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes. A flattering picture of the princess, by Hans Holbein, determined Henry to apply to her father, and after some negociation, the marriage was concluded. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her of the size that he wished, but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace, and very unlike the representations and pictures which he had received. He swore that she was a great Flanders mare; and declared, that he never could bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but the Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant. It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess sent back to her own country: but an alliance with the German princes seemed now, more than ever, requisite for the king's interest and safety; and it was certain, that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her family and friends.

A. D. 1540.] Henry therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; telling Cromwell, that, since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in the affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him, that he hated her more than ever. He was resolved not

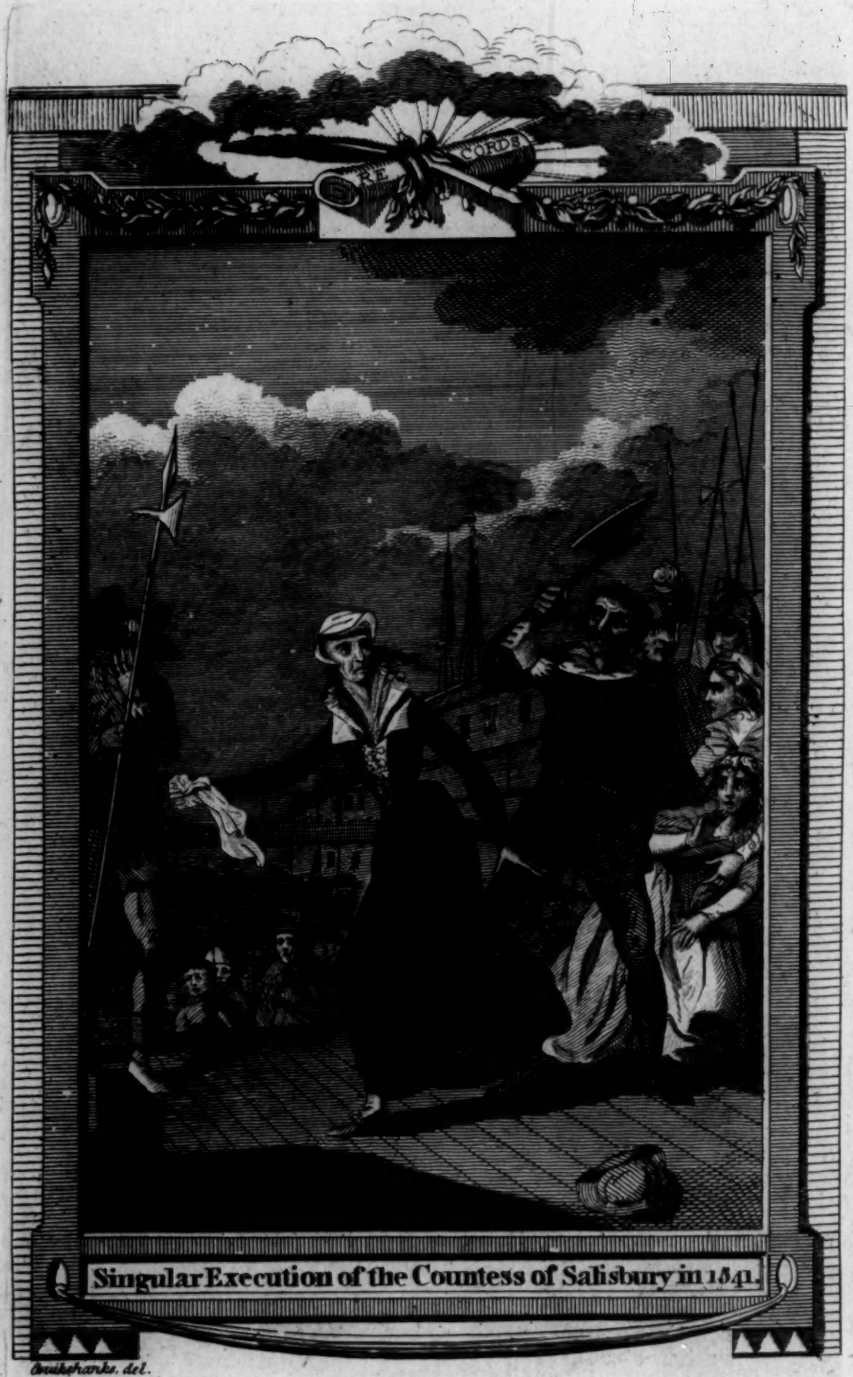
not to cohabit with her, and even ſuſpected her not to be a virgin; a point about which he was extremely ſcrupulous.

This averſion to the queen increaſed every day, and Henry at length reſolved to get rid both of her and his prime miniſter. The fall of this favourite was long and ardently wiſhed for by a part of the nation. The nobility hated a man who, though born the ſon of a blackſmith, had obtained precedency of the firſt perſons in the kingdom; for, beſides being vicar-general, he was lord privy-ſeal, lord chamberlain, and maſter of the wards. He had alſo obtained the order of the Garter, and had been created earl of Eſſex. He was no leſs obnoxious both to the proteſtants and papiſts: the former diſliked him for his concurrence with the king's will in their perſecution, and the papiſts deteſted him as the inveterate enemy of their religion. The king alſo, who found that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by making ſo eaſy a ſacrifice, to regain the affections of his ſubjects. To theſe cauſes was added a new motive for producing a revolution in the miniſtry. The king had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort, to raiſe Catharine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long entertained an enmity againſt Cromwell, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin this miniſter, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey; and every thing being prepared, he obtained from the king a commiſſion to arreſt Cromwell at the council-table, on an accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after a bill of attainder was framed againſt him; and the Houſe of Peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the univerſe. The Houſe of Commons paſſed the bill, though not without ſome oppoſition. Cromwell was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; but the proofs of his treaſonable practices are utterly improbable, and even ridiculous. Cromwell endeavoured to ſoften the king by the moſt humble ſupplications, but to no purpoſe. When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the ſentence pronounced upon him, knowing that Henry would reſent on his ſon every remonſtrance againſt the juſtice of his ſentence, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He thanked God for bringing him to that death for his tranſgreſſions; confeſſed that he had often been ſeduced, but that he now died in the catholic faith. Having ſpent ſome time in private devotion, he ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a terrible manner. He was a man of induſtry and abilities, but entirely devoted to the will of his maſter, who rewarded him as he deſerved.

The meaſures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the ſame time as the bill of attainder againſt Cromwell. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine. The king pleaded this contract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reaſons, which may ſeem a little extraordinary; that, when he eſpouſed Anne, he had not "inwardly" given his conſent, and that he had not thought proper to conſummate the marriage. The convocation, ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, ſolemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen. The parliament ratified the deciſion of the clergy, and the ſentence was ſoon after notified to the princeſs, who was endowed with ſo happy an inſenſibility of temper, that ſhe willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his ſiſter, to give her precedency next the queen and his own daughter, and to make her a ſettlement of three thouſand pounds a year, ſhe accepted of the conditions, and gave her conſent to the divorce. She refuſed to return to her own country,

Conquest of C. HOWARD over HENRY VIII.

Ansell del.



Singular Execution of the Countess of Salisbury in 1541.

Cruikshanks. del.

country, after the affront which ſhe had received; and lived and died in England.

Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves was ſoon after followed by his marriage with Catharine Howard; an event which was regarded as highly favourable to the catholic party. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, there commenced againſt the proteſtants a furious perſecution, and the law of the Six Articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cauſe of Lambert's execution, experienced, in his turn, the ſeverity of the perſecuting ſpirit; and, by a bill, which paſſed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames; as were likewiſe Jerome and Gerard. Even at the ſtake he diſcuſſed theological queſtions; and as the diſputes between him and the ſheriff turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid, that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the ſheriff, and all the ſpectators.

During this violence againſt the proteſtants, Henry ſpared not the catholics who denied his ſupremacy; ſo that a foreigner, who was then in England, had reaſon to ſay, that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged. The king even diſplayed, in an oſtentatious manner, this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to ſubjection, and inſuſed terror into every breaſt. Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and with them was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was alſo executed for his religion. Theſe catholics were Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powell; who declared, that the moſt grievous part of their puniſhment was the being coupled to ſuch heretical miſcreants as ſuffered with them.

Though the ſpirit of the nation ſeemed to be totally extinguiſhed by the deſpotic power of Henry, there appeared ſome ſymptoms of diſcontent. An inconſiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkſhire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The inſurgents were ſuppoſed to have been inſtigated by cardinal Pole; and the king, therefore, determined to make the counteſs of Saliſbury, who lay under ſentence of death, ſuffer for her ſon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron, who was ſeventy-four years old, ſtill maintained, in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of the long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended. She refuſed to lay her head on the block, or ſubmit to a ſentence when ſhe had received no trial. She told the executioner, that, if he would have her head, he muſt win it in the beſt way he could; and thus, ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold, and the executioner followed her with his axe, aiming at her neck many fruitleſs blows before he was able to give the fatal ſtroke. Thus periſhed the laſt of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the ſpace of three hundred years. Soon after lord Leonard Grey was alſo beheaded for treaſon.

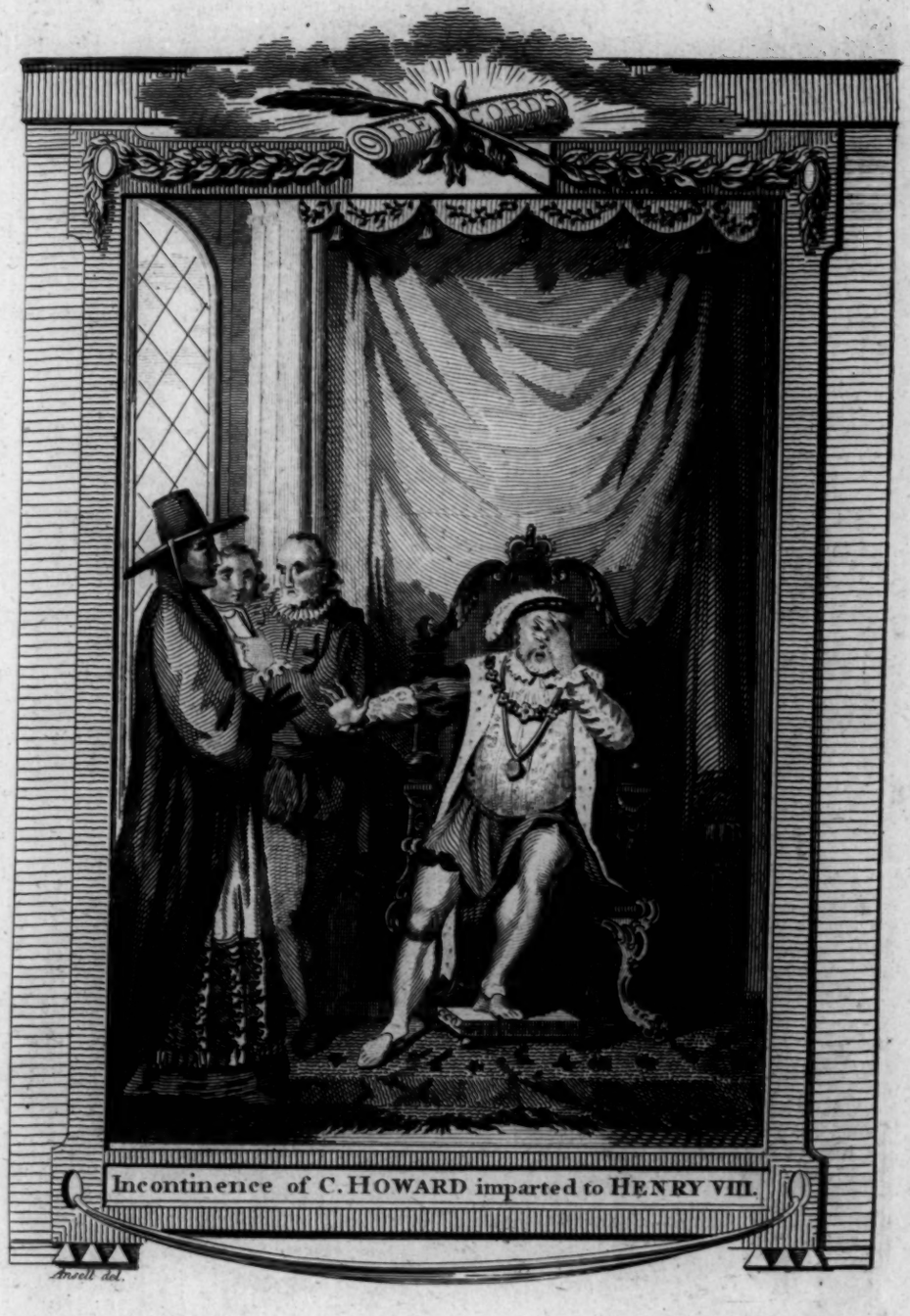
A. D. 1541.] Henry had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage; and was ſo captivated with the queen's accompliſhments, that he even gave public thanks for his felicity. This joy, however, proved of ſhort duration. While he was at York, upon an intended conference with the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Laſceſles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and from the information of this man's ſiſter, who had been ſervant to the ducheſs-dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very extraordinary account of the queen's incontinence. He affirmed, that, before her marriage with the king, Derham and Mannoc, both of them ſervants to the ducheſs, had been admitted to her bed; and that, ſince ſhe had been raiſed to her preſent greatneſs, ſhe continued to indulge herſelf in the ſame criminal pleaſures. The primate, ſtruck with this intelligence, which to conceal or diſcover were equally dangerous, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor, who adviſed him to make the king acquainted with

with the whole affair on his return to London. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely aſtoniſhed at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of the queen, that at firſt he gave no credit to the information; and he ordered the keeper of the privy-ſeal to examine Laſcelles, who perſiſted in the information he had given, and even produced his ſiſter, to confirm his narrative. She was extremely particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arreſted at the ſame time, and examined by the chancellor, corroborated the queen's guilt by their confeſſion. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and ſome of them had even paſſed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king; who was ſo deeply affected, that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. The queen, being next queſtioned, denied her guilt; but, when informed that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before marriage, and only inſiſted, that ſhe had never been falſe to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage; and it appearing that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve little credit in this aſſeveration.

A. D. 1542.] Henry, ſenſible that he could not, by any means, ſo fully ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals as by aſſembling a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny, had recourſe to that expedient. The two Houſes, having received the queen's confeſſion, deſired leave of the king to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. Having obtained a gracious anſwer to thoſe requeſts, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder againſt the queen, and the viſcounteſs Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were alſo comprehended. At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old ducheſs of Norfolk, Catharine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine other perſons; becauſe they knew the queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. The king, however, ſeems to have been ſo far ſenſible of the cruelty of this proceeding, that he pardoned the ducheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others, condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

But Henry, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from any ſimilar accident, engaged the parliament to paſs a law ſomewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, that any one who ſhould know, or ſtrongly ſuſpected, any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law, againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering to others. It was alſo enacted, that, if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, if ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ſingular clauſe, and ſaid, that henceforth the king muſt look out for a widow, for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute. After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen, with lady Rocheford, was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Farther ſteps were now taken by Henry towards the diſſolution of colleges, hoſpitals, and other inſtitutions of that nature; and the revenues of thoſe houſes were expoſed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites. He next extorted from many of the biſhops a ſurrender of chapter lands, and enriched his greedy paraſites and flatterers with their ſpoils. His rapacity was gratified by plundering


RECORDS
Incontinence of C. HOWARD imparted to HENRY VIII.
Ansell del.

HENRY VIII.

receiving the first Translation of the BIBLE

dering the church, and his bigotry by perſecuting heretics. Though he had engaged the parliament to mitigate the puniſhment of prieſts who ſhould marry, by ſubjecting them only to the forfeiture of goods and lands during life, he was ſtill equally determined to enforce his own ſpecious principles. By virtue of his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, he had appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of ſeveral biſhops and other divines, to chooſe a religion for his people. Before the commiſſioners had made any progreſs in this undertaking, the parliament, in 1541, had paſſed a law, by which were ratified all the tenets which ſhould be eſtabliſhed by thoſe divines, with the king's conſent. In conſequence of which, a ſmall volume was publiſhed, called the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man; which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the ſtandard of orthodoxy. The king's caprice is diſcernible through the whole; and in reality the book is to be regarded as his compoſition. But Henry, not long ſatisfied with this rule of faith, gave orders for compoſing a new one, entitled the Erudition of a Chriſtian Man; and this, without aſking the aſſent of the convocation, he publiſhed by his own authority. It differs from the Inſtitution; but the king was no leſs poſitive in his new creed, than he had been in the old, and required the faith of the nation to vary with his own inconſtancy. In both thoſe compoſitions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and he was equally careful to enforce the practice of it.

The Bible had been preſented to the king, and publiſhed under the following title: "The Bible in Engliſh, of the largeſt and greateſt Volume, uſed and appointed by our Sovereign Prince King Henry VIII. ſupreme Head of the Church and Realm of England, to be frequented and uſed in every Church within this his ſaid realm, according to the Tenor of his former Injunctions given in that Behalf: overſeen and peruſed, at the Command of the King's Highneſs, by the Reverend Father in God Cuthbert Biſhop of Durham, and Nicholas Biſhop of Rocheſter. Printed by Richard Grafton, *cum Privilegio ad Imprimendum ſolum*, 1541." But while the king was ſpreading his own books over the nation, he was extremely perplexed, as were alſo the clergy, what courſe to take with the ſcriptures. The knowledge of the people, and their taſte for diſputation, was an inconvenience ſtill more dangerous; and the king and parliament, ſoon after the publication of the ſcriptures, retracted the conceſſions which they had made, and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from peruſing them. Even that liberty was not granted without heſitation, and a dread of the conſequences. Thoſe perſons were permitted to read, "ſo it be done quietly, and with good order."

Henry, being determined to avenge himſelf on the king of Scots for ſlighting ſome advances which he had made him, began preparations for war; and as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he publiſhed a manifeſto, by which he endeavoured to juſtify hoſtilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining a promiſed interview; of his granting protection to ſome rebels and fugitives; and he even revived the obſolete claim to the vaſſalage of Scotland, and ſummoned James to do homage to him, as his liege lord and ſuperior. He gave the command of the war to the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the Scourge of the Scots; and though James ſent the biſhop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darſay, to appeaſe his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation.

While Norfolk was aſſembling his army at Newcaſtle, Sir Robert Bowes, and others, made an incurſion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intent of pillaging and deſtroying that town. James had poſted a conſiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vaſſals, was haſtening to join Huntley, when meeting with the Engliſh army under Bowes, an action immediately enſued; but the latter, afraid of being over-

powered, took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Some perſons of diſtinction, were made priſoners, but few were killed.

Meanwhile the duke of Norfolk, with an army of twenty thouſand men, paſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thouſand men, they repaſſed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country. The king of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory and revenge, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England; but was ſurpriſed to find, that his nobility, who were in general diſaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in the enterpriſe. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to act againſt the enemy. He ſent to the weſtern borders ten thouſand men, who entered England at Solway Frith; and himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of the nobles, he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving lord Maxwell, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely diſguſted with this alteration, and was ready to diſband; when there appeared a ſmall body of Engliſh, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. The Scots, ſeized with a panic, immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed, but many made priſoners, among whom were ſeveral of the nobility. The king of Scots, hearing of this diſaſter, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; and being naturally of a melancholy diſpoſition, as well as endowed with a high ſpirit, he loſt all command of his temper on this occaſion, and abandoned himſelf to deſpair. His anxiety throwing him into a fever, his life began to be thought in danger. He had no iſſue living; and hearing that his queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked whether ſhe had brought him a ſon or a daughter? Being told the latter, he turned himſelf in his bed, "The crown came with a woman," ſaid he, "and it will go with one. Many miſeries await this poor kingdom. Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." He expired a few days after, in the flower of his age, a prince of conſiderable virtues and talents.

Henry was no ſooner informed of this victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreſeen, the ſcheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon, Edward, to the heireſs of that kingdom. He offered to ſet the Scottiſh nobles at liberty without ranſom, on a promiſe of favouring the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young princeſs. They readily gave their aſſent to the propoſal; and being conducted to Newcaſtle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk, hoſtages for their return, in caſe the intended nuptials ſhould not be completed.

A. D. 1543.] Henry's intereſt, however, in Scotland, was oppoſed by the French intrigues; which ſo much excited his reſentment, that he formed the reſolution of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with thoſe of the emperor. While the treaty with the latter was negociating, the king ſummoned a new parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies for his projected war with France. The parliament, beſide granting him a ſubſidy, facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamation was made equal to ſtatutes: ſevere penalties were alſo enacted againſt thoſe who preached or taught contrary to the king's book, the Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, or contrary to any doctrine which he ſhould thereafter promulgate.

In about a year after the execution of the laſt queen, Henry once more changed his condition, by marrying his ſixth and laſt wife, Catharine Parr, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and ſomewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been

been foretold in jeſt, that he would be obliged to eſpouſe a widow.

A. D. 1544.] While the winter ſeaſon reſtrained Henry from any military operations, he ſummoned a new parliament; in which a law was paſſed, ſuch as he was pleaſed to dictate, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male iſſue, were firſt and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament reſtored the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of ſucceſſion. Though this opened the way for theſe two princeſſes to mount the throne, the king cauſed the acts to be reverſed, which had declared them illegitimate. He even made the parliament confer on him a power of ſtill excluding them, if they refuſed to ſubmit to any conditions which he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own iſſue, he might diſpoſe of the crown as he pleaſed, by will or letters patent. An act alſo paſſed, declaring the king's uſual ſtyle ſhould be, "King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on Earth the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland." All his ſubjects, of any diſtinction, had already been obliged to renounce the pope's ſupremacy; but as the clauſes to which they ſwore had not been deemed entirely ſatisfactory, another oath was impoſed; and it was added, that all thoſe who had taken the former oaths, ſhould be underſtood to have taken the new one. A ſtrange ſuppoſition! to repreſent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The parliament was in every thing obſequious to the king, except when he demanded ſubſidies, however moderate; and therefore, that he might not hazard a refuſal, he had recourſe to other methods of filling his exchequer, which was exhauſted by his military operations and uſual prodigality. He not only required from his ſubjects new loans, but he enhanced gold from forty-five ſhillings to forty-eight an ounce; and ſilver from three ſhillings and nine-pence to four ſhillings. He even coined ſome baſe money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commiſſioners for levying a benevolence; and by this expedient he extorted about ſeventy thouſand pounds. An alderman of London, named Read, a man ſomewhat advanced in years, having refuſed to contribute, or not in the ſum demanded by the commiſſioners, was inrolled as a foot-ſoldier in the Scottiſh wars, and was there made priſoner. Roach, who had alſo been refractory, was thrown into priſon, and obliged to purchaſe his liberty by a large compenſation.

Theſe extortions enabled him to invade Scotland with a fleet and army. The fleet conſiſted of near two hundred veſſels, and carried on board ten thouſand men. Dudley lord Liſle commanded the ſea forces, the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were diſembarked near Leith; and after diſperſing a ſmall body which oppoſed them, they without reſiſtance made themſelves maſters of that town, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon beaten down; and the Engliſh not only pillaged, but ſet fire to the city. The regent, not being prepared to oppoſe ſo great a force, fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eaſtward; and being joined by a new body, under Evers, warden of the eaſt marches, he laid waſte the whole country, burned and deſtroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England, having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition.

The reaſon of Henry's recalling his troops ſo ſoon from this incurſion, was his eagerneſs to carry on a projected enterpriſe againſt France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had, with the emperor, concerted a plan, which threatened the total ruin of the French monarchy, and muſt, as a neceſſary conſequence, have involved the ruin of England. Thoſe two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above an hundred thouſand men. Henry engaged to ſet out from Calais, Charles from the Low Countries. They were to undertake no ſiege, but, leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march

march directly to Paris; where, uniting their forces, they were thence to proceed to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. To theſe formidable preparations Francis could not oppoſe much above forty thouſand men.

Neither Charles nor Henry adhered, however, to this plan. The emperor having taken Commercy and Ligny, inveſted St. Didier on the Maine; and Henry, having divided his forces, formed himſelf the ſiege of Boulogne, while that of Montreuil was carried on by the duke of Norfolk. Vervin was governor of Boulogne, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards beheaded for this diſhonourable capitulation.

During the courſe of this ſiege Charles had taken St. Didier; and finding the ſeaſon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty with France, ſince all his ſchemes for ſubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour; and that the emperor himſelf had firſt broken the concert, by beſieging St. Didier. This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, ſo advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the deciſive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialiſts at Ceriſolles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great deſire to turn his arms againſt the proteſtant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to ſeparate from the Engliſh in Picardy; and Henry, finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, returned into England, after a fruitleſs and expenſive expedition.

A. D. 1545.] The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various ſucceſs; with fifteen thouſand men Arran ravaged the eaſt borders of England, and returned with his booty; and the earl of Hertford, in revenge, laid waſte the middle and weſt marches.

Nor was the war againſt France maintained with more vigour. Henry, to defend his poſſeſſions there, had levied fourteen thouſand Germans; but the emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions. They received intelligence of a ſuperior army on the ſide of France ready to intercept them; want of occupation and of pay ſoon produced a mutiny among them; and having ſecured the Engliſh commiſſaries as a ſecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There ſeems to have been ſome want of foreſight in this expenſive armament.

The great expence of theſe two wars maintained by Henry obliged him to ſummon a new parliament. The Commons granted him a ſubſidy, payable in two years, of two ſhillings a pound on land; the ſpirituality voted him ſix ſhillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehenſive leſt more demands ſhould be made upon them, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property. They beſtowed on the king all the revenues of the univerſities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels, and hoſpitals. Henry was pleaſed with this conceſſion, as it increaſed his power; but he ſoon informed the univerſities, that he meant not to touch their revenues; ſo that theſe ancient and celebrated eſtabliſhments owe their exiſtence to the

the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostitute parliament.

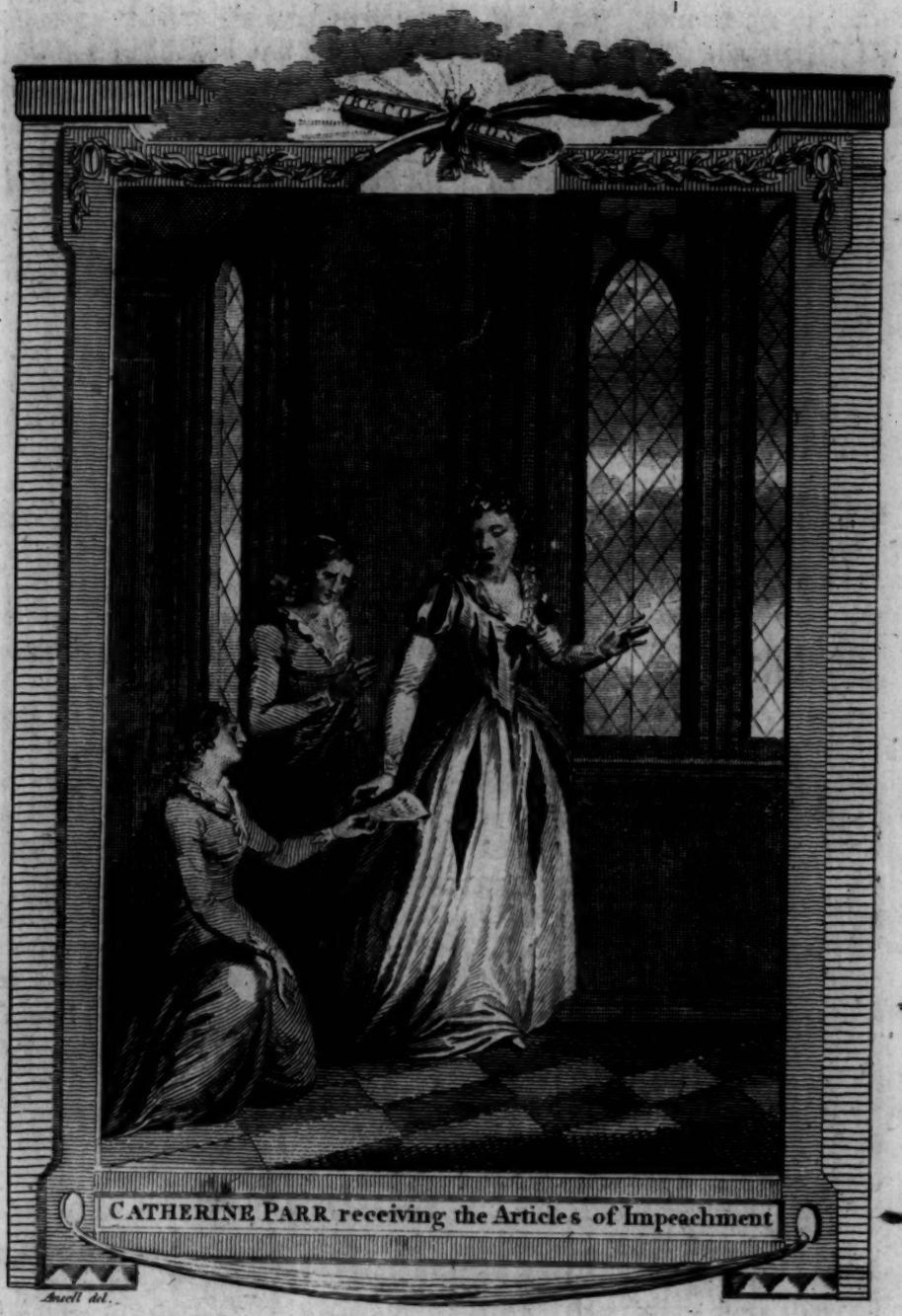
A. D. 1546.] Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford, and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of little importance ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase in corpulence, and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis, likewise, on his part, was not averse to a peace with England. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small town between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and the treaty of peace signed by them, in which Scotland was included. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or until the debt due by Francis should be paid. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt, which was not a third of the value.

The king now having leisure, proceeded to establish an uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he permitted an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to allow, that the Litany should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; an innovation by which he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the Six Articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to save us "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities." Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor. But Gardiner having written to the king, that, if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer this year lost the most powerful friend that he had at court, the duke of Suffolk, who had married the queen-dowager of France; and when deprived of this support, he was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was entirely owing to the primate, who, by his example and encouragement, was the great support of heresy. Henry, understanding their design, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. The fall of the primate was now generally considered as an event not far off; and his old friends, as well as the opposite party, began to shew him marks of disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The members of the council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the severest terms, and told them, that he was acquainted with Cranmer's merit no less than with their malignity and envy; but he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline,

ſince gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and ſaid, that their only intention was to ſet the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial; and Henry obliged them all to embrace him, as a ſign of their reconciliation.

Though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitleſs all accuſations againſt that prelate, his pride and peeviſhneſs, irritated by his declining ſtate of health, impelled him to puniſh with freſh ſeverity all others, who preſumed to entertain a different opinion from himſelf, particularly on the ſubject of the real preſence. Anne Aſcue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty, who had great connections with the chief ladies at court, and even with the queen, was accuſed of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, inſtead of ſhewing indulgence to the weakneſs of her ſex and age, was but the more provoked, that a woman ſhould dare to oppoſe his theological ſentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a ſeeming recantation; but ſhe qualified it with ſome reſerves, which did not ſatisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into priſon, where ſhe employed herſelf in compoſing prayers and diſcourſes, by which ſhe fortified her reſolution to endure the utmoſt ſeverity rather than relinquiſh her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him, that, as to the Lord's Supper, ſhe believed as much as Chriſt himſelf had ſaid of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required. But while ſhe refuſed her aſſent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a freſh inſult. The chancellor, Wriotheſley, who was much attached to the catholic party, was ſent to examine her relative to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correſpondence with her; but, maintaining a laudable fidelity to her friends, ſhe refuſed making any confeſſion; and, though put to the torture in the moſt barbarous manner, continued reſolute in preſerving ſecrecy. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being ſo diſlocated by the rack that ſhe could not ſtand, ſhe was carried in a chair to the ſtake. With her were conducted Nicholas Belenian, a prieſt: John Laſcelles, one of the king's houſehold; and John Adams, a taylor, who for the ſame crime had been condemned to the ſame puniſhment. They were all tied to the ſtake; in which dreadful ſituation the chancellor ſent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and ſigned, and ſhould inſtantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They rejected the offer without the ſmalleſt heſitation, and ſaw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which conſumed them.

Though the fidelity of Anne Aſcue ſaved the queen from this peril, that princeſs ſoon after fell into a danger from which ſhe narrowly eſcaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, not only threatened his life, but rendered him even more than uſually peeviſh and paſſionate. The queen attended him with the moſt anxious aſſiduity, and endeavoured, by every ſoothing art, to allay thoſe guſts of humour to which he was become ſo ſubject. His favourite topic of converſation was theology; and Catharine, whoſe good ſenſe qualified her to diſcourſe on any ſubject, was frequently engaged in the argument. Being ſecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, ſhe unwarily betrayed, on thoſe occaſions, ſentiments which claſhed with the religious opinions of the king; at which Henry, highly provoked, complained of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. The chancellor being conſulted, was induced by his religious zeal to ſecond Gardiner; and Henry, urged by the impetuoſity of his temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriotheſley executed his commands, and ſoon after brought him the paper to be ſigned; but by ſome accident



CATHERINE PARR receiving the Articles of Impeachment

Buell del.

accident it fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but hoped, by her prudence and addreſs, to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the king, whom ſhe found in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He ſoon entered on the ſubject, which was ſo familiar to him; and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She modeſtly declined the converſation, with remarking, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. It belonged, ſhe ſaid, for the huſband to chooſe principles for his wife, whoſe duty it was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly his ſentiments. As to herſelf, ſhe added, it was doubly her duty; being bleſt with a huſband, who, by his judgment and learning, was qualified not only to chooſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. "Not ſo, by St. Mary!" replied the king: "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than to receive inſtruction." She meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was entitled to theſe praiſes; that, though ſhe uſually declined not any converſation, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty; ſhe well knew, that her conceptions could ſerve no other purpoſe than to give him a little momentary amuſement; that the converſation was apt to languiſh when not animated by ſome oppoſition, and ſhe had ventured ſometimes to feign a difference of opinion, in order to give him the pleaſure of refuting her; and that ſhe alſo purpoſed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into the diſcuſſion of topics from which ſhe had often received inſtruction. "And is it ſo, ſweetheart?" replied the king; "then we are perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with aſſurances of his protection and kindneſs. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this ſudden change, prepared next to convey her to the Tower, purſuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catharine were converſing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the purſuivants. The king ſpoke to him apart, and ſeemed to expoſtulate with him in the ſevereſt manner. The queen even overheard the appellations of knave, fool, and beaſt, which he liberally beſtowed upon that magiſtrate; and then ordered him to quit his preſence. On her interpoſing afterwards, to mitigate his anger, he ſaid to her, "Poor ſoul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." The queen, having eſcaped ſo great a danger, was thenceforth careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whoſe malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour or good opinion.

A. D. 1547.] The duke of Norfolk, and his ſon, the earl of Surrey, were the laſt that felt the ſeverity of Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition. The duke had long ſerved the king with talents and fidelity. Henry had been ſucceſſively married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural ſon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter. Surrey was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, and diſtinguiſhed for every accompliſhment which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He had imprudently dropped ſome menacing expreſſions againſt the king's minikers, upon being diſplaced from the government of Boulogne. As he had refuſed to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other propoſal of marriage, Henry imagined that he entertained views of eſpouſing the princeſs Mary. The family of Norfolk, beſides, was become obnoxious to the king, from the incontinence of Catharine Howard, the queen who had been executed. From theſe motives, therefore, private orders were given to arreſt the father and ſon. They were accordingly arreſted, both on the ſame day, and confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and in reſpect of proofs, neither parliaments nor juries ſeem ever to have given the leaſt attention to them, in any cauſe of

of the crown, during this whole reign. He was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians who were ſuſpected to be ſpies. A ſervant of his had paid a viſit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with that obnoxious prelate. He had quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his eſcutcheon, which made him be ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown; though both he and his anceſtors had, during the courſe of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even juſtified it by their authority. Theſe were the crimes for which this young nobleman, notwithſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence, was condemned for high treaſon; and the ſentence was ſoon after executed on Tower-hill.

The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was, if poſſible, more apparent than that of his ſon. His accuſers diſcovered no greater crime, than his once ſaying, that the king was ſickly, and could not hold out long; and that the kingdom was likely to fall into diſorders through the diverſity of religious opinions. In vain did he write the king a pathetic letter, pleading his paſt ſervices, and proteſting his innocence. Nothing could ſoften his unrelenting temper. He aſſembled a parliament, as the ſureſt and moſt expeditious inſtrument of his tyranny; and the Houſe of Peers, without examining the priſoner, without trial or evidence paſſed againſt him a bill of attainder, and ſent it down to the Commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an oppoſite party to Norfolk, and though he had received from him many and great injuries, would have no hand in ſo unjuſt a proſecution, but retired to his ſeat at Croydon.

The king was now approaching faſt towards his end; and fearing leſt Norfolk ſhould eſcape him, he ſent a meſſage to the Commons, deſiring them to haſten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marſhal, and it was neceſſary to appoint another, who might officiate at the enſuing ceremony of inſtalling his ſon prince of Wales. The obſequious Commons obeyed his directions; and the king, having given, by commiſſioners, the royal aſſent to the bill, iſſued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the 29th of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himſelf had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviſeable by the council, to begin a new reign with the death of the greateſt nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a ſentence ſo tyrannical and unjuſt.

Henry's health had long been in a declining ſtate, but for ſeveral days all thoſe near him plainly ſaw his end approaching. He was become ſo froward, that none of his attendants would venture to inform him of his condition; and as ſome perſons, during this reign, had ſuffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death, every one was afraid leſt, in the tranſports of his fury, he might, on this pretence, puniſh capitally the author of this intelligence. At laſt Sir Anthony Denny had the courage to diſcloſe to him the fatal information, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expreſſed his reſignation, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for; but before the primate arrived he was ſpeechleſs. Cranmer requeſted him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt: he ſqueezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months, and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

Near a month before Henry's demiſe, he made his will; and the act of illegitimacy againſt Mary and Elizabeth having been reverſed, he confirmed the deſtination of parliament, by leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, and next to the lady Elizabeth. He obliged the two princeſſes, under penalty of forfeiting the crown, not to marry without conſent of the council which he had appointed for the government of his minor ſon.

To attempt to deſcribe fully the character of this man, would only ſhew the poverty of language, and lead the reader again through

thoſe ſcenes of horror where his mind muſt have ſuffered ſeverely already. No prince ever aſcended the throne with more promiſing expectations, or was more beloved by the people; but he ſoon removed the deluſion, and convinced them, that their affections were placed on an object the moſt unworthy. He was not without abilities and courage, but deſtitute of every virtue, and in him was aſſociated every vice; he was arrogant, bigotted, capricious, obſtinate, revengeful, violent, cruel, rapacious, and unjuſt. Though he had the courage to emancipate this country from papal uſurpation, we have ſeen that it aroſe entirely from his diſlike to the authority, and not to the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome; and he erected upon it a tyranny more fatal, during his reign, to the happineſs of the people.

The court of Star-chamber, which had been inſtituted by his father in 1487, and conſiſted of the chancellor, treaſurer, and keeper of the privy-ſeal, or two of them, calling to them a biſhop and temporal lord of the king's council, and the two chief juſtices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, or in their abſence other two juſtices, was a great inſtrument of oppreſſion. But the corruption and venality of parliament afforded Henry the greateſt opportunity for the exerciſe of his tyrannical diſpoſition; he hardly ventured upon any act of oppreſſion and injuſtice without their authority. The power of nominating his own creatures to ſeats, and the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, by throwing all their revenues into his hands, enabled him to purchaſe their conſent. Cromwell had conſulted the judges reſpecting the power of parliament, and received for anſwer, that "whatever it did was law, and could not be called in queſtion." We acknowledge that ſupreme authority be ſomewhere; but as all government is derived from the people, and was originally for their good, it can only in ſafety reſt with them, or in perſons *freely* choſen by them; and in that caſe ought to revert to them, after as ſhort a period as poſſible. Power is intoxicating, and therefore cannot be too carefully guarded. The king is at the head of the executive authority; the parliament make laws, and are a check upon the royal prerogative; but if he is able to influence their proceedings, by conferring upon them places, penſions, or private gratuities, inſtead of being the agents of the people, who gave them exiſtence, they become the dangerous inſtruments of his will; and the nation may be more enſlaved than it could even under an abſolute monarchy, becauſe the conſtitutional guardians of their liberty are the perſons who betray them; and the ſyſtem of oppreſſion being more widely extended, is the more ſecure.

No prince was more ſenſible of this criminal policy than Henry; he was not only careful, therefore, to have all his unjuſt meaſures ſanctioned by parliament, but by a full parliament, that no objection might be made to their having been paſſed in a thin Houſe. Accordingly, in 1514 an act was paſſed, which provided that all members who ſhall abſent themſelves from their duty without leave from the houſe, ſhall forfeit the wages to which they were entitled from their conſtituents, viz. four ſhillings per day to a knight of the ſhire, and two ſhillings at leaſt to a burgeſs, beſides travelling expences. He was the firſt prince that continued a parliament ſix years: finding it perfectly ready to ſecond all his violent proceedings, he was determined not to hazard a change till he had eſtabliſhed his ſyſtem, and could ſecure another equally obſequious.

If the ſyſtem of parliamentary repreſentation was changed, the recital of theſe facts would only be a ſpeculative gratification, without affording any practical inference; but while the parliament continues to be choſen by a ſmall portion of the people, and is held for ſeven years; while placemen, penſioners, and contractors, in defiance of the law, continue to have ſeats; there is no more ſecurity for public liberty now, than at that time.

We cannot cloſe the hiſtory of this reign, without remarking the vile attempt which was made to fetter the reaſon of mankind, by

eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of religion, to which all who did not ſubſcribe were to be burnt; and the prohibition of religious meetings, and books on the diſputed points of theology: but as laws and penalties cannot bind opinion, or limit the progreſs of reaſon, ſo theſe ſeverities ultimately ſerved to promote that which they were intended to ſuppreſs, and the Reformation triumphed.

Though we admire the virtuous reſiſtance and patient ſufferings of our forefathers, we lament that on their labour has been eſtabliſhed a monſtrous coalition between church and ſtate, not leſs dangerous to civil and religious liberty than the former ſyſtem; and if the perſecutions have not been ſo violent and ſanguinary, it is more owing to the ſpirit of the times, than the benevolence of the preſent ſyſtem. This is evident from the proſcriptions, the perſecutions, and proſecutions, by which numbers of perſons are deprived of the exerciſe of their civil rights, and others deprived of their property, and impriſoned for non-conformity, at this very time.

Nothing can be more abſurd than to eſtabliſh religion by law; for on a ſubject ſo abſtruſe, the opinions of mankind will and muſt be different, and this difference will be of no conſequence to ſociety, till the government make a diſtinction, by their partiality to one, and their hoſtility to all others. The queſtion will ariſe in every thinking mind, Why ſhould any particular ſyſtem of theology be made the dominant religion? Is it becauſe the greateſt number of the people are of that communion? This is a bad argument; for ſuperior numbers give no *right* to the many to *tyrannize* over the few: it is alſo often, perhaps always, uncertain and fallacious; for whenever a government has determined to give the preference to any particular ſyſtem, if it was not the moſt numerous, it will ſoon become ſo; the indifferent, the infidel, and the worthleſs, will join it, merely for the ſake of the good things it has to beſtow, and not for any regard to it's tenets; while the men of principle and honour remain among the nonconformiſts. By this invidious diſtinction the nation has been deprived of the ſervices of men of the greateſt talents and integrity. But that is not the only evil; the inſults and injuries received from the predominant party never failed to produce animoſities; civil wars have enſued; and in the zeal for independence or ſuperiority, the nation has been deluged in blood. A wiſe legiſlature will therefore aboliſh the diſtinction; and by that means deſtroy the reſentments, and promote the union of the people. Good government has nothing to do with ſpeculations in theology; it ought only to diſtinguiſh between the good and bad citizen, by cheriſhing virtue, and puniſhing vice; but leave him to worſhip his creator according to the dictates of his conſcience, without prohibition or limitation.

The habits of theſe times were very ſumptuous; thoſe of the king, and all his train of lords and courtiers, at every public ſhew and tournament, were remarkably ſplendid and expenſive. In this reign there were four ſeveral acts for the reformation of apparel, whereby all people were obliged to dreſs according to their rank only; which if they exceeded, they were liable to forfeit both their dreſs, and a ſum for every offence.

Tournaments were among the chief amuſements of this age. The king greatly delighted in them, and often made one among his lords and favourites. Dialogues and ſhort moral interludes were alſo faſhionable diverſions at court, which were performed by the maſkers and diſguiſed courtiers, and called the *Ludi*. Likewiſe tennis and dice were much followed; but martial exerciſes, ſuch as ſhooting, ſinging, dancing, wreſtling, caſting of the bar, &c. were the chief entertainments. The ſhooting was with bows and arrows at butts: that of the long-bow began to be laid aſide, and hand-guns and croſs-bows were now uſed; which cuſtom ſo much prevailed, that there was a proclamation at laſt to prohibit them. At this time portrait painting was encouraged, but literature was ſtill in it's infancy.

ÆRA

ÆRA III.

FROM HENRY VIII. TO THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

Acceſſion of Edward VI.—Hertford choſen Protector—Characters, &c. of the Governors and Miniſters—Progreſs of the Reformation—Hoſtilities—Executions of Seymour and Somerſet—Succeſſion changed—Death of the King, &c.

EDWARD VI. aſcended the throne at the age of nine years and a few months. The late king had fixed his majority at eighteen, and had appointed
A. D. 1547.] ſixteen executors, to whom was entruſted the government during the minority of his ſon; beſides twelve counſellors, who could aſſiſt with their advice, but poſſeſſed no immediate power. Their firſt act was to chooſe the earl of Hertford protector; who being the king's maternal uncle, and poſſeſſing no claim to the crown, could never have any ſeparate intereſt which might endanger the perſon or authority of his nephew.

Henry had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, and give them lands for ſupporting their new dignities; and as he had charged his executors to fulfil all his promiſes and engagements, the earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerſet, mareſchal, and lord treaſurer; Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Southampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, had the title of barons, by their own names.

We think it neceſſary to introduce the reader to a knowledge of the character and views of the perſons who had the principal management of public affairs; more eſpecially as the hiſtory of this reign is not ſo much the hiſtory of the king, as of his governors and miniſters; only obſerving, that Edward was educated in the reformed religion, and Ridley and Latimer were accordingly diſcharged from priſon.

Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury was zealouſly attached to the reformation; and being freed from the reſtraints of a tyrannical maſter, he endeavoured to promote it; but he thought it neceſſary to proceed by degrees, and prepare the people for a change in their opinions by the correction of groſs abuſes. He was a man of candour and ſincerity, and did not much love to meddle with ſtate affairs.

Edward duke of Somerſet, the protector, is repreſented by an impartial hiſtorian as a perſon of very great virtues, eminent for his piety, courteous and affable in his greatneſs, ſincere and candid in his tranſactions, a patron of the poor and oppreſſed, and a better general than ſtateſman. He was not without vanity, and a fondneſs for his own notions; and not poſſeſſing extraordinary talents, he was too much at the diſpoſal of thoſe who by flattery inſinuated themſelves into his confidence. Though he had his faults, they were only ſuch as human infirmity expoſes moſt men to, when advanced to a high ſtation; and, to balance his defects, he was never charged with perſonal vices, nor was he guilty of falſehood, of perverting juſtice, of cruelty or of oppreſſion.

His brother Thomas, lord Seymour of Sudley, was a man of a very different character;

racter, proud, haughty, and ambitious. He married the queen dowager privately, within a month after the king's death. The elevation of his brother inſpired him with jealouſy, and he ſought his ruin; he joined the diſcontented and plotting nobles, and attempted to corrupt the king, to the prejudice of the duke.

The chancellor, Wriotheſley earl of Southampton, was a determined enemy to the reformation, both in church and ſtate. He had always been engaged in a party oppoſite to Somerſet; and it is not likely that factions, which had ſecretly prevailed during the arbitrary reign of Henry, ſhould be ſuppreſſed in the weak adminiſtration which generally attends a minority. The earl ſaw with jealouſy the elevation of the protector, and was the only perſon who oppoſed it: his ambition prompted him, from his rank and influence, to expect that ſituation for himſelf. He was a man of abilities, but too troubleſome to his equals, and too violent in his meaſures, to continue in this government; and though afterwards removed from the council, he continued his intrigues, and perhaps was the author of that dark management which wrought the downfal of the protector. He was perſonally and deſervedly hated for the cruelty of his perſecutions, when in power.

John Dudley, earl of Warwick, was ſon of Edmund Dudley, who had ſuffered in the beginning of the late reign for oppreſſing the people. Henry however was pleaſed, after he had ſacrificed the father to popular reſentment, to dignify the ſon, firſt with the title of lord Dudley, and after with that of viſcount Liſle. The young favourite improved this revolution of his affairs by a diligent obſervance of the king's pleaſure. He was a brave ſoldier, and able courtier; but a man of very indifferent morals, and blindly addicted to his pleaſures: his ambition was boundleſs, and he did not heſitate at the worſt means to accompliſh his ends; we may therefore readily ſuppoſe he was not very ſcrupulous about religion. While Henry reigned, he kept ſtrictly the boundaries preſcribed by that prince; but he no ſooner ſaw the majority of Edward's council for the reformation, than he declared openly on their ſide, as the only way to advance his own fortune. But his ſcheme to raiſe himſelf by his ſuppleneſs in religion was eaſily diſcovered by the proteſtant party; they never put any confidence in him, nor would conſent to his promotion to the chancery, as he expected, upon the diſgrace of Wriotheſley. From this diſappointment we may date his diſguſt to the protector, and his reſolution to ruin him; though by his means he attained the titles of earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland, and gained his daughter in marriage for his ſon, viſcount Liſle. So implacable is reſentment founded on ambition, that neither the ties of gratitude nor affinity are able to reconcile it.

Theſe characters, properly conſidered, will furniſh the reader with a juſt idea of the revolutions in the miniſtry during this ſhort reign.

Southampton, that he might have the greater leiſure for attending to public buſineſs, had, of himſelf, and from his own authority, put the great ſeal in commiſſion, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellaſis, to execute in his abſence the office of chancellor. This meaſure ſeemed very exceptionable; and the more ſo, as two of the commiſſioners being canoniſts, the lawyers ſuſpected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to diſcredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depreſs Southampton. They conſulted the judges with regard to ſo unuſual a caſe, and received for anſwer, that the commiſſion was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his preſumption in granting it, had juſtly forfeited the great ſeal, and was even liable to puniſhment. The council ſummoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not loſe it without a trial in parliament; that if the commiſſion which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill conſe-

quences

quences of it be eaſily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authoriſed. But the council, notwithſtanding theſe topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great ſeal; that a fine ſhould be impoſed upon him; and that he ſhould be confined to his own houſe during pleaſure. The ſeals were given to Sir William Paulet, till another chancellor could be appointed.

The regency had taken the reſolution to complete the reformation; but a very little experience convinced them, that they had not power to carry their intentions fully into effect, or even to ſecure themſelves from danger; more eſpecially as they knew the genius of their adverſaries, ſecret, bold, bloody, implacable, and vindictive. In this ſtate of the government, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other friends of the reformation, perceiving that Somerſet had not power ſufficient to protect either himſelf or them, a viſible coldneſs enſued in all the deliberations of the council; it was therefore reſolved to place the power on a more ſolid foundation. Accordingly a petition was ſigned by the council, praying the king to grant them a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, to juſtify them in their proceedings. The warrant was accordingly granted, by which Somerſet was named protector of the kingdom, with full regal power, and enabled to chooſe a council, conſiſting of all the former counſellors and executors, except Southampton; with a power of naming any other counſellors at pleaſure, and of conſulting with ſuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewiſe empowered to act at diſcretion, and to execute whatever appeared neceſſary for the public ſervice, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, ſtatute, proclamation, or ordinance whatſoever. This patent, though obtained rather ſurreptitiouſly, and not conſiſtent with the will of Henry, was univerſally ſubmitted to, eſpecially as the young king diſcovered a ſtrong attachment to his uncle.

The protector had long been regarded as a ſecret partiſan of the reformers; and he took care that all perſons entruſted with the king's education ſhould be attached to the ſame principles. In his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, he had recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation, was averſe to all violent changes. By his advice, a viſitation was made of all the dioceſes of England: the viſitors conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity; and the chief purport of their inſtructions was, beſides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, and to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches.

In theſe meaſures the protector met with no inconſiderable oppoſition from Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late diſguſts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age and capacity, to the higheſt confidence of his party; he repreſented the perils of perpetual innovations, and the neceſſity of adhering to ſome ſyſtem. This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was ſent to the Fleet, where he was uſed with ſome ſeverity.

The ſame religious zeal which engaged Somerſet to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries. The emperor was reſolved to make the imputation of hereſy a pretence for oppreſſing the proteſtant princes and liberty of Germany. He had made the elector of Saxony priſoner by the fortune of war, and the landgrave of Heſſe by treachery; and though Henry the Second, who ſwayed the ſceptre of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities, inſtead of arming in defence of the German princes, he was prevailed on by the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorraine, to direct his immediate attention to Scotland.

In that kingdom the partizans of the ancient and new religion had daily become

more violent; and the violence of the cardinal primate againſt the reformers, ſoon brought matters to a deciſion. One Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, and celebrated for the purity of his morals, and his extenſive learning, had employed himſelf with great ſucceſs in preaching againſt the ancient ſuperſtitions. By the puniſhment of ſo diſtinguiſhed an innovator, the cardinal hoped to ſtrike terror into all others. He was arreſted, and, after a ſhort trial, condemned to the flames for hereſy. Wiſhart ſuffered with the uſual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his inſulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he ſhould in the very ſame place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in oppoſition to true piety and religion.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cauſe of the event which it foretold. The diſciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conſpiracy againſt the cardinal; and having aſſociated to them Norman Leſly, who was diſguſted on account of ſome private quarrel, they conducted their enterpriſe with great ſecrecy and ſucceſs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ſtrongly fortified; and though they were not above ſixteen perſons, they thruſt out a hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately, before any ſuſpicion aroſe of their intentions; and having ſhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpoſe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle, and had barricadoed the door of his chamber; but finding that they had brought fire, in order to force their way, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a prieſt, he conjured them to ſpare him. Two of the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, James Melvil, ſtopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his ſword toward Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins and iniquities, eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, that inſtrument of God for the converſion of theſe lands; it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are ſent by God to inflict the deſerved puniſhment. For here, before the Almighty, I proteſt, that it is neither hatred of thy perſon, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to ſeek thy death; but only becauſe thou haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy to Chriſt Jeſus and his holy goſpel." Having ſpoken theſe words, without giving Beaton time to finiſh that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thruſt the ſword through his body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This was executed on the 28th of May, 1546. The aſſaſſins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of an hundred and forty perſons, prepared themſelves for the defence of the caſtle, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of diſturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promiſed to take them under his protection.

To fulfil this promiſe, and to execute the project which the late king had recommended with his dying breath, the protector, after publiſhing a manifeſto, in which he revived the ancient claim of ſuperiority, invaded Scotland with an army of eighteen thouſand men. He paſſed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh; where, about four miles from that city, on the banks of the Eſke, he beheld the Scots, amounting to double the number of his own army, advantageouſly poſted. Having taken a view of their camp, with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of ſucceſs; he wrote therefore to Arran, and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair the damages, provided the Scots would ſtipulate not to contract the queen to any

any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till ſhe reached the age of chooſing a husband for herſelf. This demand was rejected by the Scots, who, inflamed by their prieſts, quitted their camp, paſſed the river, and advanced into the plain, in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the Engliſh. Somerſet was much pleaſed when he beheld this movement of the Scottiſh army; and immediately formed his own in order of battle. The impetuoſity of the Engliſh cavalry in the firſt attack, expoſed them to ſome diſgrace; but they ſoon recovered their ranks, and avenged their diſhonour on their enemies. The Scots were broken on every ſide, and purſued to Edinburgh. There fell not two hundred of the Engliſh; and, according to the moſt moderate computation, there periſhed above ten thouſand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were ſcarcely able to collect ſuch a body of forces as could check the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. About the ſame time the earl of Lenox and Lord Wharton entered the weſt marches, at the head of five thouſand men; and after taking and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties. Had Somerſet proſecuted his advantages, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scottiſh nation; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard ſome counſellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his authority. Having taken the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſtcaſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places, and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhipping along the coaſt, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garriſon. Arran deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerſet, having appointed Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negociate: but no commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared; the overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till ſuccours ſhould arrive from France.

The protector on his arrival in England ſummoned a parliament, in which all laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollardy, or hereſy, together with the ſtatute of the Six Articles. None were to be accuſed for words, but within a month after they were ſpoken.

By theſe repeals ſeveral of the moſt rigorous laws that ever had paſſed in England were annulled; and ſome dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was ſubjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be defined or determined; a circumſtance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public ſecurity, according to the diſpoſition of the judges. A repeal alſo paſſed of that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a ſtatute. That other law likewiſe was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every ſtatute paſſed before the twenty-fourth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution, but could not recal any paſt effects which had enſued from them.

The convocation met at the ſame time with the parliament; and the lower houſe applied to have the liberty of ſitting with the Commons. This demand was however rejected; and the protector, though he had aſſented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of ſtatutes, did not heſitate to iſſue proclamations, in ſome particulars, which were con-

ſidered

ſidered as momentous. An order of council was iſſued for the removal of images from the churches; the cup was reſtored to the laity in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper; and, as private maſſes were aboliſhed by law, it became neceſſary to compoſe a new communion ſervice; and the council went ſo far in the preface which was fixed to the work, as to leave the practice of auricular confeſſion wholly indifferent.

The parliament having finiſhed their buſineſs, an act of grace was publiſhed; by which all priſoners, except thoſe in the Tower, were releaſed. Gardiner and Bonner, who had both been confined in the Fleet, were therefore diſcharged.

A. D. 1548.] The greater progreſs was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himſelf from all proſpect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averſe to all alliance to a nation which had ſo far departed from all ancient principles. Somerſet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified by lord Grey; he alſo erected ſome fortifications at Lauder; and he hoped that theſe two places, together with Broughty, and ſome ſmaller fortreſſes which were in the hands of the Engliſh, would ſerve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him acceſs into the heart of the country.

Arran being diſappointed in ſome attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the ſuccours expected from France for the recovery of theſe places; and they arrived at laſt in the Frith to the number of ſix thouſand men, half of them Germans. They were commanded by Deſſé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and the count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time ſo ſunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred Engliſh horſe were able to ravage the whole country without reſiſtance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital: but on the appearance of the French ſuccours, they collected more courage; and having joined Deſſé with a conſiderable reinforcement, they laid ſiege to Haddington. This was an undertaking for which they were by themſelves totally unfit; and even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the garriſon. After ſome vain attempts to take the place by a regular ſiege, the blockade was formed, and the garriſon was repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which they made upon the beſiegers.

The hoſtile attempts which the late king and the protector had made againſt Scotland, had inſpired the nation with the utmoſt averſion to an union. The queen-dowager, finding theſe ſentiments prevail, had propoſed that the young queen ſhould be ſent to France. The earl of Arran was perſuaded to ſecond her intentions by the title of duke of Chatelerault, and a penſion of twelve thouſand livres. Mary was accordingly conducted to Paris, and betrothed to the dauphin.

In the mean time the Scots recovered the fortreſſes of Hume and Faſtcaſtle; but were compelled to retire from before Haddington by the earl of Shrewſbury, to whom the duke of Somerſet had committed the command of an army of eighteen thouſand Engliſh, and three thouſand Germans. After the relief of Haddington, Shrewſbury retired into England.

The diſappointment and mortification which Somerſet felt from the affairs of Scotland, were increaſed by the intrigues of his own family. His brother, lord Seymour, was a man of inſatiable ambition; arrogant, aſſuming, implacable; and though eſteemed of ſuperior capacity to the protector, he poſſeſſed not to the ſame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addreſs he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that ſhe married him. The credit and riches of this alliance ſupported the ambition of the admiral, but gave umbrage to the ducheſs of Somerſet; who, uneaſy that the younger

younger brother's wife ſhould have the precedency, employed all her credit with her huſband, which was too great, firſt to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers.

Seymour's intrigues firſt became manifeſt while the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget remarked, that Seymour was forming ſeparate intrigues among the counſellors; was corrupting, by preſents, the king's ſervants; and endeavouring, by improper indulgence and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget expoſtulated with him on this ſubject; but finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, he conveyed to Somerſet intelligence of the danger, and induced him to ſuſpend the enterpriſe upon Scotland, in order to guard againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. In the enſuing parliament, the admiral's intrigues aſſumed a more formidable appearance; and as he had acquired many partiſans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He repreſented to his friends, that the offices of protector and governor were too important to be ſafely lodged in any one ſubject. The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed in the two houſes a party, by which he hoped to effect his purpoſe. The deſign being diſcovered, ſome common friends were ſent to remonſtrate with him; but, inſtead of hearkening to their repreſentations, he threw out ſeveral menaces, that, if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackeſt that ever ſat in England. The council ſent for him, to anſwer for his conduct; but he refuſed to attend. They then began to point out to him the pernicious tendency of his conduct, and the danger which himſelf would incur. They even let fall ſome menaces of ſending him to the Tower for his temerity. At laſt the admiral, finding his project fruſtrated, was obliged to ſubmit, and deſire a reconciliation with his brother.

But neither perſuaſions nor menaces could reſtrain the ambition and turbulent ſpirit of the admiral. His ſpouſe, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but ſo far from regarding this event as a check to his aſpiring views, he endeavoured to render it ſubſervient to a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth, then in the ſixteenth year of her age; and it is ſaid that ſhe gave a favourable ear to his inſinuations. But as the late king had excluded his daughters from all hopes of ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more unjuſtifiable. All the other meaſures of the admiral tended to confirm the ſuſpicion that he aimed at regal authority. He continued to attempt, by preſents, the fidelity of thoſe who had more immediate acceſs to the king's perſon. He even endeavoured to ſeduce the young prince into his intereſts; he openly arraigned the adminiſtration of his brother, whom he accuſed of a deſign againſt the liberties of the people. By promiſes and perſuaſions he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility. He was alſo aſſiduous in endeavouring to gain the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and he computed that he could, on occaſion, command the ſervice of ten thouſand men, among his ſervants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged in his intereſts Sir John Sharrington, maſter of the mint at Briſtol, a very corrupt man, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting.

A. D. 1549.] Somerſet, being appriſed of all theſe circumſtances, endeavoured by every method to diſſuade the admiral from the proſecution of his deſigns. He reaſoned, he threatened, he heaped new favours upon him; but all without effect; at laſt he reſolved to employ the whole power of the royal authority againſt him; he therefore deprived him of the office of admiral, and

ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were alſo taken into cuſtody. The protector, however, though inſtigated by the earl of Warwick, an ambitious man, who expected to riſe upon the downfal of the contending parties, ſtill ſhewed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to deſiſt from the proſecution, if Seymour would promiſe him a cordial reconciliation, and, renouncing all ambitious views, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other anſwer to theſe friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, and the whole to be laid before the privy council. The charge being afterwards brought into the Houſe of Lords, ſeveral peers, riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct. It not being urged by any of the aſſembly that the teſtimony againſt him ſhould be delivered in a legal manner, theſe narratives were received as ſufficient evidence. There was, however, more difficulty in managing the proſecution in the Houſe of Commons. Some members objected againſt the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder, paſſed in abſence; and inſiſted that a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a meſſage was ſent by the king, enjoining the Houſe to proceed, and offering that the ſame narratives ſhould be laid before them which had ſatisfied the Peers, they agreed to the requiſition. The bill paſſed in a full Houſe, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten againſt it. The ſentence was ſoon after executed, by beheading him on Tower-hill. Somerſet was expoſed to much blame, on account of the violence of theſe proceedings.

This obſtacle being removed, the protector reſumed his plan of reforming the ſyſtem of religion. A committee of biſhops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the ſervice of the church; and this work was executed with great moderation, preciſion, and accuracy. The practice of auricular confeſſion was left at the diſcretion of the people; and a law was enacted permitting prieſts to marry. The ancient doctrine, longeſt retained both by the clergy and laity, was that of the real preſence, which at laſt, however, with all the principal opinions and practices of the catholic religion, contrary to what the ſcripture authorizes, was finally aboliſhed, and the reformation almoſt entirely completed in England. With all theſe innovations the people and clergy in general acquieſced: Gardiner and Bonner were the only perſons whoſe oppoſition was thought of any weight; they were therefore ſent to the Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's diſpleaſure, in caſe of diſobedience.

The proteſtant divines having renounced opinions deemed certain during ſo many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new ſyſtem ſo certain, that they would ſuffer no contradiction to it; and they were ready to burn in the ſame flames, from which they themſelves had ſo narrowly eſcaped, every one that had the aſſurance to differ from them.

A commiſſion by act of council was granted to the primate and ſome others, to ſearch after all anabaptiſts, heretics, and contemners of the book of Common Prayer. The commiſſioners were enjoined to reclaim them, if poſſible, to impoſe penance on them, and to give them abſolution; but if the criminals proved obſtinate, to excommunicate and impriſon them, and to deliver them over to the ſecular arm. In the execution of this charge, they were not bound to obſerve the ordinary methods of trial; and if any ſtatute happened to interfere with the powers in the commiſſion, they were abrogated by the council. Among thoſe perſons who, by their obſtinacy, became obnoxious to the commiſſioners, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She had maintained an abſtruſe metaphyſical ſentiment, "That Chriſt, as man, was a ſinful man; but

but as the word, he was free from ſin, and could be ſubject to none of the frailties of the fleſh with which he was cloathed." For maintaining this doctrine, which none of them could underſtand, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burnt to death as a heretic. The young king, who it ſeems had more ſenſe than his miniſters, refuſed at firſt to ſign the death-warrant; but being preſſed by Cranmer, he at length reluctantly complied; telling the primate, that if any wrong were done, the guilt ſhould lie entirely on his head. Cranmer, after making, in vain, a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, committed her to the flames.

Some time after, a Dutchman, named Van Paris, accuſed of the hereſy which has received the title of Arianiſm, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment. He ſuffered with ſo much ſatisfaction, that he hugged and careſſed the faggots which were conſuming him, and died exulting in his ſituation.

Theſe ſeverities ſoon brought the whole nation to a conformity, real or pretended, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The princeſs Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and refuſed to admit the eſtabliſhed modes of worſhip. She obtained a temporary connivance from the council.

The great innovations which had lately been made, though in the end beneficial to ſociety, were productive of many temporary inconveniences. On the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their ſubſiſtence by their labour; ſo that all kinds of buſineſs were over-ſtocked. The lands of the monaſteries, alſo, which had been farmed out to the common people, employed a great number of hands; and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But thoſe lands being now in the poſſeſſion of the nobility, the rents were raiſed; and the farmers, perceiving that wool was a more profitable commodity than corn, turned all their fields into paſture. In conſequence of this practice the price of meal aroſe, to the unſpeakable hardſhip of the lower claſs of the people. Beſide, as few hands were required to manage a paſture-farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of ſubſiſtence; while the nation was filled with complaints againſt the nobility, who were conſidered as the prime ſources of the general diſtreſs. What aggravated the public calamity, the rich proprietors of land proceeded to incloſe their eſtates; while the tenants, now regarded as a uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations. Cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery; and a great depopulation, as well as a diminution of proviſions, was obſerved in every part of the kingdom. It muſt alſo be remarked, that the profuſion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual conſequences enſued; the good ſpecie was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad, in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; a univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged theſe complaints by his endeavours to redreſs them. He appointed a commiſſion for making inquiry concerning incloſures; and iſſued a proclamation, ordering all lands which had been lately incloſed to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with ſuch countenance from government, began to riſe in ſeveral places, and to commit diſorders; but were quieted by remonſtrances and perſuaſion. In order to give them greater ſatisfaction, Somerſet appointed new commiſſioners, who were ſent into the different quarters of the kingdom, with an unlimited power to hear and determine

mine all cauſes about incloſures, highways, and cottages. This commiſſion being diſagreeable to the nobility and gentry, they ſtigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; wherefore the common people, fearing that it would be eluded, and impatient for redreſs, had immediate recourſe to arms. The riſing began at once in ſeveral parts of England, as if an univerſal conſpiracy had been formed. In Wiltſhire, Oxford, and Glouceſter, they were diſperſed by Sir William Herbert and lord Gray of Wilton; many of the rioters were killed in the field; others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampſhire, Suſſex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the diſorders in Devonſhire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous conſequences.

In Devonſhire the populace began with the general complaints againſt incloſures and oppreſſions from the gentry; but the pariſh prieſt of Sampford Courtney had the addreſs to give their diſcontent a direction towards religion, by which means many of the gentry were induced to join with the people. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to ten thouſand men: but theſe were defeated by lord Ruſſel, who drove them from all their poſts, with great execution both in the action and purſuit, and many made priſoners. Several of the leaders were ſent to London, tried, and executed; while many of the inferior ſort were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal leaders, was hanged at the top of his own ſteeple, arrayed in his popiſh weeds, with his beads at his girdle.

In Norfolk the inſurrection roſe to yet greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The firſt motives to the tumult were complaints againſt incloſures; but the populace, finding their numbers amount to twenty thouſand, proceeded to more exorbitant demands. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing of new counſellors about the king, and the reeſtabliſhment of the catholic rites. Theſe were headed by one Ket, a tanner; and having taken poſſeſſion of Mouſhold-hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence named the Oak of Reformation, where he ſummoned the gentry to appear before him. The protector ſent againſt them the earl of Warwick, at the head of ſix thouſand men, levied for the wars againſt Scotland; and he thereby afforded that deceitful enemy an opportunity of increaſing his reputation. Warwick, after trying the rebels in ſome ſkirmiſhes, made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thouſand of them fell in the action and purſuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich Caſtle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the inſurrection was entirely ſuppreſſed. Some of the malcontents in Yorkſhire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offer of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was ſoon after publiſhed by the protector.

But though inſurrections were thus quickly ſubdued in England, they were attended with bad conſequences to the foreign intereſts of the nation. The Scots compelled the Engliſh to evacuate Haddington; and the king of France ſeized the opportunity of recovering, with the exception of Boulogne, all the conqueſts which Henry had made on the continent.

Somerſet, embarraſſed on every ſide, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but he found he no longer poſſeſſed his wonted influence in the council. As he had ever affected popularity, he had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the relief of the people. This ſtep, however meritorious in itſelf, was certainly illegal. The earl of Warwick aſſociated himſelf with the earl of Southampton, and formed a ſtrong party among the counſellors againſt him. He was envied by the nobles for his ſuperior magnificence and power; he was hated by the catholic party for his attachment to the reformation; and he alſo incurred extenſive odium for his ſeverity to his brother. The public diſlike was increaſed

increaſed by the conſideration of the great eſtate which he had ſuddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and of the crown; and the palace which he was building in the Strand, ſerved by it's magnificence, and ſtill more by other circumſtances, to expoſe him to cenſure; St. Mary's church, a chapel, cloiſter, and charnel-houſe, a church dedicated to St. John of Jeruſalem, and three houſes, having been pulled down to furniſh ground and materials for his palace.

Theſe imprudences were exaggerated and enlarged upon by Somerſet's enemies. He was repreſented as a parricide, a ſacrilegious tyrant, and the uſurper of unconſtitutional authority. In order to ſupplant him, therefore, lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other members, met at Ely Houſe; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance. They ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerſet. They laid the ſame injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who promiſed them implicit obedience. Next day ſeveral other members of the council joined the malcontent party; and the protector now began to entertain apprehenſions about his perſonal ſafety. Secretary Petre, whom he had ſent to treat with the council, acceded to the confederacy. The common council of the city, being applied to, unanimouſly declared their approbation of the new meaſures, and their reſolution of ſupporting them.

The protector, on being informed of the defection of the counſellors, removed the king from Hampton Court to the Caſtle of Windſor; and arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed reſolved to defend himſelf againſt all his enemies: but finding that no perſon of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, and that the people did not riſe at his ſummons, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs. His deſpondency was no ſooner known, than lord Ruſſel, Sir John Baker ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, and three more counſellors, who had remained neuter, joined the party of Warwick, whom every one now regarded as the ſupreme director of national affairs. To ſatisfy the public, a proclamation was iſſued by the council, relative to their actions and intentions; which they alſo juſtified by letters to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth. They addreſſed the king with the humbleſt profeſſions of obedience and attachment; informing him, that they had choſen the duke of Somerſet protector, under the expreſs condition that his adminiſtration ſhould be directed by their advice; but that he had uſurped the whole authority, and even oppoſed their council. They therefore requeſted, that they might be admitted to his royal preſence, that he would be pleaſed to reſtore them to his confidence, and that Somerſet's ſervants might be diſmiſſed. Their requeſt was complied with: Somerſet capitulated only for gentle treatment; but though this was promiſed him, he was ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and partizans. Meanwhile the council ordered ſix lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then that the earl of Warwick's ambition began openly to appear. He ſet himſelf forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin, and the other members, without oppoſition, permitted him to aſſume the reins of government.

The council proceeded to exhibit againſt Somerſet articles of indictment; of which the beſt founded was his uſurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole adminiſtration of affairs. He was prevailed on to confeſs, on his knees, before the council, the articles of charge againſt him. He ſubſcribed the confeſſion, and the paper was given in to parliament; which, after ſending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it

to be genuine, paſſed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thouſand pounds a year. Lord St. John was created treaſurer in his place, and Warwick earl marſhal. The proſecution againſt him here ſtopped; his fine was remitted by the king, and he recovered his liberty. Warwick, thinking that he was now ſufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own ſon, lord Dudley, with lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerſet.

A. D. 1550.] When Warwick and the council of regency began to exerciſe their power, they found themſelves embarraſſed by the wars with France and Scotland; they agreed to liſten to the advances which Henry made them, through the medium of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Maſon, Paget, and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of penſions, and ſaid that he never would conſent to render himſelf tributary to any prince: but he offered a ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore Lauder and Douglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

The catholics were extremely elated at the protector's fall; and as they had aſcribed to him all the late innovations, they hoped that his diſmiſſion from power would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore the chief ſway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all matters of theological controverſy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had ſunk deep into Edward's mind, he was determined not to hazard his new acquired power by oppoſing the king's inclinations. He therefore took care very early to expreſs his intentions of ſupporting the reformation; which he evidently countenanced, by permitting Gardiner to undergo the penalties preſcribed againſt diſobedience. He had now been two years in priſon, for having refuſed to inculcate the duty of obedience to the king during his minority; and the council took this opportunity to ſend him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe, among which was one acknowledging the juſtice of his confinement. He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the Book of Common Prayer was a godly and commendable form; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, government, or doctrine. Gardiner was willing to ſubſcribe to all the articles except the firſt. He maintained his conduct to have been inoffenſive; and declared that he would not acknowledge himſelf guilty of faults which he had never committed. For this offence he was deprived of his biſhoprick, and committed to cloſe cuſtody. His books and papers were ſeized, all company was denied him, and he was even prohibited the uſe of pen and ink.

A. D. 1551.] But this prelate was not the only victim to the zeal of the adminiſtration. The biſhops of Chicheſter, Worceſter, and Exeter, were alſo deprived of their ſees, on pretence of diſobedience. Even the biſhops of Landaff, Saliſbury, and Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being ſuppoſed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to compound, by ſacrificing the greater part of their revenues to the rapacious courtiers. Not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries, were plundered, under pretence of reformation. Thoſe of Weſtminſter and Oxford were ordered to be ranſacked, and purged of the Romiſh miſſals, legends, and other ſuperſtitious volumes; in which ſearch great devaſtation was made in uſeful literature.

Many

Many volumes claſped in ſilver were deſtroyed for the ſake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and aſtronomy were ſuppoſed to be magical, and met with no mercy. The univerſity, unable to ſtop the rage of thoſe barbarians, ſilently looked on, and trembled for it's own ſecurity.

Amidſt thoſe violent proceedings, however, the council found leiſure for ſome attention to the public intereſt. The trade of England had anciently been carried on entirely by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanſe Towns, or Eaſterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage thoſe merchants to ſettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. and were exempted from ſeveral heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the Engliſh of commerce, that this company, uſually denominated the Merchants of the Still-yard, monopolized, even down to the reign of Edward, almoſt the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the ſhipping of their own country, the navigation of England was alſo in a very low ſtate. The council therefore ſought pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation; and as the patent had been granted by the abſolute power of the king, it was thought reaſonable to annul it by the ſame authority. Several remonſtrances were made againſt this innovation by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanſe Towns; but the council perſevered in their reſolution, and the good effects of it ſoon became viſible to the nation.

But the proſpect of the advantages which might reſult from encouraging the national induſtry, was clouded by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the ambition of Warwick. That nobleman was ſtedfaſtly bent on enlarging his own power; and the numerous partizans he had procured, were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every pretenſion. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue, the title became extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwick now obtained for himſelf a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, with the title of duke of Northumberland. Finding that Somerſet ſtill retained a ſhare of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obſtacle to his more aſpiring views. He ſecretly gained many of the friends and ſervants of that unfortunate nobleman. He ſometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger, ſometimes provoked him by ill uſage. The unguarded Somerſet often broke out into menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland; at other times he formed raſh projects, which he immediately abandoned. His treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every paſſionate word which dropped from him, and revealed at the ſame time the imputed ſchemes which themſelves had ſuggeſted. Northumberland, thinking the proper ſeaſon was now come for entirely cruſhing Somerſet, determined to proceed in an open manner againſt him.

In one night, the duke of Somerſet, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arreſted and committed to cuſtody. Next day the ducheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Banniſter, and others, were thrown into priſon. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a ſpy upon him, accuſed him of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the north, to ſecure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. He aſſerted alſo, that Somerſet had once laid a plan for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had really been mentioned, though no means had been prepared for it's execution.

A. D. 1552.] Somerſet was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, created high-ſteward for the occaſion. The jury conſiſted of twenty-ſeven peers, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges

judges and accuſers. He was charged with high treaſon, on account of the projected inſurrections, and with felony, in laying a deſign for murdering privy counſellors. The witneſſes were examined by the privy council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner, as required by the principles of equity, their depoſitions were given in to the jury. The proof was defective in reſpect to the treaſonable part of the charge; and the priſoner's defence was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour. The intention alone of aſſaulting the privy counſellors was ſupported by tolerable evidence; and the jury therefore brought him in guilty of felony. Somerſet confeſſed that he had expreſſed an intention of murdering Northumberland, but had never formed any reſolution on that head. To conſpire the death of a privy counſellor had been made felony in the reign of Henry VII. and upon this ſtatute Somerſet was condemned to death. The populace ſeeing him conveyed back to the Tower without the axe, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted, and in repeated ſhouts and acclamations they manifeſted their joy; but their ſatisfaction was ſuddenly damped, on hearing of the doom which awaited him.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emiſſaries to prepoſſeſs the young king againſt his uncle; and leſt he ſhould relent, all acceſs was denied to Somerſet's friends, while the prince was kept from reflection by a continued ſeries of amuſements. At laſt the priſoner was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt a great crowd of ſpectators, who fondly entertained hopes of his pardon. He ſpoke to them with great compoſure, proteſting that he had always promoted the ſervice of his king, and the intereſts of true religion, to the beſt of his power. The people atteſted their belief of what he ſaid, by crying out, "It is moſt true!" An univerſal tumult was beginning to take place, but Somerſet requeſted them to be ſtill, and not to interrupt his laſt meditations, but to join with him in prayer. He then laid his head on the block, and ſubmitted to the ſtroke of the executioner. Many of the people ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relique; and ſoon after, when Northumberland met with the ſame fate, they upbraided him with his cruelty, and diſplayed before him theſe ſymbols of his crime.

Thus fell Edward duke of Somerſet, the victim of a faction, but beloved by the people. He had oppoſed the oppreſſions of the great landholders, and that drew upon him their reſentment. Though ſome of his actions were exceptionable, they appear to have proceeded rather from weakneſs than any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and he was deficient in that penetration and firmneſs which were neceſſary to extricate him from thoſe cabals and violences ſo common in that age. His execution was followed by that of Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerſet's friends. Great injuſtice was uſed in their proſecution, for they do not appear to have been convicted on any capital offence.

The day after the execution of Somerſet a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authoriſed, and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip. To uſe the maſs was alſo prohibited.

The unjuſt method made uſe of on Somerſet's trial, in not ſuffering him to be confronted with the evidence againſt him, reſounded from every corner. To ward off the effects of this blow, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Peers, declaring the nature of ſuch evidences and treaſons; but when the bill came to the Commons, they added a clauſe, by which "no one could be convicted of treaſon, unleſs the crime was proved by two witneſſes, who were confronted with the priſoner." This clauſe was violently

violently oppoſed by Northumberland's party, as it directly condemned their proceedings againſt Somerſet. Notwithſtanding it paſſed both Houſes, and has ever ſince remained one of the chief bulwarks of Engliſh liberty.

Tonſtal biſhop of Durham was leſs eminent for the dignity of his ſee than for his perſonal merit: he had oppoſed by his vote and authority all innovations in religion; but as ſoon as they were enacted he had always ſubmitted, and had conformed to every theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed. His known probity had made this compliance be aſcribed not to an intereſted or time-ſerving ſpirit, but to a ſenſe of duty, which led him to think that all private opinion ought to be ſacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any ſevere treatment during the adminiſtration of Somerſet; but when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon: and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he was reſolved, in order to effect his purpoſe, to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon, was introduced into the Houſe of Peers againſt the prelate; and it paſſed with the oppoſition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But when the bill was ſent down to the Commons, they required that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be allowed to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers; and when theſe demands were refuſed, they rejected the bill.

As this equity, ſo unuſual, was aſcribed by Northumberland to the prevalence of Somerſet's faction, he reſolved to diſſolve the parliament, and to ſummon a new one; and to inſure himſelf a Houſe entirely obſequious to his will, he engaged the king to write circular letters; in which the freeholders were directed, in the nomination of repreſentatives, to attend to the recommendations of the privy council.

A. D. 1553.] Northumberland's expectations were not fruſtrated by the diſpoſition of the parliament, which proved as obſequious as he could deſire. As Tonſtal had in the interval been deprived of his biſhopric in an arbitrary manner, by the ſentence of lay commiſſioners, appointed to try him, the ſee of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two biſhoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue aſſigned them. The regalities of the ſee, which included the juriſdiction of a count-palatine, were conferred by the king on Northumberland. This ambitious nobleman had long aimed at the firſt authority; and the king's infirm ſtate of health ſeemed to open a proſpect for the attainment of his hopes.

Henry VIII. had by his will left the crown to his children; but on their failing of iſſue to go to the heirs of lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, and his youngeſt ſiſter Mary, widow of Louis king of France; without any mention of the deſcendants of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, queen-dowager of Scotland. Frances Brandon was married to Grey marquis of Dorſet, afterwards created duke of Suffolk; ſhe bore him three daughters, the eldeſt of whom was lady Jane Grey. Northumberland therefore repreſented to Edward, that his two ſiſters had been declared illegitimate; and though reſtored to the ſucceſſion by Henry's will, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne filled by a baſtard: that the young queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will; and as ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin, her ſucceſſion would render England a province to France, as it had Scotland: that the certain conſequence of her ſucceſſion, or that of his ſiſter Mary, would be the abolition of the proteſtant religion; and when theſe three princeſſes were excluded, the ſucceſſion devolved to lady Jane Grey, as heir of her mother; a lady every way worthy of the crown: and that the king poſſeſſed the ſame power as

his father, and might leave her the crown by letters patent.

These plausible arguments had the desired effect on Edward, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression; while, above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne; and though he bore a tender affection to the princess Elizabeth, it was urged to him, that he could not exclude one sister, on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

Finding that his arguments were likely to have influence on the king, Northumberland began to put in motion the project for the farther aggrandisement of his own family. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk, by a second wife, having died this season of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this, and of other favours, which he conferred upon that nobleman, he persuaded him and the duchess to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to strengthen his interest by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catharine Grey, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

The general attachment to Edward, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it to be remarked, that the king had every moment grown worse from the time that lord Dudley had been put about him in quality of lord of the bedchamber. His declining health served only to make Northumberland more intent on the execution of his schemes. He prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated; and the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders, or abettors, to change the order of succession. At last Montague proposed an expedient: he desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should be immediately after granted them for any offence they might have incurred.

When the patent was brought to the chancellor to affix the great seal, he required, for his greater security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent; the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king. Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards that he only signed as witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were set aside, and the crown was settled on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk; for the duchess herself was content to give place to her daughter.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day, and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. His physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to

to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms increaſed to the moſt violent degree; he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

All the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the people. He is ſaid to have acquired a proficiency in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages. He was verſed in logic, muſic, natural philoſophy, and theology. The famous Cardan, in his return from Scotland, viſiting the Engliſh court, was aſtoniſhed at his various accompliſhments, and extolled him in his works as a prodigy of nature. He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education, and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which had made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution; but as the bigotry of proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended, if a longer life had been given him. He founded St. Thomas's, Chriſt's, and Bridewell hoſpitals.

CHAPTER II.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen—Supplanted by Mary, who aſcends the Throne—Northumberland executed—Queen's Marriage—Wyat's Inſurrection—Lady Jane's Execution—Perſecutions—War—Calais retaken—Death of the Queen, &c.

THOUGH, according to the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, the ſucceſſion to the throne was originally elective, it had become by degrees a kind of heritable property; partly regulated by lineal deſcent, and partly by the aptitude for government in the perſon choſen; and in ſome few inſtances teſtamentary. Neither quite hereditary, nor quite elective, it had made anceſtry the pretext of right, while the conſent of the people was neceſſary to ſupport all hereditary pretenſions. On the death of Edward, no leſs than four princeſſes might aſſert their title to the crown. Of theſe, however, only two put in their pretenſions; Mary, relying on the right of primogeniture; and lady Jane upon the will of the late king, ſupported by the duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law. The tranquillity of the nation was at this time greatly intereſted in the ſucceſſion. Mary was ſtrongly bigoted to the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh church, nor was ſhe leſs blindly attached to the popiſh clergy who maintained them. As ſhe had lived in continual reſtraint, ſhe was reſerved and gloomy; and her elevation to the throne was an event which ſeemed to threaten a renewal of the moſt inhuman perſecution. On the other hand, lady Jane Grey was a warm partizan of the reformers; and, though yet but ſixteen, her mental accompliſhments were ſuch as might have adorned a mature age. It is agreed among hiſtorians, that the ſolidity of her underſtanding, improved by continual application, was univerſally beheld with aſtoniſhment. We are informed by Aſcham, tutor to Elizabeth, that coming

A. D. 1553.]

once

once to wait upon lady Jane, at her father's houſe in Leiceſterſhire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the reſt of the family were hunting in the park. On his teſtifying his ſurpriſe at her ſituation, ſhe aſſured him, that to her Plato afforded higher delight than the moſt ſtudied refinements of ſenſual pleaſure. She, in fact, ſeemed born for philoſophy, and not for ambition.

Northumberland, ſenſible of the oppoſition which would be made to pretenſions ſo unexpected as thoſe of lady Jane, carefully concealed the late tranſaction relative to the ſucceſſion of the crown; and, in order to bring into his power the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, he had, before Edward's death, engaged the council to write to them in that prince's name, deſiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their counſel, and the conſolation of their company. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, with a view of making the princeſſes fall into the ſnare, concealed the king's death; and Mary had already reached Hoddeſdon, within half a day's journey of the court. But the earl of Arundel ſent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death, and of the conſpiracy formed againſt her. She immediately retired with precipitation, and arrived at Framlingham in Suffolk; where, in caſe ſhe found it impoſſible to aſſert her right of ſucceſſion, ſhe purpoſed to embark, and eſcape to Flanders. Mean time ſhe wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county in England, requiring them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. She alſo diſpatched a meſſage to the council; by which ſhe let them know that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret to her, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and commanded them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland, finding that farther diſſimulation was fruitleſs, went to Sion Houſe, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who reſided there, with all the reſpect uſually paid to a ſovereign. Jane was, in a great meaſure, ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurpriſe that ſhe received intelligence of them. She even refuſed to accept of the crown, pleaded the ſuperior title of the two princeſſes, expreſſed her dread of the conſequences attending ſuch an enterpriſe, and deſired to remain in the private ſtation in which ſhe was born; but at laſt, overcome by the intreaties of her father-in-law and of her huſband, ſhe ſubmitted to their will.

It had been uſual for the kings of England, after their acceſſion, to paſs the firſt days in the Tower; and Northumberland therefore immediately conveyed thither the new ſovereign. All the counſellors were obliged to attend her to that fortreſs; and by this means became in effect priſoners in the hands of Northumberland, whoſe commands they were neceſſitated to obey. Conformably to his deſire, orders were iſſued by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but theſe orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. The people heard the proclamation with ſilence and concern; ſome even expreſſed their contempt; and for this offence a vintner's apprentice was ſeverely puniſhed.

The people of Suffolk, in the mean time, paid their attendance on Mary; but as they were much attached to the reformed doctrines, they could not forbear expreſſing apprehenſions for their religion. On her aſſuring them, however, that ſhe never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enliſted themſelves in her cauſe with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, with reinforcements, from all quarters. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received from the council a commiſſion to levy troops in Buckinghamſhire for lady Jane, carried over the whole body, amounting to four thouſand men,

men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet, which had been ſent by Northumberland to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a ſtorm, was engaged to declare for that princeſs.

Northumberland at length perceived the danger to which his ambition had led him. He had levied forces, which were aſſembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors in his abſence, he was reſolved to keep near the perſon of lady Jane, and to entruſt Suffolk with the command of the army. Thoſe, however, who wiſhed to remove him, working on the filial tenderneſs of Jane, repreſented to her the danger to which her father would be expoſed; and Northumberland, likewiſe thinking that himſelf was the moſt able to conduct the enterpriſe, agreed to take on him the command of the troops. At his departure he took leave of the counſellors, who gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their attachment; and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy. But as he went along he remarked the diſaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to his ambitious deſigns. "Many," ſaid he, to lord Grey, "come out to look at us; but I find none who cries—God ſpeed you!"

No ſooner had the duke reached St. Edmundſbury, than he found his army, which did not exceed ten thouſand men, too weak to encounter the queen's, which amounted to double the number. He immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the council, deſiring them to ſend him a reinforcement, and the counſellors embraced the opportunity to free themſelves from confinement. Quitting the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands, they aſſembled in Baynard's Caſtle, a houſe belonging to Pembroke, where they deliberated concerning the method of ſhaking off Northumberland's uſurpation. Arundel, who began the conference, repreſented to his aſſociates the injuſtice and cruelty of that nobleman, his exorbitant ambition, the criminal enterpriſe which he had projected, and the guilt into which, however involuntarily on their part, he had involved the whole council. He concluded with affirming, that the only method of making atonement for their paſt offences, was by a ſpeedy return to the duty they owed to their lawful ſovereign. Pembroke ſeconded the motion, and declared that he was ready to fight any man who maintained the contrary ſentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London, who were immediately ſent for, embraced with alacrity the ſame meaſures; and the people, on hearing Mary proclaimed, expreſſed their approbation by ſhouts of applauſe. Even Suffolk, finding reſiſtance fruitleſs, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined the party of the queen; while lady Jane returned to a private life with more ſatisfaction than ſhe had felt in a ſtate of royalty, which ſhe had reluctantly ſuſtained during ten days. Meſſengers being ſent to Northumberland, requiring him to lay down his arms, they found that he was deſerted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of ſatisfaction. On the queen's approach to London, the people every where gave demonſtration of their loyalty and attachment; and ſhe was met by her ſiſter Elizabeth, at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had levied to oppoſe the deſigns of the uſurper.

The earl of Arundel, in conſequence of orders from the queen, took into cuſtody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees, and abjectly begged his life. At the ſame time were committed the earl of Warwick, his eldeſt ſon, lord Ambroſe and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger ſons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley, were afterwards put under confinement.

The firſt who ſuffered for oppoſing the queen was Northumberland, who was alſo the principal in guilt. When brought to his trial, he only deſired to aſk two queſtions of

the peers appointed to ſit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treaſon that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great ſeal? and whether thoſe who were involved in the ſame guilt with himſelf could ſit as his judges? Being told that the great ſeal of an uſurper was no authority, and that perſons not lying under any ſentence of attainder were innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury, he acquieſced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution he declared himſelf a member of the church of Rome, and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith. Sir Thomas Palmer, the perjured ſpy, who gave evidence againſt Somerſet, and Sir John Gates, ſuffered with him; and by the lives of theſe three men, who had forfeited them by many illegal acts, was appeaſed the reſentment of the queen; who, in the beginning of her reign, was deſirous of rendering herſelf popular by the appearance of clemency. Sentence was pronounced againſt the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any intention, for the preſent, of putting it in execution: the youth and innocence of their perſons, neither of whom had reached their ſeventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary, upon her arrival in London, went to the Tower. The duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner during all the laſt reign; Courtney, ſon of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic cauſe, appeared before her, and implored her clemency. They were all of them not only reſtored to their liberty, but immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. The queen alſo endeavoured to render herſelf popular by granting a general pardon, but with ſome exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy voted to her brother by the laſt parliament. But amidſt the joy which the people felt at the quiet eſtabliſhment of the lineal ſucceſſion, they were not without great anxiety concerning the ſtate of religion, which the proteſtants, who were now the greater part of the nation, apprehended, from the principles of the new queen, ſhe would attempt to alter. Mary, naturally of a ſour and obſtinate temper, and irritated by contradictions and misfortunes, poſſeſſed all the qualities fitted to compoſe a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable either of doubt in her own tenets, or of indulgence to thoſe of others. A character ſo inauſpicious ſeemed to threaten the reformed religion with an implacable perſecution, which ſoon after enſued.

The biſhops Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, were reinſtated in their ſees, either by a direct act of power, or the ſentence of commiſſioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by act parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonſtal in his regalities as well as in his revenue. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced by an act of prerogative all the preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a ſpecial licence; with which privilege it was eaſy to foreſee none but the catholics would be favoured.

The inhabitants of Suffolk, who had generouſly aſſiſted the queen in her diſtreſs, relying upon her promiſe to protect them in the exerciſe of the reformed religion, had tranſgreſſed ſome of the prohibitions in her proclamation: ſhe ordered the magiſtrates to puniſh the delinquents. Mr. Dobbs, one of the members for that county, preſuming to remind her of the ſervices they had rendered her, and the promiſes ſhe had made, he was ſet in the pillory for three days.

Holgate archbiſhop of York, Coverdale biſhop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Glouceſter, were thrown into priſon; as was old biſhop Latimer, ſoon after. Encouragement was given, both to biſhops and prieſts, to revive the maſs, though contrary to the laws then exiſting. Judge Hales, who had diſcovered ſo much firmneſs in defending

ſending the queen's title, became at length obnoxious to her by oppoſing thoſe illegal practices; and being committed to cuſtody, was treated with ſuch rigour, that he fell into a frenzy, and killed himſelf.

One of the incidents which gave the proteſtants the greateſt alarm, was the ſevere treatment of Cranmer, whoſe moderation, integrity, and virtues, had endeared him even to the catholic party. But the active part which he had borne in promoting the divorce of queen Catharine, as well as in conducting the reformation, had rendered him the object of her hatred, which was now increaſed by the primate's zeal. A report being ſpread that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, the archbiſhop, to wipe off this aſperſion, publiſhed a manifeſto in his own defence. He there ſaid, that, as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time ſtirred up his ſervants to perſecute Chriſt and his true religion. That this infernal ſpirit now endeavoured to reſtore the Latin ſatisfactory maſſes, a thing of his own invention; and, in order to effect his purpoſe, had falſely made uſe of Cranmer's name. And that the maſs is not only without foundation, either in the ſcriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but diſcovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inſpired writings, and is beſides replete with many horrid blaſphemies. On the publication of this paper, Cranmer was thrown into priſon, and being tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and oppoſing the queen's acceſſion, ſentence of high treaſon was pronounced againſt him: the execution of it, however, did not follow; and this venerable man was reſerved for a more dreadful puniſhment.

The intolerant and perſecuting ſpirit of Mary becoming ſo evident, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, deſired leave to withdraw. This indulgence was oppoſed by ſome zealous catholics, who moved for his commitment; but he obtained his requeſt through the interpoſition of Gardiner, who alſo generouſly furniſhed him with ſupplies for his journey. Though himſelf eſcaped, the malignant bigotry of the catholics was wreaked on the body of his wife, which had been interred ſome years before at Oxford: it was dug up by public orders, and buried in a dung-hill. The bones of Bucher and Fabius, two foreign reformers, were about the ſame time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign proteſtants took early precaution to leave the kingdom; carrying with them many of the arts and manufactures, which they had ſucceſsfully cultivated. Several Engliſh proteſtants alſo took ſhelter in foreign parts; and every thing portended a fatal iſſue to the reformation in England.

But as the ſucceſs of all the queen's meaſures depended on getting a parliament devoted to her will, every arbitrary and illegal means were employed to influence the elections. Such returning as were proteſtants, or would not promiſe to comply with her command, were removed, and others, more obedient, appointed in their place. Where ſhe could not ſecure a majority among the electors, the ſheriffs, named by and devoted to the court, returned only ſuch members as they knew might be relied on; and where a reſolution appeared to oppoſe the court ſchemes, the electors were frequently impriſoned on frivolous pretences and falſe actions. By theſe means ſhe ſecured a Houſe of Commons to her mind. That virtuous body of men the Peers, who but a few months before ſhewed ſuch a zeal for the reformation, were now as zealous to oblige the queen, by overthrowing it.

On the opening of parliament, the court ſhewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two Houſes a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though aboliſhed by act of parliament. Taylor biſhop of Lincoln having refuſed to kneel at this ſervice, was ſeverely handled, and violently thruſt out of the Houſe. The queen, however, ſtill retained the title of

ſupreme

ſupreme head of the church; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to reſtore religion to the ſame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuſes of popery, which were the moſt grievous to the nation, would never be revived. The firſt bill paſſed by this aſſembly was of a popular nature, and aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon not contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every ſpecies of felony that did not ſubſiſt before the firſt of Henry VIII. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catharine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly cenſured on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the ſtatutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverſed. Many clauſes of the riot act paſſed in the late reign were revived; a ſtep which eluded, in a great meaſure, the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of parliament.

Notwithſtanding theſe compliances, the two Houſes were determined not to ſubmit tamely to the queen's pleaſure in the choice of a huſband. There were three marriages, concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated, after her acceſſion. The firſt was with the earl of Devonſhire, whoſe perſon and addreſs had viſibly gained on the queen's affections; but that nobleman neglected this advantage, to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth. The ſecond was cardinal Pole, who had never taken prieſt's orders; but it was inſinuated to Mary that he was in the decline of life, and had contracted habits of ſtudy and retirement unſuitable to the buſtle of a court. The third was Philip ſon of the emperor Charles V. and this alliance was not only ſtrongly recommended by Gardiner, who had become prime miniſter, but was readily embraced by Mary herſelf. The Commons were, however, far from regarding this meaſure in the ſame favourable light, and the remonſtrance they preſented againſt it was productive of their diſſolution. After the parliament was diſmiſſed, the new laws reſpecting religion were openly put in execution. The maſs was every where reeſtabliſhed; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office.

A. D. 1554.] This ſudden change of religion inſpired the proteſtants with great diſcontent; but the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even grandeur, of England. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die, and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip. Such was the treaty of marriage, ſigned by count Egmont, and three other ambaſſadors, ſent over to England by the emperor.

Theſe articles, when publiſhed, were conſidered only as a verbal engagement, which might afterwards be retracted at a convenient opportunity. The people complained that England would become ſubject to the deſpotic government of Spain; and a conſpiracy was formed to riſe in arms, and oppoſe the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyat purpoſed to raiſe Kent, Sir Peter Carew Devonſhire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for lady Jane, to attempt raiſing the midland counties. Carew's impatience,

patience, or apprehenſions, engaged him to break the concert, and to riſe in arms before the day appointed: he was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the earl of Bedford, and conſtrained to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arreſt, ſuddenly left the town, with his brothers, lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray, and endeavoured to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his intereſt lay; but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horſe, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers, and being diſcovered in his concealment, he was carried priſoner to London. Wyat was at firſt more ſucceſsful in his attempt; and having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent againſt the queen's evil counſellors and the Spaniſh match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his ſtandard. The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, was ſent againſt him, at the head of the guards, and ſome other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners, commanded by Bret; and he came within ſight of the rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to deſert from them; and having ſecretly gained Bret, theſe two malcontents ſo wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deſerted to Wyat, and declared that they would not contribute to enſlave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took ſhelter in the city.

After this proof of the diſpoſitions of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, Wyat was encouraged to proceed: he led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that ſhe ſhould put the Tower into his hands, ſhould deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to inſure the liberty of the nation, ſhould immediately marry an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was ſecured againſt him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingſton, where he paſſed the river with four thouſand men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently waſted ſo much time at Southwark and in his march from Kingſton, that the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt. Though he entered Weſtminſter without reſiſtance, his followers, finding that no perſon of note joined him, inſenſibly fell off, and he was at laſt ſeized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley. Four hundred perſons ſuffered for this rebellion; four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks, and, falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wyat was condemned and executed: as it had been reported that, on his examination, he had accuſed the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as his accomplices, he took care on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any ſhare in his rebellion.

For ſome time the lady Elizabeth had been treated with great harſhneſs by her ſiſter; but the declaration of Wyat rendered it impoſſible to proceed againſt her. As ſhe had declined a propoſal of marriage with the duke of Savoy, ſhe was confined at Wodeſtoke; and the earl of Devonſhire, though equally innocent, was kept priſoner in Fotheringay Caſtle.

This inſurrection proved fatal to the lady Jane Grey and her huſband. Warning was given to the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered nowiſe unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the priſoner's ſoul, induced her to ſend divines, who harraſſed her with perpetual diſputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that ſhe would be perſuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely converſion, ſome regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had preſence of mind, in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, not only to defend her religion

by all the topics then in uſe, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter, in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the ſcriptures in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the day of her execution, her huſband, lord Guilford, deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and informed him, by a meſſage, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conſtancy which their approaching end required of them: their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the ſame ſcaffold, at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart, as they were leading her to execution; and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle: after looking at him for ſome time, ſhe deſired them to proceed. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: ſhe gave him her table-book, on which ſhe had juſt written three ſentences, on ſeeing her huſband's dead body, one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in Engliſh. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth at leaſt, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhew her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech to the by-ſtanders; in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy; that ſhe had leſs erred through ambition, than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey; that ſhe willingly received death, as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhew, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her. She then cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women, and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted to the executioner.

The duke of Suffolk was condemned and executed ſoon after. Lord Thomas Gray loſt his life for the ſame offence. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no ſatisfactory evidence againſt him, the jury gave a verdict in his favour. The queen was ſo enraged at this diſappointment, that inſtead of releaſing him, as the law required, ſhe re-committed him to the Tower, where he was kept in cloſe confinement ſome time. But ſhe carried her reſentment yet farther. The jury, being ſummoned before the council, were all ſent to priſon, and afterwards fined, ſome of them a thouſand pounds, others two thouſand a piece. This violence proved fatal to ſeveral; among others, to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower, and all the priſons, with nobility and gentry, whom their intereſt with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had

had rendered the objects of her ſuſpicion. And finding that ſhe was univerſally hated by the people, ſhe reſolved to diſable them from reſiſtance, by ordering general muſters, and directing the commiſſioners to ſeize their arms, and lay them up in forts and caſtles.

Amidſt all the unpopularity of the queen's government, her power had received ſuch an increaſe from the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrection, that the miniſtry hoped to find an obſequious diſpoſition in the new parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. The emperor alſo, in order to facilitate the ſame end, had ſent over to England four hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſtributed in bribes and penſions among the members.

Not to give the public alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithſtanding her bigotry, reſumed her title of ſupreme head of the church, which ſhe had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he propoſed, that they ſhould inveſt the queen, by law, with a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of appointing her ſucceſſor. But the parliament, however much diſpoſed to gratify the queen in all her deſires, was determined not to accede to a meaſure which might render England a province of the Spaniſh monarchy. They agreed to ratify the articles of marriage; but they would not ſo much as declare it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's huſband, while ſhe was alive. A law paſſed in this parliament for re-erecting the biſhopric of Durham, which had been diſſolved by the laſt parliament of Edward. Bills were introduced for ſuppreſſing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the Six Articles, with thoſe againſt the Lollards, and againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching; but none of theſe bills could paſs the two Houſes: the queen, therefore, finding that the parliament would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving it.

Mary's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe waited with an impatience unbecoming a woman of her years, and one who could ſo little hope to make a favourable impreſſion on her huſband by her exterior endowments. She felt the ſevereſt anxiety from Philip's delays; and could not conceal her vexation that, though ſhe had brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with any letter. Her fondneſs was even increaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects entertained the greateſt averſion for the event, to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe conceived a reſentment againſt the whole Engliſh nation.

A ſquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral informing her, that the diſcontents ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to entruſt himſelf in their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them. She then dreaded leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, ſhould intercept her huſband, and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding, were viſibly hurt by her extreme anxiety; and ſhe was ſtruck with a new apprehenſion, leſt her perſon, impaired by time, and blaſted by ſickneſs, ſhould prove diſagreeable to her intended ſpouſe. At laſt Philip arrived at Southampton. They were married a few days after in Weſtminſter; and having made a pompous entry into London, ſhe carried him to Windſor, the palace in which they afterwards reſided.

The prince's behaviour was but ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the Engliſh had conceived againſt him. He was diſtant and reſerved in his addreſs, and would not deign to notice the ſalutes of the moſt conſiderable noblemen. But this was a circumſtance not diſagreeable to the queen, who deſired to have no company but her huſband's. The ſhorteſt abſence gave her anxiety; and when he ſhewed civilities to any other

other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy.

Mary soon found that the most effectual method to insure Philip's affection was to render him master of England; and to this point, therefore, she was willing to sacrifice every other consideration. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding it more compliant than the former; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members, and employed the most arbitrary and violent means in their elections. These expedients, assisted by the zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, and the intrigues of Gardiner, had the desired effect. Cardinal Pole, invested with legatine powers from the pope, now arrived in England; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so unfortunately separated. This message was received with complacency; and both Houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance for their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties that, since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution of their penitent subjects. The request was easily obtained. The legate, in the name of his Holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The parliament, however, not relying entirely on these promises, took care, in the law itself by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause which gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehensions on that head, was induced to present a petition to the same purpose; and all these transactions were ratified by the legate, in his master's name.

The parliament, having secured their own possessions, were willing to gratify, to the utmost extent, the bigotry of the king and queen. They revived, against heretics, the old sanguinary laws, which had been rejected in the former parliament. They also enacted statutes against seditious words and rumours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen. But their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen exerted all her influence to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in every such endeavour, nor could she even procure their consent to his coronation. Philip, sensible of the prejudices entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; lord Henry Dudley, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and others, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court. Nothing, however, was more agreeable to the nation than his restoring the princess Elizabeth to liberty, and protecting her from the violence of the queen: but this measure was only the effect of policy; which made him foresee, that if the princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire also obtained his liberty.

A. D. 1555.] The queen's desire of issue had made her give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fansied that she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Great rejoicings were made on this occasion by the catholics; who were not only confident that the queen was pregnant, but that the child should be a son; for whom Bonner bishop of London made public prayers, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But this supposed pregnancy proved

to

to be only the commencement of a dropſy; though this idea was reprobated by Philip, who endeavoured to ſupport the opinion of the queen's pregnancy, with the view of thereby extending his authority in the kingdom. The parliament paſſed a law, which, in caſe of the queen's demiſe, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no farther conceſſions, came unexpectedly to Weſtminſter, and diſſolved the aſſembly.

An incident happened this ſeſſion which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Several members of the lower Houſe, diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the parliament, but finding themſelves unable to prevent them, made a ſeceſſion, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation, and refuſed any longer to attend the Houſe. For this inſtance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's Bench, after the diſſolution of parliament: ſix of them ſubmitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines; the reſt traverſed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an iſſue.

Gardiner and Pole now had the greateſt influence in the council; the former from the ſucceſs of his meaſures had acquired an extenſive authority, while the latter was generally eſteemed on account of his virtue and candour. A very important queſtion was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by theſe two eccleſiaſtics, whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be put in execution, or ſhould only be employed to reſtrain them by terror? Though Pole's moderation had made him be ſuſpected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheraniſm, he was ſincerely attached to the catholic doctrines, and thought that no conſideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with intereſts ſo important. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his ſchemes of ſafety or advancement. This was the well-known character of theſe two counſellors; yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above ſyſtem, that the benevolent diſpoſition of Pole led him to adviſe a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the ſevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to ſupport by perſecution that religion which he ſecretly regarded with great indifference. The counſels of Gardiner, therefore, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Philip and Mary, were better received; and it was determined to let looſe the laws in their utmoſt ſeverity againſt the reformed religion.

Mary declared that ſhe could not be delivered till the heretics, who now filled the jails of London, were executed. This bloody ſcene began with the martyrdom of Hooper biſhop of Glouceſter, and Rogers prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commiſſioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected that terror would bend them to ſubmiſſion, and that they would, by a recantation, bring into diſrepute thoſe opinions which they had ſo long inculcated. But in this the perſecutors were deceived; they both continued ſtedfaſt in their belief; and they were accordingly condemned to be burnt, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own dioceſe at Glouceſter. The former of theſe, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles; for he had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could ſhake his reſolution. Such was his ſerenity after condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep, upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that being a prieſt, he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he ſeemed no way moved at the preparation, but cried out, "I reſign my life with joy in teſtimony of the doctrine of Jeſus." When Hooper was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, with the queen's pardon upon it, in caſe he ſhould make a recantation; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared cheerfully to ſuffer his ſentence, which was executed in it's full ſeverity. The fire, either from malice or

neglect, had not been ſufficiently kindled; ſo that his legs and thighs were burnt before his vitals were attacked. After one of his hands had dropped off, he continued with the other to beat his breaſt. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, who had been diſtinguiſhed for their zeal in promoting the reformation, ſuffered next. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel; and, before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which was made to ſtream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, ſinging the thirty-firſt pſalm in Engliſh. One of the ſpectators ſtruck him a blow on the head, and deſired him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes ſilent, with his eyes ſtedfaſtly fixed upward; when one of the guards cleft his head with a halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

The crime for which almoſt all the proteſtants were condemned, was their refuſal to acknowledge the real preſence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would ſtrike terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who ſeemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy ſufferers. He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, until he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe. He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refuſed to relinquiſh his tenets; and that he might give him a ſpecimen of burning, he held the man's hand to the candle till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt.

While this barbarian let looſe his vengeance without reſtraint, the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to purſue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley biſhop of London, and the venerable Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, both of them celebrated for their learning and virtue, were condemned, and periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, ſupporting each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, ſaid to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." The executioner had tied about theſe prelates ſome bags of gunpowder, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their tortures. The exploſion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; but Ridley continued alive ſome time, in the midſt of the flames. About the ſame time Ferrar biſhop of St. David's was burned in his own dioceſe.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that, if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a ſignal to that purpoſe in the midſt of of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered ſo ſupported him, that he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on, and in that poſture he expired. This example, with many others of like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to ſuffer, but to aſpire after martyrdom.

The tender ſex were perſecuted with the ſame ſeverity; and as they have commonly a greater propenſity to religion, produced many examples of the moſt inflexible courage, in ſupporting the profeſſion of it againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution, in particular, was attended with circumſtances which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment by reaſon of their unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it: but a magiſtrate, who ſtood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent.

The perſons condemned to theſe puniſhments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing, contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion;

ligion; they were ſeized merely on ſuſpicion; and articles being offered them to ſubſcribe, they were immediately, upon their refuſal, condemned to the flames. Repeated orders were ſent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magiſtrates in ſearching out heretics; and, in ſome places, the gentry were conſtrained to countenance, by their preſence, thoſe barbarous executions. Theſe acts of violence tended only to render the Spaniſh government daily more odious; and Philip, ſenſible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himſelf by a very groſs artifice. He ordered his confeſſor to deliver, in his preſence, a ſermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine not a little extraordinary in the mouth of a Spaniſh friar. But the court, finding that Bonner, however ſhameleſs and ſavage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, ſoon threw off the maſk, and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without controul. A bold ſtep was even taken to introduce the inquiſition into England. As the biſhops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not reſtrained by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be inveſted with ſufficient power, a commiſſion was granted, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate hereſy. Twenty-one perſons were named, but any three were armed with the powers of the whole; and they were inveſted with authority to try and condemn heretics without any form of law. But even this was thought a method too dilatory. A proclamation iſſued againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition, declared that all perſons who, having ſuch books, did not burn them without reading, ſhould be conſidered as rebels, and ſuffer accordingly. In conſequence of this declaration, whole crowds were executed; until at laſt the very magiſtrates, who had been inſtrumental in theſe cruelties, refuſed to lend their aſſiſtance. It was computed that, during this perſecution, two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſuffered by fire, excluſive of thoſe puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire, were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. That this infamous woman ſhould be guilty of all theſe barbarities is not aſtoniſhing; but that ſhe ſhould be ſuffered to ſurvive is really ſurpriſing, when we conſider that the proteſtants were much more numerous than the papiſts.

An adminiſtration which perſecuted the reformers with ſuch unrelenting ſeverity, could not but be attached to the Roman pontiff by the ſtrongeſt ties of ſuperſtition. A ſolemn embaſſy, conſiſting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montacute, the biſhop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, was ſent to Rome to carry the ſubmiſſions of England, and begged to be admitted into the boſom of the catholic church. The papal chair was now filled by Paul IV. the moſt haughty pontiff that, during ſeveral ages, had been elevated to that dignity. He inſiſted that the property of the church ſhould be reſtored to the uttermoſt farthing: that every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: that, if the Engliſh would ſhew their filial piety, they muſt reſtore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romiſh church, among which was included Peter's pence; nor could they expect that this apoſtle would open to them the gates of paradiſe, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. Theſe remonſtrances being tranſmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen, who was determined, in order to eaſe her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were yet in poſſeſſion of the crown; and, the more to diſplay her zeal, ſhe erected anew ſome convents and monaſteries.

Theſe imprudent meaſures, it is probable, would not have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time. The great ſeal was given to Heathe archbiſhop of York; that an eccleſiaſtic being ſtill poſſeſſed of that

that high office, he might be better enabled, by his authority, to forward the perſecutions againſt the reformed. Theſe perſecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the diſcontent appeared in the new parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter. A bill was paſſed, reſtoring to the church the tenths and firſt-fruits, with all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though the matter directly concerned none but the queen, great oppoſition was made to the bill in the Houſe of Commons. An application being made for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the Commons. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of peace. The queen, finding the untractable humour of the Commons, thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

The ſpirit of oppoſition, which began to prevail in parliament, was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as ſhe was otherwiſe in a bad humour on account of the abſence of Philip, who tired of her importunate love and jealouſy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had gone over, the preceding ſummer, to the emperor, in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of her huſband, added to the diſappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and ſhe gave vent to her ſpleen by daily enforcing the perſecutions againſt the proteſtants, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects, by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be hated, and whoſe oppoſition, in refuſing an entire compliance with Philip, was, ſhe believed, the cauſe why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her ſo little of his company.

The part of government, to which ſhe gave the greateſt attention, was the extorting of money from her people, in order to ſatisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her a ſcanty ſupply, ſhe had recourſe to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds upon a thouſand perſons; but that ſum not proving ſufficient, ſhe exacted a general loan on every one who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a year. This impoſition lay heavy on the gentry, many of whom were obliged to retrench their expences, and diſmiſs their ſervants, in order to enable them to comply with her commands; and as theſe ſervants, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and having no means of ſubſiſtence, commonly betook themſelves to theft and robbery, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe enjoined their former maſters to take them back to their ſervice. She levied ſixty thouſand marks on ſeven thouſand yeomen who had not contributed to the former loan; and ſhe exacted thirty-ſix thouſand pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage ſome Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, ſhe paſſed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exportation of any Engliſh cloths or kerſeys to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for thoſe who had already ſent any quantity of cloth thither. The Engliſh company ſettled at Antwerp having refuſed her a loan of forty thouſand pounds, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment until ſhe found that they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching; ſhe then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the forty thouſand pounds at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of twenty thouſand pounds more at a limited time, and to ſubmit to an impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Some time after, being informed that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above forty thouſand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a piece, the uſual impoſition, ſhe ſtruck a bargain with the merchant-adventurers in London, prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation, and received from the Engliſh merchants, in conſideration of this iniquity, the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, with an impoſition of four crowns on each piece of cloth

cloth which they ſhould export. She attempted to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit was ſo low, that though ſhe offered fourteen per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of thirty thouſand pounds, ſhe could not obtain it, until ſhe compelled the city of London to be ſurety for her. All theſe violent expedients were employed merely to ſupply the demands of a huſband who ſhewed himſelf entirely indifferent about her intereſts. In addition to theſe oppreſſions and perſecutions, famine and peſtilence ſwept away vaſt numbers of the inhabitants.

A. D. 1556.] The magiſtrates, tired or ſhocked with their work of murder, were leſs brutal than the queen required; and as numbers of perſons attended the execution of thoſe who ſuffered for hereſy, and expreſſed their compaſſion for the unfortunate victims, ſhe ſent a letter to the lord mayor and ſheriffs of London, directing them to employ a great number of officers, and apprehend all who ſhould be found aiding, comforting, or praiſing, ſuch obſtinate heretics as were given over to the ſecular arm. But this inhuman order did not produce the deſired effect; for five men and two women being burnt in Smithfield a few days after, there never were ſeen a greater multitude of people of all ages and ſexes, though the execution was finiſhed before eight o'clock in the morning, and in the winter.

Theſe unparalleled barbarities excited the indignation of the people againſt the government; which was greatly increaſed by the fate of Cranmer, who had long been detained priſoner. The queen now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and in order the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance, ſhe reſolved to puniſh him for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner biſhop of London, and Thirlby of Ely, were ſent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which ſuited his ſavage nature. The implacable ſpirit of the queen, not ſatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful ſentence to which he was condemned, prompted her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed, but by flattery, inſinuation, and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by recantation. Terrified by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him, and overcome by the fond love of life, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the ſentiments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſubſcribe the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy and the real preſence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, was determined that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and ſent orders, that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he ſhould thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether he had received a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurpriſed the audience by a contrary declaration. He ſaid, that he well knew the obedience which he owed to his ſovereign and the laws; but that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind; that he ſincerely repented of the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakneſs to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation, and was willing to ſeal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven; and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt pay the forfeit of it's offences. He was thence led to the ſtake, amidſt the inſults of the catholics; and having now

ſummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of the puniſhment, with ſingular fortitude. He ſtretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames until it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault; and he cried aloud, ſeveral times, "This hand has offended!" Satisfied with that atonement, he then diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his outward ſufferings. It was pretended, that, after his body was conſumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidſt the aſhes; an event which, being the emblem of conſtancy, was fondly believed by the zealous proteſtants. He was doubtleſs a man of merit, poſſeſſed of learning and capacity, and endowed with all thoſe virtues which were fitted to render him uſeful and amiable in ſociety.

After Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken prieſt's orders, was inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury; and was therefore by this office, as well as by his commiſſion of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. The moderation of his temper rendered him averſe to all ſanguinary methods of converting heretics; but his authority was too weak to oppoſe the barbarous and bigotted diſpoſition of the queen, and of her counſellors.

A. D. 1557.] The great object of the queen, at this time, was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counſellors, zealouſly oppoſed this meaſure. Beſides inſiſting on the marriage articles, which provided againſt ſuch an attempt, they repreſented the violence of the domeſtic factions in England, and the diſordered ſtate of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all theſe meaſures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on the Spaniſh councils. Philip wrote to the queen, that if he were not gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he never more would ſet foot in England. This declaration extremely increaſed her ſolicitude for promoting his intereſts, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. Though ſhe employed various menaces, and even threatened to diſmiſs all of them, and to appoint counſellors more obſequious, yet could ſhe not procure a vote for declaring war with France. But the crown having been reſigned to Philip by his father, he came over to England to enforce his demands by his preſence; when the court was ſoon alarmed by an inſurrection in the north, which furniſhed them with a pretext for going to war. Thomas Stafford, and ſome other conſpirators, were detected in a deſign of ſurpriſing Scarborough; and a confeſſion being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed, and it was determined to make this act of hoſtility the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared againſt France.

From the preſent diſpoſition of the nation, the queen had little reaſon to expect any conſiderable ſupplies from parliament; and therefore, to ſupport her warlike preparations, ſhe continued to levy money in the ſame arbitrary and violent manner which ſhe had lately practiſed. She obliged the city of London to ſupply her with ſixty thouſand pounds on her huſband's entry; ſhe levied before the legal time the ſecond year's ſubſidy voted by parliament; ſhe iſſued anew many privy ſeals, by which ſhe procured loans from the people; and having equipped a fleet which ſhe could not victual by reaſon of the dearneſs of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all theſe expedients, aſſiſted by that of preſſing, ſhe levied an army of ten thouſand men, which ſhe ſent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any diſturbance at home, many of the moſt conſiderable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and leſt they ſhould be known, the

the Spaniſh practice was followed: they were either carried thither in the night-time, or were hood-winked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

Philip, having gained his point, could no longer be prevailed upon, by all the tears and intreaties of his love-ſick wife, to ſtay, but haſtened over to Bruſſels; where his army, after the junction of the Engliſh, amounted to above ſixty thouſand men, conducted by Philibert duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt generals of the age. A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin ſeemed to promiſe great ſucceſs to the allied arms; but in a ſhort time an action, performed by the duke of Guiſe in the midſt of winter, turned the ſcale in favour of France, and affected, if not the intereſt, at leaſt the honour of England, in the tendereſt point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; and having been ſtrongly fortified at different times, it was deemed impregnable. Coligny had remarked to the duke of Guiſe, that, as the town of Calais was ſurrounded by marſhes, which during winter were impaſſable, except over a dyke guarded by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newman Bridge, the Engliſh, to ſave expence, were of late accuſtomed to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon at the approach of winter, and recall them in the ſpring. The duke of Guiſe immediately made a ſudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and with three thouſand arquebuſſiers aſſaulted the caſtle of St. Agatha. The garriſon was ſoon obliged to retreat to their other caſtle of Newman Bridge, and ſhortly after compelled to quit that poſt, and to take ſhelter in the city. Meanwhile, a ſmall fleet was ſent to block up the entrance of the harbour; and thus Calais was inveſted by land and ſea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence; but his garriſon being very weak, they were unable to reſiſt an aſſault of the French, who made a lodgment in the caſtle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this poſt; but having loſt two hundred men in the attack, he was obliged to capitulate; and thus, in leſs than eight days, the duke of Guiſe made himſelf maſter of this ſtrong fortreſs, which had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army. This incident excited in the kingdom loud complaints againſt the queen and her counſellors; who, after engaging in a fruitleſs war, for the ſake of foreign conqueſts, had thus expoſed the nation to ſo ſevere a diſgrace. Mary herſelf was ſo much affected at the loſs, as to ſay, that when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

A. D. 1558.] The complicated unhappineſs which the queen now ſuſtained, from a murmuring people, the increaſe of the reformation, a diſdainful huſband, and an unſucceſsful war, made dreadful depredations on her conſtitution, which had already greatly ſuffered from an improper regimen, in conſequence of having miſtaken a dropſical diſorder for pregnancy; and was alſo not a little injured by the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion to the crown. All theſe reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after an iniquitous reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

This deteſtable woman poſſeſſed no quality, intellectual or exterior, which could inſpire either love or eſteem. With a diſagreeable perſon, ſhe had a narrow underſtanding, a heart familiar with the moſt unrelenting cruelty, and a mind which was governed by no other principle than religious prejudices. Cardinal Pole, who was univerſally reſpected for his gentleneſs and humanity, and whoſe health had long been declining, ſurvived her not many hours. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Acceſſion of Elizabeth—Re-eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion—Arrival of the Queen of Scots—Her Marriage—Murder of Rizzio—Of Darnley—Mary's Marriage with Bothwell—Her Impriſonment---Wars—Conſpiracy and Execution of the Duke of Norfolk---Hoſtilities---Execution of Queen Mary—The Spaniſh Armada---Intrigues and Execution of Eſſex—Defeat of the Spaniards and Iriſh---Death of Elizabeth, &c.

DURING the whole of the late reign, the nation was under great apprehenſions with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. It required all the prudence of that princeſs to elude the effects of the violent hatred which the queen bore to her. She concealed her ſentiments of religion, and complied with the preſent modes of worſhip. When queſtioned concerning the real preſence, the net for catching the proteſtants, ſhe anſwered,

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

A. D. 1558.] Her acceſſion to the throne was accompanied with the moſt ſincere demonſtrations of joy. Even the catholics rejoiced at an event which, though it was likely to overturn the religious ſyſtem that had been re-eſtabliſhed by Mary, yet promiſed greater ſecurity to the civil liberties of the nation.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when ſhe heard of her ſiſter's death; and haſtening up to London, was received by the multitude with univerſal acclamations. On her entrance into the Tower, ſhe could not refrain from remarking the difference of her preſent and her former fortune, when ſhe was ſent thither as a priſoner, and ſo narrowly eſcaped loſing her life.

She had ſcarcely been proclaimed queen, when Philip, who ſtill hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain over England that dominion of which he had failed in eſpouſing Mary, immediately diſpatched orders from the Low Countries to the duke of Feria, his ambaſſador at London, to make her propoſals of marriage; and he offered to procure from Rome a diſpenſation for that purpoſe. Whatever might be her reſolution againſt ſuch an alliance, ſhe returned him a very obliging, though evaſive anſwer; and he entertained ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſenger to Rome, with orders to ſolicit the diſpenſation.

The queen, not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her ſiſter's counſellors; but in order to balance their authority, ſhe added eight, who were known to be inclined to the proteſtant communion. Theſe were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambroſe Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom ſhe created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate. With theſe counſellors ſhe frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of the means of reſtoring the proteſtant religion. She recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all priſoners who were confined on account of religion. She next publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe forebade all preaching without a ſpecial licence. She alſo ſuſpended the laws ſo far as to have a great part of the ſervice to be read in Engliſh; and forbade the hoſt to be any more elevated in her preſence.

A. D. 1559.] The parliament being aſſembled, recogniſed the right of Elizabeth to the throne, according to the order of ſucceſſion ſettled in the 35th of Henry VIII. They

ELIZABETH.

JAMES I.

CHARLES I.

CROMWELL.

CHARLES II.

They then proceeded with the reformation; and different acts were paſſed, by which the monaſteries lately erected were ſuppreſſed; tenths and firſt fruits were granted to the queen; her ſupremacy was acknowledged, and all who denied, or attempted to deprive her of that prerogative, ſuffered for the firſt offence forfeiture of goods, for the ſecond they were ſubject to a premunire, but the third offence was declared high treaſon. The ſtatutes enacted with regard to religion in the time of king Edward were confirmed; the nomination of biſhops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters; and the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any ſee, to ſeize the temporalities, and beſtow on the biſhop-elect an equivalent on the impropriations belonging to the crown. The maſs was aboliſhed, and the liturgy of Edward re-eſtabliſhed. Penalties were enacted againſt thoſe who departed from this mode of worſhip, or abſented themſelves from the church and ſacraments. Thus in one ſeſſion the form of religion was eſtabliſhed as it has ever ſince remained in the nation.

Of nine thouſand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of thoſe in the kingdom, only fourteen biſhops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, choſe to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion.

The Commons, in a reſpectful addreſs, ſolicited the queen to marry; but ſhe told the ſpeaker that ſhe had hitherto declined that engagement, which ſhe regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at preſent, would ſhe perſevere in this ſentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the intereſts of religion, and the happineſs of her ſubjects: that as England was her huſband, wedded to her by this pledge, (and here ſhe ſhewed her finger, with the ſame gold ring upon it with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration,) ſo all Engliſhmen were her children; and while ſhe was employed in rearing or governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not deem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs and unprofitable: that if ſhe ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her ſubjects welfare would ſtill be uppermoſt in her thoughts; but ſhould ſhe live and die a virgin, ſhe doubted not but Divine Providence, ſeconded by their counſels and her own meaſures, would be able to prevent all diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and ſecure them a ſovereign, who, perhaps better than her own iſſue, would imitate her example in loving and cheriſhing her people: and that, for her part, ſhe deſired that no higher character, or fairer remembrance of her, ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to have this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe ſhould pay the laſt debt to nature, "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

While the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the national religion, negociations for a peace were conducted between France, Spain, and England. It was at laſt agreed, that Henry ſhould reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in caſe of failure, he ſhould pay five hundred thouſand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais ſtill remain; that he ſhould find the ſecurity of ſeven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France, for the payment of this ſum; that he ſhould deliver five hoſtages until that ſecurity was provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, ſhe ſhould forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he ſhould be obliged immediately to reſtore that fortreſs. It was evident that theſe ſtipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but all men excuſed the queen, on account of the exigency of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence in ſubmitting, without farther ſtruggle, to that neceſſity.

Notwithſtanding peace was concluded between France and England, there ſoon appeared a ground of quarrel of the moſt ſerious nature. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate

legitimate by Henry VIII. Francis, and his ſpouſe, Mary queen of Scots, quartered the arms, and aſſumed the title, of king and queen of England. Elizabeth thence concluded, that the king of France intended, on the firſt opportunity, to diſpute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. She therefore conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as poſſible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The ſudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the eſpouſals of his ſiſter with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his ſucceſſor, Francis II. continued to aſſume, without reſerve, the title of king of England, ſhe began to conſider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the preſent ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own ſafety.

At this time the reformation was making great progreſs in Scotland, where the animoſity of the oppoſite parties roſe to ſuch a height, as to threaten a civil war. In this divided ſtate of the kingdom, Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained over their affections from their native queen; who, being a catholic, was inclined to favour thoſe of her own perſuaſion. The reformers therefore conſidered Elizabeth as their patroneſs and defender, and Mary as their perſecutor and enemy. Some of the heads had entered into a bond, and called themſelves THE CONGREGATION OF THE LORD; but as their army was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the veteran troops which had been ſent from France, they entered into a treaty of mutual defence with Elizabeth, which was to laſt during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and ſhe promiſed never to deſiſt till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland.

A. D. 1560.] Elizabeth, having ſent a fleet to their aſſiſtance, it changed the tide of war; the French retired to, and were beſieged in Leith: the death of the queen regent, who expired about this time in the caſtle of Edinburgh, augmented their diſtreſs. The biſhop of Valence and count Randan, plenipotentiaries with France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had ſent thither for that purpoſe. It was there ſtipulated, that the French ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom; that further ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and the commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point, or, if they could not agree, that the king of Spain ſhould be umpire between the two crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould enjoy any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the queen of Scots ſhould chooſe ſeven, and the ſtates five, and in the hands of theſe twelve ſhould the whole adminiſtration be placed during their queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without conſent of the ſtates. In order to haſten the execution of this important treaty, Elizabeth ſent ſhips, by which the French forces were tranſported into their own country.

The ſubſequent meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers tended ſtill more to cement their union with England. The parliament voted a law for aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in Scotland, and eſtabliſhing the preſbyterian form of diſcipline: the refuſal of Mary to ſanction theſe ſtatutes was little regarded. The ſeverity with which the proteſtants were treated in France had excited diſcontents in that kingdom: the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligni, had profeſſed themſelves attached to the new communion; a civil war was kindled, when the death of Francis, a prince of a ſickly conſtitution, changed the face of affairs,

fairs, and diminiſhed the influence of the houſe of Guiſe.

A. D. 1561.] Though Mary, after her huſband's death, deſiſted from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, ſhe ſtill declined making any formal renunciation of her pretenſions. Finding her abode in France diſagreeable from the jealouſy of Catharine de Medicis, the queen-mother, ſhe had applied to Elizabeth for a ſafe conduct, in caſe ſhe ſhould be obliged to paſs through England in her way to her native country. The anſwer, that ſhe could expect no favour until ſhe had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, excited her open indignation: "Tell Elizabeth," ſaid ſhe to the ambaſſador, "I can return to my own country without her leave, as I came to France in ſpite of all the oppoſition of her brother king Edward."

Though ſhe was informed that Elizabeth had equipped a fleet, on pretence of purſuing pirates, but probably to intercept her, ſhe embarked at Calais, paſſed the Engliſh fleet in a fog, and arrived ſafely at Leith. Her firſt appearance prepoſſeſſed her ſubjects in her favour: ſhe had reached her nineteenth year; and the bloom of her youth, and the beauty of her perſon, were recommended by the affability of her addreſs, the politeneſs of her manners, and the elegance of her genius: yet one circumſtance blaſted every thing; and though Mary gave her entire confidence to the leaders of the reformed party, ſhe was ſtill a papiſt. The auſtere manners of the reformed clergy, and her levities, produced mutual diſguſt and reſentment, which broke out into violent oppoſition.

The queen of Scots, deſtitute of all force, poſſeſſing a narrow revenue, ſurrounded with a turbulent nobility and a bigotted people, ſoon found her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preſerve a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. She offered to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and to renounce all preſent pretenſions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would agree to declare her the ſucceſſor; but ſuch was the jealous character of this latter princeſs, that ſhe never would conſent to ſtrengthen the intereſt and authority of any claimant, by fixing the ſucceſſion. Mary's propoſal, however, bore ſo ſpecious an appearance of equity and juſtice, that Elizabeth, ſenſible that reaſon would, by ſuperficial thinkers, be deemed to lie entirely on that ſide, made no more mention of the matter; and though farther conceſſions were never made by either princeſs, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendſhip with each other.

Elizabeth now employed herſelf in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She made ſome progreſs in paying thoſe great debts which lay upon the crown; ſhe regulated the coin, which had been much debaſed by her predeceſſors; ſhe furniſhed her arſenals with great quantities of arms from Germany and other places; engaged her nobility and gentry to imitate her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and braſs cannon; fortified her frontiers on the ſide of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture; promoted trade and navigation; and ſo much increaſed the ſhipping of her kingdom, both by building veſſels of force herſelf, and ſuggeſting like undertakings to the merchants, that ſhe was juſtly ſtiled the reſtorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern ſeas. The natural frugality of her temper enabled her to execute them with greater certainty and ſucceſs; and all the world ſaw in her conduct effects of a vigorous perſeverance in judicious and well-concerted projects.

Though Elizabeth had made declarations in favour of a ſingle life, ſhe received propoſals of marriage from ſome foreign princes; and even ſome of her own ſubjects flattered themſelves with hopes of ſucceſs. To all theſe ſuitors ſhe gave a gentle refuſal, which ſtill encouraged the purſuit. But lord Robert Dudley, a younger ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, ſeemed to be her favourite. She was not only averſe to marry, or to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown, but appeared determined, as far as lay in her power, that no one who had pretenſions

to

to the ſucceſſion ſhould ever have any heir. Lady Catharine Grey, younger ſiſter to the lady Jane, had privately married the earl of Hertford, ſon of the late duke of Somerſet. She no ſooner proved to be pregnant, than Elizabeth committed her and her huſband to the Tower. Her ſeverity ſtopped not here: ſhe iſſued a commiſſion to inquire into the matter; and as Hertford could not, within the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, the commerce between him and his conſort was declared unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourſe, and another child appeared to be the fruit of their commerce. This was a freſh ſource of vexation to the queen; who made a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds to be ſet on Hertford by the Star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be thenceforth more rigid and ſevere. He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty.

A. D. 1562.] While France was convulſed by religious broils, the great rival powers of Europe were Spain and England. Though Philip the Second was cool and cautious by nature, his bigotry and tyranny were as pernicious both to the repoſe of his ſubjects and his neighbours as the moſt turbulent paſſions. Having eſcaped a violent tempeſt in his voyage from the Netherlands to Spain, he vowed that his life, which had been thus providentially preſerved, ſhould be henceforth devoted to the extirpation of hereſy. His ſubſequent conduct correſponded to theſe profeſſions; he iſſued orders for the proſecution of hereties in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the Low Countries; and he convinced his ſubjects, that there was no way to eſcape his vengeance, but by the moſt entire compliance, or the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. By placing himſelf at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partizans of Spaniſh greatneſs; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion, he ſeduced every where the ſubjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native ſovereign.

The courſe of events had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite, and had raiſed her to be the bulwark of the proteſtants throughout Europe. It was her policy to protect in France faction and innovation, while Philip found an advantage in ſupporting the eſtabliſhed government. That country, after the death of Francis the Second, was rent by civil diſcord: the Guiſes had ſeized the perſon of the young king, Charles the Ninth, and had compelled the queen regent to quit the party of Condé and Coligny, and to join their's: yet the Hugonots ſtill defended themſelves with courage; and Philip, jealous of their progreſs, entered into a league with the princes of Guiſe for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy, and ſent ſix thouſand men to their aſſiſtance. The prince of Condé, unequal to this combination, ſolicited ſuccours from Elizabeth, and offered to put Havre into her hands, on condition that, together with three thouſand men for the garriſon of that place, ſhe ſhould likewiſe ſend over three thouſand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and ſhould furniſh him with a ſupply of an hundred thouſand crowns. Beſides ſupporting the general intereſts of the proteſtants, Elizabeth was induced to accept the propoſal by conſidering, that, could ſhe get poſſeſſion of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine, ſhe might conſtrain the French to reſtore Calais, the ancient poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, and ſo much the favourite with the nation.

The prince of Condé reaped not, however, from this meaſure all the ſucceſſes he expected. His army was compoſed of French, Engliſh, and German proteſtants. The catholics, commanded by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, followed on their rear; and overtaking them at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The action was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, and diſtinguiſhed by this ſingular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, fell both

both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but Coligni, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortune, collected the remains of the army; and inspiring his own unconquerable courage and constancy into every breast, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of an hundred thousand crowns; and offered to give her bond for another sum of equal amount, if he could find merchants to lend him the money.

A. D. 1563.] The expences incurred by assisting the French Hugonots, had emptied the queen's exchequer, and obliged her to call a parliament. A little before the meeting of it, her life had been endangered by the small-pox; and the uncertainty which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown, had divided the nation into factions between the partizans of the queen of Scots and those of the house of Suffolk. The Commons, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen, intreating her to choose a husband, whom they promised gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve; or if she entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired the lawful successor might be appointed by act of parliament. This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the application of the Commons; and when the House, at the end of the session, desired, by their speaker, farther satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make her reply more explicit; only, that she never should depart life with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

During this interval, events had arisen in France of the most important nature; the duke of Guise had been assassinated before Orleans; a peace had been negociated between Condé and Montmorency, both impatient to relieve themselves from captivity; a toleration was now granted to the protestants, and both parties had united to expel the English from France.

The earl of Warwick commanded in Havre a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers; and as the queen-regent, the king himself, and the prince of Condé, were in the French camp, from the force, dispositions, and situations of both sides, it was expected that the siege would be attended with some memorable event; yet did France make a much easier acquisition of this important place than was at first apprehended. The plague creeped in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, it made such ravages, that sometimes a hundred men a day died of it, and there remained not at last fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. About twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year.

The usual vigour and foresight of Elizabeth did not appear in this transaction; she was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Hugonots, she readily harkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England. It was agreed that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for

two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, and that both ſides ſhould retain all their claims and pretenſions.

The peace ſtill continued with Scotland, and a regular correſpondence paſſed between the two queens, in which they uſed the affectionate term of ſiſter. But Elizabeth was particularly anxious leſt Mary might form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the crown. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing would ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman, who would remove all grounds of jealouſy, and cement the union between the kingdoms; and ſhe offered, on this condition, to have her title examined, and to declare her ſucceſſor to the crown. After keeping the matter in theſe general terms during a twelvemonth, ſhe at laſt named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leiceſter, as the perſon on whom ſhe deſired that Mary's choice ſhould fall.

This great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth poſſeſſed all thoſe exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair ſex; a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, an inſinuating behaviour; and by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, inſolent, intereſted, ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity; and atoned not for theſe bad qualities by ſuch abilities or courage as could fit him for that high truſt and confidence with which ſhe always honoured him. Her conſtant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aſpire to her bed; and in order to make way for theſe nuptials, he was univerſally believed to have murdered his wife in a barbarous manner. The propoſal of eſpouſing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; neither had the queen herſelf any ſerious intention of effecting this marriage: but as ſhe was deſirous that the queen of Scots ſhould never have any huſband, ſhe named a man, who, ſhe believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. Leiceſter was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, ſeemed at laſt to harken to Elizabeth's propoſal, this princeſs receded from her offers.

A. D. 1564.] After two years had been ſpent in altercation and reproach between Mary and her ſubjects, the council at laſt came to a reſolution that ſhe ſhould look out for an alliance. After ſome deliberation, the perſon fixed upon was lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox. He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had conſtantly reſided, after he had been baniſhed by the prevailing power of the houſe of Hamilton. Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and of a very comely perſon. Elizabeth was ſecretly no way averſe to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it was actually concluded, ſhe pretended to teſtify the utmoſt diſpleaſure. She ſeized the whole of the earl of Lenox's Engliſh eſtate, and threw the counteſs and her ſecond ſon into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was not uncommon with Elizabeth; and on the preſent occaſion, it ſerved as a pretext for refuſing Mary's title to the ſucceſſion of England, which that princeſs had frequently urged, but in vain.

A. D. 1565.] Mary, unmoved either by the complaints or menaces of Elizabeth, reſolved to indulge her own inclinations, and accordingly the marriage was forwarded with all expedition.

This marriage excited diſcontent among the nobility and clergy, who were alarmed on the account of their religion: this was ſecretly encouraged by the queen of England. The malcontent nobles met at Stirling, and Elizabeth ſent them ten thouſand pounds to enable them to begin an inſurrection,

rection, beſides promiſes of ſupport. But the nation was in no diſpoſition for rebellion; Mary was yet eſteemed; and when ſhe aſſembled her forces, the malcontent lords, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt her, fled into England. In this diſtreſs they deputed the earl of Murray, natural brother to the queen, to ſolicit protection from Elizabeth. This artful princeſs, not finding the event anſwer her expectations, told him that nothing was to be expected from her, unleſs he would publicly acknowledge that ſhe had no concern in the revolt. Having extorted this declaration from him, ſhe forbad them her preſence, and called them deteſtable traitors, whoſe rebellion was of bad example to all princes. Nevertheleſs they remained in England; and the earl of Bedford, by her orders, privately ſupplied them with money for their ſubſiſtence. Finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated, they had recourſe to the clemency of their own princeſs; but Mary, inſtead of yielding to the gentleneſs of her natural diſpoſition, was influenced on this occaſion by her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, who adviſed her by no means to pardon the proteſtant leaders. She accordingly convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates, that the fugitives might be degraded and baniſhed.

While Mary was dazzled by the youth, beauty, and exterior accompliſhments of her new lover, ſhe had entirely overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowiſe correſponded with thoſe of his perſon. With a violence of temper, he was variable in his reſolutions; and though inſolent, was credulous, and eaſily governed by flatterers. In the firſt effuſions of her fondneſs, ſhe had taken a pleaſure in exalting him beyond meaſure; ſhe had granted him the title of king; ſhe had joined his name with her own in all public acts; but having leiſure afterwards to remark his weakneſs and vices, ſhe began to convert her admiration into diſguſt; and Darnley, enraged at her increaſing coldneſs, pointed his vengeance againſt every one whom he deemed the cauſe of this change in her meaſures and behaviour.

A. D. 1566.] There was in the court one David Rizzio, the ſon of a muſician at Turin, and himſelf of that profeſſion. He had come into Scotland in the train of an ambaſſador, whom the duke of Savoy ſent thither to congratulate Mary, ſome time after her firſt arrival. As he underſtood muſic to perfection, and ſung a good baſs, he was introduced into the queen's concert; where ſhe was ſo pleaſed with his performance, that ſhe engaged him to complete her band of muſic, and retained him in her ſervice after the departure of his maſter. Her ſecretary for French diſpatches having, ſome time after, incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe promoted Rizzio to that office, by which he had frequent opportunities of approaching her perſon, and inſinuating himſelf into her favour. He made ſo good uſe of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded as the chief confident and even miniſter of the queen. He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be obtained but by his interceſſion; and all ſuitors were obliged to gain Rizzio by preſents and flattery. It was eaſy for Darnley's friends to perſuade him that Rizzio was the author of the queen's indifference towards him, and even to excite in his mind jealouſies of a yet more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but not paſt his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correſpondence with Mary might ſeem entirely unreaſonable, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for that laviſh and imprudent kindneſs with which ſhe honoured him. The auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, who could not admit even innocent freedoms, contributed to diſſeminate this injurious opinion of the queen; and as Rizzio was univerſally believed to be a penſionary of the pope, and to be deeply engaged in all ſchemes againſt the proteſtants, any ſtory to his and Mary's diſadvantage received implicit credit.

Other cauſes likewiſe contributed to inflame the animoſity of individuals againſt this obnoxious favourite. He was the declared enemy of thoſe lords who had been baniſhed

for

for oppoſing the queen's matriage; and by promoting the perſecution againſt them, he had expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of their numerous friends and retainers. A ſcheme was alſo thought to be in agitation for revoking ſome exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobles, who had ſeized the eccleſiaſtical benefices, began to think themſelves inſecure in the poſſeſſion of them. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was farther affected by a public rumour, that Mary intended to diſmiſs him her ſervice, and to confer his place upon Rizzio, a mean and upſtart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country. Morton, therefore, employed all his art to inflame the diſcontent and jealouſy of Darnley; and both of them, in concert with George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lenox, and the lords Ruthven and Lindeſey, with the concurrence of the earl of Lenox, Henry's father, formed the reſolution of aſſaſſinating the poor favourite; and it was determined, that, as a puniſhment for the queen's indiſcretions, the murder ſhould be committed in her preſence. Mary was at this time in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, and was then ſupping in private, at table with the counteſs of Argyle, her natural ſiſter, Rizzio, and ſome others of her ſervants. Darnley entered the room by a private paſſage, and ſtood at the back of Mary's chair. Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, all armed, ruſhed in after him, and by their fierce looks excited the apprehenſions of the queen, who demanded of them the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They told her, that they intended no violence againſt her perſon; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deſerved puniſhment. Rizzio ran immediately behind the queen, and, taking hold of her robes, implored her protection; while ſhe interpoſed between him and the aſſaſſins, endeavouring, by her cries and intreaties, to divert them from their purpoſe. Regardleſs of her efforts, they ruſhed upon him; and Douglas, ſnatching a dagger from Darnley's ſide, plunged it into Rizzio's boſom, who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conſpirators, and dragged into an antichamber, where he was diſpatched with fifty-ſix wounds. The unhappy princeſs, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and ſaid, ſhe would weep no more, for ſhe would now think of revenge.

The aſſaſſins, apprehenſive of Mary's reſentment, detained her priſoner in the palace; and the king diſmiſſed all who ſeemed willing to attempt her reſcue, by telling them that nothing had been done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's ſafety. Murray and the baniſhed lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whoſe anger was now engroſſed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; ſhe even received her brother with tenderneſs and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinſtated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices alſo in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but ſhe artfully delayed compliance, and perſuaded them, that, ſo long as ſhe was detained in cuſtody, and was ſurrounded by guards, any deed which ſhe ſhould ſign would have no validity. Meanwhile ſhe had, by her careſſes and natural allurements, gained every compliance from her huſband, who ſoon gave up all his accomplices to her reſentment, and retired with her to Dunbar. Many of her ſubjects here offered her their ſervices; and Mary, having collected an army which the conſpirators were unable to reſiſt, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwel, a new favourite of Mary's, and that nobleman, deſirous of ſtrengthening his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, was able to pacify her reſentment, and he ſoon after procured them liberty to return home. The queen's vengeance was implacable only againſt her huſband: he was, however, permitted to have apartments in the caſtle of Edinburgh, which Mary had choſen for the place of her deli-

very,

delivery, and where ſhe ſoon after brought forth a ſon.

This gave additional zeal to Mary's partizans in England; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Theſe humours broke out with great vehemence in a new ſeſſion of parliament. The Houſe of Peers, which had hitherto declined touching on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the Houſe of Commons ſoon after imitated the zeal of the Lords. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate, by declaring, they had heard the queen poſitively affirm, that, for the good of her people, ſhe was determined to marry. Few members, however, gave credit to this intelligence; it was conſidered merely as an artifice, by which ſhe endeavoured to retract that poſitive declaration which ſhe had made in the beginning of her reign, that ſhe meant to live and die a virgin. But though Elizabeth was able to elude, for the preſent, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied daily in England; and, beſide the catholics, many of whom kept a treaſonable correſpondence with her, and were ready to riſe at her command, the court itſelf of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partizans; and moſt of the conſiderable men in England, except Cecil, ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the ſucceſſor. Mary's moderation towards the proteſtants, and gracious behaviour towards all men, had procured her general reſpect; and the public was willing to aſcribe her imprudencies to youth and inexperience. But theſe flattering proſpects were blaſted by the ſubſequent incidents; where her egregious indiſcretions, not to ſay atrocious crimes, threw her from a ſtate of proſperity, and involved her in ruin.

A. D. 1567.] The earl of Bothwel, Mary's preſent favourite, was of a conſiderable family in Scotland; and though not diſtinguiſhed by any talents, civil or military, yet he made ſome figure in the diſſentions of the ſtate, and oppoſed the more rigid reformers. He was a man of profligate manners, and had reduced himſelf to beggary by his proſuſion; notwithſtanding, he had ingratiated himſelf ſo far with the queen, that all her meaſures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even ſpread of more particular intimacies; which gave ſuch uneaſineſs to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glaſgow. An illneſs of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized on his arrival at that place, was univerſally aſcribed by her enemies to a doſe of poiſon, which, it was pretended, ſhe had adminiſtered to him. Shortly after, all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character, or repoſe to their country, were extremely pleaſed to hear that her tenderneſs for her huſband was revived, and that ſhe had taken a journey to viſit him, during his ſickneſs. Darnley was ſo far allured by her behaviour on this occaſion, that he reſolved to part with her no more; and he ſoon after attended her to Edinburgh, which was thought to be a place more favourable to his declining health. The queen lived in the palace of Holyrood Houſe; but as it's ſituation was low, and the concourſe of people about court neceſſarily attended with noiſe, which might diſturb her huſband in his preſent infirm ſtate, ſhe fitted up an apartment for him in a ſolitary houſe at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindneſs and attachment; ſhe converſed cordially with him, and lay ſome nights in a room under him. On the 9th of February, ſhe told him that ſhe would paſs that night in the palace, becauſe the marriage of one of her ſervants was to be there celebrated in her preſence. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole town was alarmed at hearing a great noiſe; the houſe in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at ſome diſtance in a neighbouring field, without any marks of violence or contuſion. No doubt could be entertained but Darnley was murdered; and the general ſuſpicion fell upon Bothwel, as the author of the crime; but as his favour with Mary and his power were great, no one ventured to declare openly his ſentiments.

Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herſelf, to be the murderers; and bills, to the ſame purpoſe, were ſecretly affixed on the walls. Mary, more ſolicitous to puniſh others than defend herſelf, offered rewards for the diſcovery of thoſe who had ſpread ſuch reports, but no rewards were offered for the diſcovery of the murderers. Lenox implored ſpeedy juſtice againſt the aſſaſſins of his ſon, amongſt whom he named Bothwel. Mary allowed him only fifteen days to prove his charge; during which period ſhe protected Bothwel, and heaped favours upon him. Lenox, full of apprehenſion from the power and inſolence of his enemy, conjured Mary to poſtpone the trial. No regard was paid to his application; the jury was incloſed, of which the earl of Caithneſs was chancellor; and though Lenox, foreſeeing this precipitation, had ordered Cunningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt, in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, the jury proceeded to a verdict. The verdict was ſuch as might be expected where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwel was abſolved from the king's murder.

One indiſcretion ſucceeded another; Bothwel had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling, on a viſit to her ſon, to ſeize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horſe, and to carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purpoſes. While ſhe was at this place, ſome of the nobility ſent her a private meſſage, in which they told her, that, if ſhe really lay under any reſtraint, they would uſe all their force to reſcue her. Her anſwer was, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever ſince her arrival had been ſo well treated, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwel.

It was generally thought by the people, that he who was ſuppoſed to kill the queen's huſband, and to have offered violence to her perſon, could expect no mercy; but they were aſtoniſhed upon finding, inſtead of diſgrace, that Bothwel was taken into more than former favour, pardoned of all his crimes, created duke of Orkney, and married to the queen, having divorced his own wife, to procure this union.

This alliance, apparently ſo criminal, led the people to pay very little deference to Mary's authority. The proteſtant teachers, whoſe influence was every where conſiderable, had long borne great animoſity towards her, and they now loudly exclaimed againſt her conduct. The principal nobility met at Sterling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the young prince, and puniſhing his father's murderers. The firſt that took up arms was lord Hume; who, leading a body of eight hundred horſe, ſuddenly environed the queen and Bothwel in the caſtle of Borthwick. They found means, however, to make their eſcape; and Bothwel, at the head of a few forces, meeting the aſſociates within about ſix miles of Edinburgh, was obliged to capitulate; while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party into that capital, amidſt the inſults and reproaches of the populace. She was thence ſent a priſoner to the caſtle of Lochlevin, ſituate within a lake of that name. The miſtreſs of the houſe was mother to the earl of Murray; and as ſhe pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, ſhe naturally bore an animoſity to Mary, and treated her with the utmoſt harſhneſs. Bothwel, during the conference, fled unattended to Dunbar; where fitting out a few ſmall ſhips, he ſubſiſted among the Orkneys for ſome time by piracy. Being purſued thither, and his domeſtics taken, who made a full diſcovery of his crimes, himſelf eſcaped to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years afterwards.

The ruin and infamy which Mary had incurred, ſeemed to inſpire Elizabeth with compaſſion. She ſent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambaſſador to Scotland, in order to remonſtrate both with Mary and the aſſociated lords; but the latter, after ſeveral delays, denied him all acceſs to Mary. However, though he could not confer with her, he procured her the beſt terms from the lords

lords that he could; which were, that ſhe ſhould reſign the crown in favour of her ſon, who was as yet a minor; that ſhe ſhould appoint the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom; and as he was then in France, that ſhe ſhould appoint a council until his arrival. When the inſtruments were brought to Mary to ſign, ſhe burſt into a flood of tears at the thought of reſigning all power; but ſhe afterwards ſubſcribed them, even without inſpection. In conſequence of this reſignation, the prince, who was little more than a year old, was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindneſs of the earl of Murray: but in this ſhe was diſappointed; the earl, upon his return, inſtead of affording her conſolation, loaded her with merited reproaches. Shortly after a parliament was called, in which the queen was voted to have been an accomplice in her huſband's murder, and condemned to impriſonment; her reſignation of the crown was ratified; her ſon was acknowledged for king; and Murray confirmed in the regency.

A. D. 1568.] Mary, by her charms and promiſes, had engaged a young gentleman, whoſe name was George Douglas, to aſſiſt her in eſcaping from her confinement. He accordingly conveyed her in diſguiſe into a ſmall boat, and rowed her aſhore. The news of her enlargement was ſoon ſpread abroad; and as Bothwel was no longer aſſociated in her cauſe, many of the nobility, who expected to ſucceed him in favour, ſigned a bond of aſſociation for her defence, and raiſed an army of ſix thouſand men.

The earl of Murray was not ſlow in aſſembling his forces; and though his army was inferior to that of the queen of Scots, he ventured to take the field againſt her. At Langſide, near Glaſgow, was fought a battle, entirely deciſive in his favour. The action was followed by a total diſperſion of the queen's party; and ſhe fled ſouthwards with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England, hoping both for protection and aſſiſtance from Elizabeth. She embarked on board a fiſhing boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Wirkington in Cumberland, whence ſhe immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to London, craving protection, and deſiring liberty to viſit the queen.

Elizabeth deliberated for ſome time upon the proper method of proceeding, and reſolved at laſt to act in a friendly yet cautious manner. She immediately ſent orders to lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and ſoon after diſpatched lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles to pay her all poſſible reſpect. Notwithſtanding theſe marks of diſtinction, the queen refuſed to admit Mary into her preſence until ſhe ſhould clear herſelf of her huſband's murder, of which ſhe was ſo ſtrongly accuſed. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and her preſent embarraſſment extorted from her a declaration, that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and would ſubmit her cauſe to the arbitration of ſo good a friend.

Elizabeth immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the regent of Scotland, requiring him both to deſiſt from farther proſecution of his queen's party, and to ſend ſome perſons to London, to juſtify his conduct with regard to her. This imperious meſſage was probably received by Murray with ſecret indignation; but as his domeſtic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the ſole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he reſolved rather to digeſt the affront, than provoke Elizabeth by a refuſal. He therefore replied, that he would himſelf take a journey to England, attended by other commiſſioners, and would willingly ſubmit the determination of his cauſe to Elizabeth.

Mary, after much reluctance, was at laſt obliged to admit her ancient rival as umpire in her cauſe, and the accuſation was readily undertaken by Murray. This extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was opened at York, and was managed by three commiſſioners appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, in which number

ber himſelf was included. From York the conferences were in a little time adjourned to Hampton Court, where the commiſſioners of all the parties attended.

Murray hitherto had ſuppreſſed all material accuſations againſt Mary, but Elizabeth was determined to bring the matter into full light. Accordingly, the regent opened more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots, and, after expreſſing his reluctance to proceed to that extremity, and proteſting that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, which muſt not be abandoned for any delicacy, could have engaged him in ſuch a meaſure, he proceeded to accuſe her in plain terms of participation and conſent in the aſſaſſination of the king. The earl of Lenox, too, appeared before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and, imploring vengeance for the murder of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwel in that enormity. Among the proofs produced of her guilt, were many ſonnets and letters written in her own hand to Bothwel; in which ſhe diſcovers her knowledge of the intended murder of Darnley, and her contrivance to marry Bothwel, by pretending a forced compliance. Bothwel had committed theſe papers to the cuſtody of Balfour, deputy governor of Edinburgh Caſtle; and when that fortreſs was beſieged by the aſſociated lords, Bothwel ſent for them: Balfour complied, but at the ſame time gave notice to the earl of Morton, by which means they were intercepted. The hand-writing was now compared with the letters Elizabeth had received from Mary; and from this and other concurrent evidence, their validity is inconteſtible, whatever may be urged to the contrary by her partizans. The evidence of theſe papers was corroborated by ſome teſtimonies of correſpondent facts, and the dying confeſſion of one of Bothwel's ſervants, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly charged the queen with being an acceſſary.

Mary was deſired to reply to theſe accuſations; but ſhe had directed her commiſſioners to proteſt againſt thoſe proceedings, refuſed to anſwer, and demanded a perſonal interview with Elizabeth, which was rejected. She then charged the earl of Murray and his colleagues with the murder of the king; but this imputation, exhibited ſo late, and ſupported by no proof, could only be conſidered as an angry recrimination upon her enemy. Though Mary had agreed Elizabeth ſhould be umpire in her cauſe, it was now alledged, that, as ſhe was a ſovereign princeſs, ſhe could not be ſubject to any tribunal; not conſidering that the avowed deſign of this conference was not puniſhment, but reconciliation; that it was not to try her in order to inflict penalties, but to evince whether ſhe was worthy of Elizabeth's friendſhip and protection. Mary, inſtead of attempting to juſtify her conduct, perſiſted in her reſolution to make no defence; and as Elizabeth would not ſee her, the conference was terminated, and Murray returned to Scotland. Mary, however, continued to ſolicit the protection of Elizabeth; requeſting either aſſiſtance to recover her authority, or that ſhe would give her liberty to retire into France, where ſhe might uſe her efforts to obtain the friendſhip of other princes. But Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger which attended either of theſe propoſals, was ſecretly reſolved to detain her in captivity; and ſhe was accordingly ſent to Tetbury Caſtle, in the county of Stafford, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury, and amuſed with hopes of one day coming into favour; and that, unleſs her own obſtinacy prevented, an accommodation might at laſt take place. Theſe hopes were, however, in the ſequel entirely fruſtrated.

In the mean time, the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis, for the reſtitution of Calais, had expired; and Elizabeth demanded, by her ambaſſador at Paris, the ſurrender of that city. But the chancellor de l'Hopital anſwered, that though France was by that treaty obliged to reſtore Calais at the expiration of eight years, by another article of the ſame treaty, the Engliſh forfeited all claim if they committed, during that interval, hoſtilities againſt France. This they had

had done by taking poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe; and the queen, who knew the French court never intended to make reſtitution, thought it better to acquieſce in the loſs, than to purſue a doubtful title by a dangerous and expenſive war.

A. D. 1569.] Though Mary's party in Scotland was depreſſed by the arts of Elizabeth, a project was concerted in England to reſtore her to liberty, and marry her to the duke of Norfolk. He was at this time a widower, and being of a ſuitable age to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, her attractions, as well as his own intereſts, made him deſirous of the match. The obtaining Elizabeth's conſent to the nuptials, was conſidered as an indiſpenſable circumſtance; but though this alliance was recommended by his friends, and he had made almoſt all the nobility of England acquainted with his intentions, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his deſigns to Elizabeth. On the contrary, in order to ſuppreſs the ſurmiſes which were currently reported, he ſpoke to the queen contemptuouſly of Mary, affirmed that his eſtates in England were of more value than all the revenues of Scotland, and declared, that when he amuſed himſelf in his own tennis-court at Norwich, he was a greater prince than the ſovereign of that kingdom. This duplicity only ſerved to inflame Elizabeth's ſuſpicions; and Norfolk, perceiving a coldneſs in the queen's behaviour, retired from the court in diſguſt. Repenting, however, of this meaſure ſoon after, he reſolved to return; but on the way was ſtopped by a meſſenger from the queen, and committed to the Tower, under the cuſtody of Sir Henry Nevil. Leſley biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scots' ambaſſador, was examined and confronted with Norfolk before the council. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe; and Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, all of whom had favoured Norfolk's deſign, were taken into cuſtody. The queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where all acceſs to her, during ſome time, was ſtrictly prohibited; and viſcount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

Norfolk's partizans, however, were too much attached to his intereſt, not to make an effort for his releaſe. The earls of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland had prepared meaſures for an inſurrection; had communicated their deſign to Mary and her miniſter; had entered into a correſpondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, and had obtained his promiſe of men and ammunition. But thoſe intrigues could not long eſcape the vigilance of Elizabeth's miniſters. Orders were immediately ſent to Weſtmoreland and Northumberland to appear at court, and anſwer for their conduct. But theſe noblemen, having already proceeded ſo far in their criminal deſigns that they dared not truſt themſelves in her hands, found it neceſſary to begin their revolt before matters were entirely prepared for it's opening. They accordingly publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they alledged that no injury was intended againſt the queen; but that their ſole aim was to re-eſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors, to remove all evil counſellors from about the queen's perſon, and to reſtore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour. Their force amounted to four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But the queen's prudent conduct had acquired her the general good-will of the people, inſomuch that the catholics in moſt counties expreſſed an affection for her ſervice: even the duke of Norfolk, for whoſe ſake the revolt had been undertaken, uſed every method that his ſituation would permit, to aſſiſt the queen in reducing the inſurgents. A body of ſeven thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Suſſex, marched againſt the rebels, whom they found already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, and in poſſeſſion of that diſtrict. The inſurgents immediately retired before the royal army to Hexham; where hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with a greater force, they found no

other reſource than to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow. Northumberland fled to Scotland, and was confined by the regent in the caſtle of Lochlevin; Weſtmoreland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt, betook himſelf to Flanders, where he met with protection. This rebellion was ſoon followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little ſucceſs. Great ſeverity was exerciſed againſt ſuch as had taken part in theſe raſh enterpriſes; and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered by the hands of the executioner: but the queen was ſo much pleaſed with Norfolk's behaviour, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, allowed him to live, though under ſome ſhow of confinement, in his own houſe, and only exacted from him a promiſe not to proceed any farther in his negociations with the queen of Scots.

Elizabeth now found the detention of Mary was attended with all the ill conſequences which ſhe had foreſeen. By the ſudden death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, Scotland was involved in it's former anarchy; the partizans of Mary flew to arms, and ſeized Edinburgh; they likewiſe made irruptions into England. Elizabeth ſent the earl of Suſſex with an army to retaliate this injury, and in a few weeks he deſtroyed above three hundred towns and villages. Though this general declared againſt taking part in the quarrel between the two factions, it viſibly appeared, from their conduct, that their orders were to oppreſs Mary's friends, and countenance the party who had the young king in their hands. The earl of Morton called an aſſembly of the ſtates in the king's name; and upon the recommendation of Elizabeth they choſe the earl of Lenox, the king's grandfather, regent. A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the parties now took place, and the Engliſh troops were recalled. In the mean time Elizabeth continued to amuſe Mary with projects for her reſtoration; but as ſhe was far from ſincere in theſe propoſals, they only ſerved to increaſe the enmity between the two princeſſes; and the queen of Scots was more ſtrongly excited to make, at all hazards, every poſſible attempt for her liberty and ſecurity. An incident alſo happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increaſe the vigilance and jealouſy of the latter princeſs. Pope Pius V. who had ſucceeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had irritated, iſſued at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance.

A. D. 1571.] A new parliament, after five years' interval, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and the tranſactions of it ſhew the extent of the royal power during that age, as well as the character of Elizabeth, and the genius of her government. The lord keeper Bacon warned the parliament, in the name of the queen, not to meddle with any matters of ſtate; yet the Commons had ſat but a very few days, when Strickland, a puritan member, revived a bill for the amendment of the liturgy: the chief objection which he mentioned was the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. But religion was a point in which Elizabeth was ſtill more jealous, if poſſible, than of matters of ſtate: her courtiers did not forget to inſiſt on her quality of ſupreme head of the church. They were oppoſed by one Piſtor, who aſſerted this to be the cauſe of God, in compariſon of which ſubſidies, crowns, and kingdoms, were but trifles. Though the zeal of this member ſeems to have been approved of, the Houſe, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the queſtion, that a petition ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and, in the mean time, that they ſhould ſtop all debate or reaſoning concerning it.

Matters would probably have reſted here, had not the queen been ſo highly offended with Strickland's moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that ſhe ſummoned him

him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the House of Commons. This act of power was too violent even for the submissive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the House were invaded; observed that Strickland was not a private man, but represented a multitude; and moved that he might be sent for, and if he were guilty of any offence, might answer for it at the bar of the House, which was the only competent tribunal. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with still greater boldness. He said, that the precedent was dangerous; and what now is permitted, might hereafter be construed as duty; and might be enforced even on the ground of the present permission. He added, that every question which concerned the community, and even the right of the crown itself, must finally be determined in parliament. He remarked, that men sat not in that House in their private capacities, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law. As the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority.

The treasurer warned the House to be cautious in their proceedings; and Fleetwood endeavoured to justify this act of power by some precedents which he mentioned. At length the speaker moved that the House should make a stay of all farther proceedings; a motion which was immediately complied with.

The queen, finding that the experiment which she had made was likely to excite a great ferment, saved her honour by this silence of the House; and lest the question might be resumed, she sent next day to Strickland her permission to give his attendance in parliament.

A motion was soon after made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants at Bristol. The queen, some days after the motion was made, commanded, by the mouth of the Speaker, the House to spend little time in motions. All members understood she had been offended, because a matter had been moved which seemed to touch upon her prerogative. Fleetwood asserted, that to question the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a sea officer, urged this maxim further: he said the motion of Bell tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial; for what difference is there between saying that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen? He desired them to beware lest they induced the queen to look into her own power, and to imitate the example of Louis the Eleventh of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship. Yet this menace did not prevent Peter Wentworth, a man of superior spirit, from reproaching Sir Humphrey with his disposition to fawn, and flatter the prince; and he recommended to the House a due care of the privileges of parliament: but Bell, having been severely reprimanded by the council for introducing the motion, returned to the House with such an amazed countenance, as struck all the members with terror; and ever after, when any delicate point was touched upon, the whisper ran, "The queen will be offended!—the council will be displeased!" Yet the patent which the queen defended which such imperious violence was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects.

Notwithstanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to sway the sceptre with unprecedented popularity; and the following were among the principal laws enacted this session. It was declared treason, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that any other possessed a preferable title, or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel, or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown, and the successor thereof: to maintain, in writing or printing, that any person,

perſon; except the *natural iſſue* of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, ſubjected the perſon, and all his abettors, for the firſt offence, to impriſonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half his goods; the ſecond offence ſubjected them to the penalty of a premunire. This law was plainly levelled againſt the queen of Scots and her partizans, and implied an avowal that Elizabeth never intended to declare her ſucceſſor. It was alſo enacted, that whoſoever by bulls ſhould publiſh abſolutions or other reſcripts of the pope, or ſhould, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſuch offenders, as well as thoſe ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon. The penalty of a premunire was impoſed on every one who imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifix, or ſuch other implement of ſuperſtition, conſecrated by the pope. The former laws againſt uſury were enforced by a new ſtatute. A ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The queen, as ſhe was determined to yield to them none of her power, was very cautious in aſking them for any ſupply. She endeavoured, either by a rigid frugality, to make her ordinary revenues ſuffice for the neceſſities of the crown, or ſhe employed her prerogative, and procured money by the granting of patents, monopolies, or by ſome ſuch ruinous expedient.

Yet amidſt ſuch uncontrolled authority over her parliaments, Elizabeth felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions excited in France and the Low Countries inſtructed her in the danger of her ſituation, when ſhe remarked that England contained no leſs than thoſe countries the ſeeds of inteſtine diſcord. Though in the bloody ſtruggle between the proteſtants and catholics the prince of Condé had fallen in 1569 in France, the cauſe of the Hugonots was ſtill ſupported by the admiral Coligni and the young prince of Navarre; while the eſtabliſhed church had a zealous champion in the duke of Guiſe. Elizabeth, who dreaded the aſcendancy of the Guiſes, had fixed her attention on the civil commotions of France, lent money to the queen of Navarre, and permitted a regiment of volunteers to be carried over to the ſupport of the proteſtants. With this aid they had been able to make head againſt their religious enemies; and under the conduct of the admiral had extorted an accommodation from Charles the Ninth, which granted them a pardon for paſt offences, and renewed the edicts for liberty of conſcience. But this accommodation was only a ſnare by which Charles had projected to cruſh them at once; and that he might more effectually lull them into a fatal ſecurity, he pretended to enter into a cloſe connection with Elizabeth, and even ſolicited her hand for the duke of Anjou. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, ſhe laid herſelf the more open to be deceived.

While the two courts, equally inſincere, ſeemed employed on the terms of an alliance which neither were deſirous to complete, the attention of both was directed to the affairs of the Low Countries. It was her dread of Philip that had partly engaged Elizabeth in this ſyſtem of diſſimulation. The unrelenting character and inflexible bigotry of that prince had been ſeverely felt by the Flemings. Repeated attempts were made on their liberties; a violent perſecution was ſet on foot againſt ſuch as had embraced the reformed religion; and the ſufferings to which they were expoſed induced them to form numerous aſſociations, and even in ſome cities to break out into open revolt. Not content with reducing them to ſubmiſſion, Philip was determined to lay hold of the late popular diſorders, as a pretence for entirely aboliſhing the privileges of the Low Countries, and for ruling them with arbitrary authority. In the execution of this violent deſign, he employed a man who was a proper inſtrument in the hands of ſuch a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidſt arms; and having attained a conſummate knowledge in the military art, his habits

bits led him to transfer into all government the ſevere diſcipline of a camp, and to conceive no meaſures between prince and ſubject but thoſe of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animoſity to the Flemings, with his known character, ſtruck that whole people with terror and conſternation. All their privileges, the inheritance of ſo many ages, were openly and expreſsly aboliſhed by edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in ſpite of their great merits and paſt ſervices, brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner; and notwithſtanding the peaceable ſubmiſſion of all men, nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture, and death.

Elizabeth, alarmed for the general ſafety of the proteſtants, had given protection to all the Flemiſh exiles who took ſhelter in her dominions; and as many of them were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, ſhe reaped the advantage of introducing into England ſome uſeful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom.

Philip having ſent to Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns, the veſſels on which this money was embarked had been attacked in the Channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken ſhelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The queen took poſſeſſion of the money as a loan, and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this reſource in the time of his greateſt neceſſity. Alva, in revenge, ſeized all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into priſon, and confiſcated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants, and gave all the Engliſh liberty to make repriſals on the ſubjects of Philip. Though theſe differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, the delay of the remittance had nearly proved fatal to the plans of Alva; and had obliged him, to anſwer the immediate demands of his troops, to impoſe the moſt ruinous taxes on the Flemings: the latter refuſed compliance, and matters came daily nearer the laſt extremities between them and the Spaniards.

To revenge himſelf on Elizabeth, Alva determined to ſupport the pretenſions of the queen of Scots. He availed himſelf of one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant; who, zealous for his religion, formed a ſcheme with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for ſubverting the government by a foreign invaſion and domeſtic inſurrection. He communicated his projects by letter to Mary, who now, fully convinced of Elizabeth's inſincerity, willingly gave her conſent. The great number of diſcontented catholics was the chief ſource of their hopes on the ſide of England; but, in order to inſpire courage into theſe, it was neceſſary that ſome great nobleman ſhould put himſelf at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who entered into all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk. Accordingly it was concerted by them, that Norfolk ſhould renew his deſigns upon Mary. A promiſe of marriage was therefore renewed between the parties; the duke engaged to enter into all her intereſts; and as his ambitious views gradually overcame his prudence, he conſented to enterpriſes which ſoon after terminated in his ruin. It was agreed, that the duke of Alva ſhould tranſport into England a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; that the duke of Norfolk ſhould join them with all his adherents; and that they ſhould afterwards march directly to London, and oblige the queen to ſubmit to whatever terms the conſpirators ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon her.

This ſcheme was ſo ſecretly laid, that it had hitherto eluded the vigilance of Elizabeth and ſecretary Cecil, who now bore the title of Lord Burleigh. The duke having ſent a ſum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partizans in Scotland, did not think

proper to acquaint the bearer with the real value of the remittance; and the meſſenger finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger ſum than the duke mentioned to him, began to miſtruſt ſome plot, and brought the money, with the duke's letter, to the ſecretary of ſtate, by whoſe artifices the duke's ſervants were brought to make a full confeſſion of their maſter's guilt; and the biſhop of Roſs, ſoon after, finding the whole diſcovered, was prevailed upon, though with difficulty, to confirm their teſtimony. The duke was inſtantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial; and a jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence upon him.

A. D. 1572.] The queen heſitated above four months before ſhe ſigned the warrant for the execution of Norfolk; and at laſt complied at the requeſt of the Commons. He died with calmneſs and conſtancy; and though he denied any diſloyal intentions againſt her authority, he acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence. The earl of Northumberland, who had been delivered up by the regent of Scotland, was executed ſoon after.

Elizabeth had demanded ſatisfaction of the queen of Scots, as the occaſion of theſe diſturbances; but her juſtification ſeemed ſo feeble, that the parliament made a direct application to the throne for her trial and execution. The queen, however, commanded the Commons not to proceed any farther at preſent in the affair; but though ſhe would not carry matters to the laſt extremities againſt Mary, ſhe was alarmed at her reſtleſs ſpirit, and thought it neceſſary to increaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement.

Scotland ſtill remained in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; in a ſally, his party had ſeized the regent, and had put him to death. The earl of Marre, who was choſen his ſucceſſor, died of melancholy, through the diſtracted ſtate of his country. Morton, who was next choſen regent, had ſecretly taken his meaſures with Elizabeth, who ordered Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to join Morton in the ſiege of the caſtle of Edinburgh. The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion; Kirkaldy was tried, condemned, and executed; and Scotland ſubmitting entirely to the regent, gave Elizabeth no inquietude for a long time.

The events in France were not ſo agreeable. Charles, though young, and of a paſſionate nature, had by his profound diſſimulation lulled aſleep the jealouſy of Walſingham, the ambaſſador of Elizabeth; and under pretence of beſtowing his ſiſter Margaret on the king of Navarre, had allured the principal Hugonots to Paris. But on the evening of St. Bartholomew, the ſignal was given for their general maſſacre by the ſoldiery, and the king himſelf led the way to theſe aſſaſſinations. Coligni, the admiral, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Soubize, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, men who during the late wars had ſignalized themſelves by the moſt heroic actions, were miſerably butchered, without reſiſtance. The ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than ſatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had ſaved the victims from farther inſult, exerciſed on their dead bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen and men of rank periſhed in this maſſacre, and near ten thouſand of inferior condition.

Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of all the proteſtants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre and prince of Condé had been propoſed by the duke of Guiſe; but Charles, ſoftened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that theſe young princes might eaſily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to ſpare their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change of their religion.

To cover this barbarous policy, Charles ordered his ambaſſador in England to accuſe the

the Hugonots of a conſpiracy to ſeize his perſon. Elizabeth, ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation in which ſhe ſtood, avoided coming to extremities with the king of France; and replied to his apology, that the ſame force which had maſſacred ſo many thouſand defenceleſs men, could eaſily have ſecured their perſons for trial.

A. D. 1573.] The Engliſh gentry were ſo exaſperated at this act of perfidy and cruelty, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to tranſport them to France, to maintain them ſix months at their own coſt, to aſſiſt the Hugonots; but Elizabeth repreſſed their zeal: ſhe even allowed negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother, thoſe with the duke of Anjou having been broken off; but at the ſame time ſhe fortified Portſmouth, put her fleet in order, exerciſed her militia, and diligently cultivated the affections of her people.

A. D. 1574.] Charles had not reaped from his treachery the advantages he expected; the Hugonots, inſtead of being exterminated, were able to aſſemble an army of eighteen thouſand men; and while the king meditated againſt them further violences, he expired in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his brother Henry, duke of Anjou.

A. D. 1575.] Henry, obſerving the low condition of the crown, had laid a ſcheme for reſtoring his authority, by mediating between both parties. In conſequence of this, he granted peace on honourable conditions to the proteſtants, whoſe credit was revived by the opening virtues and reputation of the young king of Navarre. But this peace enabled the duke of Guiſe to declaim againſt the conduct of Henry, and afforded him the opportunity of laying the foundation of the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire ſuppreſſion of the Hugonots. Henry, in order to divert the force of the league, declared himſelf at the head of that confederacy: but his moderation became ſuſpicious to both parties; and he had the mortification to obſerve, that the avowed conduct of the duke of Guiſe on one ſide, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themſelves to one or other of thoſe great leaders.

Elizabeth had always conſidered her own intereſts as inſeparable from thoſe of the French reformed; and the ſame political views which engaged her to ſupport the Hugonots, would have led her to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed proteſtants of the Low Countries: but ſhe was awed by the mighty power of Philip; and, at the inſtance of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſhe even denied the Flemiſh exiles all entrance into her dominions. This meaſure proved in the iſſue extremely detrimental to the intereſts of Philip. Theſe deſperate men, finding no longer any poſſibility of ſubſiſtence, were forced to attempt the moſt perilous enterpriſes; and they made an aſſault on the Brille, a ſea-port town in Holland, where they met with ſucceſs, and after a ſhort reſiſtance became maſters of the place. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged by that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence, uſurpation, and perſecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole province of Holland, and that of Zealand, had revolted from the Spaniards, and openly declared againſt the tyranny of Alva. This event happened in the year 1572.

William prince of Orange had fixed his reſidence in the Low Countries, and had oppoſed by all regular means the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; but when Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and the tyrannical ſpirit of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in abſence, was declared a rebel, and his ample poſſeſſions in the Low Coun-

tries

tries were confiscated. In revenge he had levied an army of protestants in the empire, and had made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty, but was repulsed with loss by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva. The revolt of Holland and Zealand called the prince of Orange from his retreat. He united the revolted cities in a league, and inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom, could inspire. Animated by his spirit, they repulsed Alva from the wall of Alcmaer; and the duke finding at last the effect of his pernicious counsels, solicited to be recalled.

A. D. 1576.] Requesens, who replaced him, was a man of a milder disposition; but the hatred of the Hollanders against the Spanish government was inveterate, and as the contest seemed unequal between so mighty a monarchy and two small provinces, the prince of Orange determined to sue for foreign succour. He applied to England; but Elizabeth still dreaded an open war with Spain; she however offered her mediation. Philip seemed to take her remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before.

Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny, and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants. They threatened the other cities with a like fate; and all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called The Pacification of Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the states had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities. But the ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spanish army from Italy. He had projected to espouse the queen of Scots, and to acquire, in her right, the dominion of the British kingdoms.

A. D. 1578.] Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and seeing now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, she no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which seemed so intimately connected with her own safety. After sending them a sum of money, about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty with them; in which she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the charge of the Flemings; and to lend them an hundred thousand pounds, on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for her repayment within the year. It was farther agreed, that the commander of the English army should be admitted into the council of the States, and nothing be determined, concerning war or peace, without previously informing the queen or him of it; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any discord arose among themselves, it should be referred to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that which she had employed in their defence.

Don John obtained a considerable advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition.

bition. The prince of Parma ſucceeded to his command, and advanced the progreſs of the Spaniards, as well by his arts as his arms.

The prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration had maintained England in profound tranquillity, while Europe was almoſt every where in great commotion. The bull which the pope publiſhed, excommunicating her, had indeed increaſed her vigilance with the Romaniſts; yet it was over the puritans ſhe appeared more anxious to keep a ſtrict hand. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had ſignalized himſelf in former parliaments by his free and undaunted ſpirit, had opened the ſeſſion in 1576 with an harangue which gave great offence to the queen and the miniſters. He premiſed, that liberty is precious beyond the moſt ineſtimable treaſure; but obſerved, that freedom of ſpeech in that Houſe was at preſent expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. That it was uſual, when any ſubject of importance was handled, to ſurmiſe that theſe topics were diſagreeable to the queen. That, by employing of this argument, the Houſe was incapacitated from ſerving their country. That as the parliament was the guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to diſcharge their truſt; that a king was conſtituted ſuch by law, and therefore ſubordinate to it; and that as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, ſo neither was the queen herſelf, who, in impoſing this ſervitude on her faithful Commons, had committed a dangerous fault againſt herſelf and the whole commonwealth.

For this ſpeech the Commons, who were obſequious to the queen, ſequeſtered Wentworth from the Houſe, and committed him priſoner to the ſerjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, conſiſting of all thoſe members who were alſo members of the privy council, and a report to be next day made to the Houſe. This committee met in the Star-chamber, and, wearing the aſpect of that arbitrary court, ſummoned Wentworth to appear before them, and anſwer for his behaviour. But though the Commons had diſcovered ſo little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the Star-chamber, Wentworth better underſtood the principles of liberty, and refuſed to give theſe counſellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he was ſatisfied that they acted, not as members of the privy council, but as a committee of the Houſe. He juſtified his liberty of ſpeech by pleading the rigour and hardſhips of the queen's meſſages; and notwithſtanding that the committee ſhewed him, by inſtances in other reigns, that the practice of ſending ſuch meſſages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to expreſs any ſorrow or repentance; when, after a month's confinement, the queen ſent to the Commons, informing them, that, from her ſpecial grace and favour, ſhe had reſtored him to his liberty, and to his place in the Houſe. By this ſeeming lenity ſhe indirectly retained the power which ſhe had aſſumed, of impriſoning the members, and obliging them to anſwer before her for their conduct in parliament.

A. D. 1579.] But the moſt abſolute authority that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign never exempted her from anxiety. The nobility of Scotland, diſguſted by Morton's avarice, began to break into factions. The regent, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, reſigned it; and having received a full pardon for all tranſactions, the government was nominally directed by James, who was then only eleven years old; yet Morton ſoon after quitted retirement, and, though without the title of regent, obtained ſuch an aſcendancy in the council, as reſtored him to his former authority. His enemies, however, daily multiplied; and amongſt theſe the moſt formidable were d'Aubigny earl of Lenox, who was ſtrongly attached to the Guiſes, and James Stuart of Ochiltree, who, under appearance of amuſing James in his childiſh ſports, had acquired his confidence, and inſtilled into his mind new maxims of politics: theſe diligently laboured the ruin of Morton. That nobleman was arreſted in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's

murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by Elizabeth to intercede in favour of Morton, but without effect. He died with that constancy and resolution which had attended him through all the various events of his life, and left a reputation which was less disputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue.

The negociation for the marriage of the duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, though twenty-five years younger than the queen, was still continued; and a private visit which he paid her at Greenwich seemed to confirm her prepossession for him. He returned to France; and soon after Elizabeth commanded her ministers to concert with the French ambassadors, which Henry had sent over on this occasion, the terms of the intended contract. It was agreed that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their religion; that after the marriage he should bear the title of king, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England. Elizabeth, however, still remained in uncertainty, and added a clause that she was not bound to complete the marriage till further articles, which were not specified, should be agreed upon between the parties.

Notwithstanding these stipulations to preserve the independence of England, the people in general dreaded a foreign alliance, and that with a catholic, as fatal to their religion and liberties. One Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's Inn, wrote a book intitled "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage;" for which he was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller, and suffer imprisonment; but though he censured the marriage, such were his loyalty and affection, that immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!"

A. D. 1580.] Francis Drake, who had descended from humble parents in the county of Devon, acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the Isthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a sight of the Pacific Ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he determined to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through those seas, so much unknown at that time to all the European nations. By means of Sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen, he obtained her consent and approbation, and he set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the same way homewards by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, and the first commander in chief; for Magellan, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage.

Philip, to retaliate the assistance which Elizabeth had afforded the Low Countries, had landed, in the name of the pope, seven hundred Spaniards and Italians in Ireland: the

the invaders, however, were obliged to surrender; and when the English ambassadors complained of the invasion, they were answered by similar complaints of the piracies committed by Drake in the new world.

A. D. 1581.] To avert the resentment of the Spaniards, Elizabeth was advised to disavow the adventure; but the prospect of sharing the booty induced her to confer the honour of knighthood on that gallant sailor, and to accept a banquet from him on board the ship which had atchieved so memorable a voyage. She was at this time in such want of money, that she was obliged to assemble a parliament, which granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths; and passed also some severe laws against the catholics, whose active hatred against Elizabeth had of late been peculiarly excited by the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests, distinguished for their superior zeal and enterprising genius.

The duke of Anjou having been chosen by the States governor of the Netherlands, solicited Elizabeth to furnish him with one hundred thousand crowns. This money, with the assistance he received from his brother Henry, enabled him to take the field against the duke of Parma; and having raised the siege of Cambray, he returned to England. His reception from Elizabeth was very flattering; and in the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, after a long and intimate conversation with him, she took a ring from her finger, and put it upon his. All the spectators concluded, that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. Yet the combat of Elizabeth's sentiments was not entirely over; all the courtiers whom she favoured and trusted discovered an extreme reluctance to the marriage; the ladies of her bedchamber opposed her intentions with the most zealous remonstrances; and Sir Philip Sidney used the freedom to write her a letter, in which he dissuaded her from her present resolution, with an unusual elegance of expression and force of reasoning. These reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irresolution, and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose.

At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she represented the objections which prevailed throughout the nation to their union, and declared her resolution "never to marry." He expressed great disgust on his leaving her, threw away the ring which she had given him, uttered many curses upon the mutability of women, and cast some reflections on Elizabeth and her country. Soon after, he went over to his government of the Netherlands, lost the confidence of the States by a rash and violent attempt on their liberties, was expelled that country, retired into France, and there died. The queen, by a timely reflection, saved herself and the nation from the numerous mischiefs which must have attended so imprudent a marriage; and the distracted state of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that resentment which she had reason to dread from the affront so wantonly put upon that family.

A. D. 1582.] The affairs of Scotland again engrossed the attention of the queen. The nobles were discontented at the influence of the earl of Lenox, and of Stuart, now created earl of Arran: a conspiracy was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. The leaders in this enterprise were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindesey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: better that boys weep than bearded men:" an expression which James could never afterwards

wards forgive. But notwithſtanding his reſentment, he found it neceſſary to ſubmit; and agreed to ſummon both an aſſembly of the church and a convention of eſtates, in order to ratify that enterpriſe. The aſſembly decided, that the attempt of the conſpirators was acceptable to all who feared God; the convention ſanctioned their declaration: Arran was confined a priſoner in his own houſe; Lenox choſe to retire to France, where he ſoon after died.

The queen of Scots, hearing of James's detention, had written a letter to Elizabeth in a more pathetic and ſpirited ſtrain than uſual; and obſerved, that the extreme infelicity ſhe had experienced in captivity made her the more apprehenſive that a like fate ſhould purſue her unhappy offspring. As age and infirmities increaſed, the wiſhes of Mary became more humble: ſhe propoſed that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon in the title to the crown of Scotland; but that the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in him; ſhe was content to live in England even under a kind of reſtraint. But Elizabeth was ſecretly determined to deny her requeſts; as her own creatures had acquired poſſeſſion of the government, ſhe was reſolved to throw the odium of refuſal on them; and pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of ſtate in Scotland, ſhe ordered her ambaſſador, Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her aſſociation with her ſon in the title to the crown. Though ſhe ſeemed to make this conceſſion to Mary, ſhe refuſed her the liberty of ſending any ambaſſador of her own; and that princeſs could eaſily conjecture, from this circumſtance, what would be the reſult of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an aſſociation with his mother.

A. D. 1583.] But James, having made his eſcape from his keepers, fled to St. Andrew's, where he ſummoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened to join him, and the oppoſite party found themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgment of their fault in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted the terms; the greater number, particular Angus, Hamilton, Marre, and Glamis, left the country, and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran, whoſe counſels were as violent as his manners were profligate, was recalled to court; but his violent conduct ſoon brought over the popularity to the ſide of the baniſhed lords. Gowry himſelf, though pardoned for the late attempt, had been tried on ſome new accuſation, and executed; but the other conſpirators prevailed in an attempt on Stirling, were admitted into the king's preſence and favour; while Arran was degraded from authority, and deprived of the eſtate and title that he had uſurped. Elizabeth had ſent Walſingham, on pretence of an embaſſy, to penetrate the character of James: this veteran miniſter was deceived by the talents of James for converſation, and tranſmitted a more favourable account of his abilities than he was found afterwards to merit. Influenced by this report, Elizabeth treated James with more reſpect; and perhaps ſhe was not only influenced to this conduct by his riſing reputation, but by her dread of the catholics, who ſtill continued their hoſtile intrigues.

A. D. 1584.] Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was deſirous of retracting this confeſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed.

executed. Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted this conſpiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was ſent into Spain to excuſe his diſmiſſion, and to deſire the king to ſend another ambaſſador in his place; but Philip would not ſo much as admit the Engliſh ambaſſador to his preſence.

Creighton, a Scottiſh Jeſuit, coming over on board a veſſel which was ſeized, tore ſome papers, with an intention of throwing them into the ſea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ſhip, they were pieced together, and diſcovered ſome dangerous ſecrets.

Many of theſe conſpiracies were, with great appearance of reaſon, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the danger of her claims, and the reſtleſs activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that truſt, had alſo been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe; and ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury. An aſſociation was alſo ſet on foot, and men of all ranks willingly ſubſcribed to it. The purport of this aſſociation was to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed againſt her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title ſoever they might poſſeſs, by whoſe ſuggeſtion, or on whoſe account, any violence ſhould be offered to her majeſty. The queen of Scots was ſenſible that this aſſociation was levelled againſt her; and to remove all ſuſpicion from herſelf, ſhe alſo deſired leave to ſubſcribe it.

The parliament confirmed this aſſociation; and added a clauſe by which the queen was empowered to name commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who ſhould attempt or imagine any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination againſt her. Upon condemnation pronounced by theſe commiſſioners, the guilty perſon was excluded from all claim to the ſucceſſion, and was farther puniſhable as her majeſty ſhould direct. And for greater ſecurity, a council of regency, in caſe of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and to take vengeance for that act of treaſon. A law was alſo enacted, ordering Jeſuits or popiſh prieſts to depart the kingdom within forty days. By this law the exerciſe of the catholic religion was totally ſuppreſſed: the catholics might now with juſtice complain of a violent perſecution; and even thoſe who defend the queen's meaſures, allow that in ten years fifty prieſts were executed, and fifty-five baniſhed.

Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had been raiſed to the primacy in 1583, had informed the queen, that all the ſpiritual authority lodged in the prelates was inſufficient to controul the nonconformiſts without the ſanction of the crown. As there was no commiſſion at that time in force, ſhe iſſued a new one more arbitrary than any of the former. The commiſſioners were empowered to reform all errors and hereſies, and to regulate opinions by the rack, by torture, and by impriſonment. Where they found reaſon to ſuſpect any perſon, they might adminiſter to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to anſwer all queſtions, and might therefore be obliged to accuſe himſelf, or his moſt intimate friend. The fines which they levied were at diſcretion; the impriſonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleaſure.

The Commons now preſented a petition to the Houſe of Lords, or rather the biſhops who had a ſeat in that Houſe, for a farther reform in eccleſiaſtical matters. The moſt material article which they touched upon was the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, of that court. Yet though the Commons had touched gently and ſubmiſſively on the grievances which aroſe from this court, the queen reproved them for their preſumption in the ſterneſt manner: ſhe told them, that ſhe meant to guide her people by God's rule, and the juſt mean between the

corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern ſectaries; and that as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and under colour of preaching the word of God, preſumed to exerciſe their private judgment, and to cenſure the actions of the prince.

From the whole of this tranſaction we may obſerve, that the Commons, in making their general application to the prelates, ſhewed themſelves wholly ignorant, no leſs than the queen, of the principles of liberty, and a legal conſtitution; and it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, ſo far from yielding to the diſpleaſure of the parliament againſt the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commiſſion, in which ſhe enlarged, rather than reſtrained, the powers of the commiſſioners.

During this ſeſſion of parliament a conſpiracy was diſcovered which increaſed the animoſity againſt the catholics. William Parry, a gentleman of that communion, had received the queen's pardon for a crime by which he was expoſed to capital puniſhment. In his travels on the continent, he was perſuaded by the Jeſuits that it would be a meritorious act to attempt the life of his benefactreſs. This deſign received the ſanction of the pope, in a letter from cardinal Como, and Parry returned to England to execute it; but before he came to extremities, he reſolved to try every other expedient for alleviating the perſecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; aſſured her that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her; and exhorted her, as ſhe tendered her life, to give the Romaniſts ſome more indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion: but, leſt he ſhould be tempted by the opportunity to aſſaſſinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offenſive weapon. Having been elected member of parliament, he made a vehement harangue againſt the ſevere laws enacted this laſt ſeſſion; for this freedom he was committed to cuſtody, and ſequeſtered from the Houſe. His failure in theſe attempts confirmed him more in his former reſolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealouſly into the deſign, and it was determined to ſhoot the queen while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpoſe, the earl of Weſtmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen he might recover the eſtate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the whole conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry being thrown into priſon, confeſſed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him; and having received ſentence of death, he was ſhortly after executed.

A. D. 1585.] The prince of Orange having been aſſaſſinated by Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, the Flemings were ſenſibly affected by the loſs of ſo powerful a leader. The rapid progreſs of the Spaniſh arms induced the States to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to Elizabeth, offering to acknowledge her as their ſovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and aſſiſtance; but foreſeeing that the acceptance of their ſovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, give umbrage to her neighbours, and expoſe her to the reproach of ambition and uſurpation, imputations which hitherto ſhe had carefully avoided, ſhe immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: that ſhe ſhould ſend over an army to their aſſiſtance of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others, whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expences ſhould be refunded after the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and the Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould in the mean

mean time be conſigned into her hands, by way of ſecurity. Though the queen was not terrified by the apparent greatneſs of Philip, ſhe prepared with vigour for the conteſt. The earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland at the head of the auxiliary forces: he was received on his arrival at Fluſhing by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he paſſed expreſſed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his preſence and the queen's protection had brought them the moſt certain deliverance.

America was regarded as the chief ſource of Philip's power, as well as the moſt defenceleſs part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with him was unavoidable, reſolved not to leave him unmoleſted in that quarter. Accordingly a fleet of twenty ſail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies; two thouſand three hundred volunteers, beſides ſeamen, engaged on board of it; Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral, and Chriſtopher Carliſle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, one of the Cape Verde iſlands, by ſurpriſe; and they found in it plenty of proviſions, but no riches. They ſailed to Hiſpaniola; and eaſily making themſelves maſters of St. Domingo by aſſault, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom their houſes by a ſum of money. Carthagena fell next into their hands after ſome more reſiſtance, and was treated in the ſame manner. They burned St. Auguſtine and St. Helen's, two towns on the coaſt of Florida. Sailing along the coaſt of Virginia, they found the ſmall remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the firſt attempt of the Engliſh to form ſuch ſettlements; and though they have ſince ſurpaſſed all European nations, both in the ſituation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and induſtry on which they are founded, they had here been ſo unſucceſsful, that the miſerable planters abandoned their ſettlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with ſo much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in thoſe countries, as ſerved extremely to inflame the ſpirits of the nation to future enterpriſes. Drake's fleet firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into England.

Leiceſter was leſs ſucceſsful in his enterpriſes; ſeveral places fell into the hands of the prince of Parma; and in one furious action Sir Philip Sidney, nephew of Leiceſter, was mortally wounded. He is deſcribed by the writers of that age as the moſt perfect model of an accompliſhed gentleman. Virtuous conduct, polite converſation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the Engliſh court; and as the credit which he poſſeſſed with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praiſes have been tranſmitted with advantage to poſterity. No perſon was ſo low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this laſt action, while he was lying on the field, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him, to relieve his thirſt; but obſerving a ſoldier near him, in a like miſerable condition, he ſaid, "This man's neceſſity is ſtill greater than mine," and reſigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, ſtruck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verſes, which he compoſed on the death of that young hero. Theſe diſaſters were imputed to the want of abilities in Leiceſter: the States were not only diſcontented with his management of the war, but with his arbitrary and imperious conduct, and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redreſs of all their grievances; but that nobleman, without giving them any ſatisfaction, departed ſoon after for England.

The queen, while ſhe provoked ſo powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to ſecure herſelf on the ſide of Scotland. She had formerly diſpatched Wotton as her ambaſſador to James; who,

while

while he pretended only to entertain the king with facetious converſation, formed a conſpiracy with ſome malcontents to ſeize his perſon, and probably to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth: the conſpiracy was detected, and Wotton fled haſtily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king.

James's ſituation obliged him to diſſemble his reſentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him ſoon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a ſtrict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendſhip, ſhe granted him a penſion equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the counteſs of Lenox, lately deceaſed. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was ſtipulated, that if Elizabeth were invaded, James ſhould aid her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like caſe, ſhould ſend to his aſſiſtance three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince who demanded aſſiſtance; that if the invaſion ſhould be made upon England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom ſhould march it's whole force to the aſſiſtance of the former; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign kingdom, ſo far as religion was concerned.

A. D. 1586.] Elizabeth's miniſters had long been waiting for an opportunity to accuſe the captive queen of treaſonable practices, and their anxious expectations were now gratified. One John Ballard, a Romiſh prieſt, who had been educated in the Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims, from the diſcontents of the catholics, had formed a deſign of reſtoring by force of arms the catholic religion. He was encouraged to hope for ſuccours from the pope, the Spaniards, and the duke of Guiſe. He came over to England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, and aſſumed the name of captain Forteſcue. Conſcious that as long as Elizabeth lived it was in vain to expect any ſucceſs from an enterpriſe upon England, he bent his endeavours to effect at once an aſſaſſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion. He communicated his deſign firſt to Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Dorſet, a young gentleman of great literary accompliſhments, and plentiful fortune, who was remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cauſe, and his attachment to Mary; he therefore readily entered into the plot. They aſſociated with them John Savage, a man of deſperate courage, who had come to England for the purpoſe of aſſaſſinating the queen, and five others.

It was reſolved by the conſpirators, that at the ſame time when Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated, Babington, with a party of an hundred horſe, was to attack the guards of the queen of Scots, while ſhe ſhould be taking the air; and he employed Gifford, a ſeminary prieſt, to communicate the deſign to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation; but Gifford had already ſold himſelf to Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, whom he ſuffered to take copies of the letters he carried, and the anſwers he received. In a letter of Babington's, he informed Mary of the deſign laid for a foreign invaſion, the plan for an inſurrection at home, the ſcheme for her deliverance, and the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the uſurper. Mary replied, that ſhe approved highly of the deſign; that the gentleman might expect all the rewards which it ſhould ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a neceſſary circumſtance, before any attempts were made either for her own deliverance or an inſurrection.

Ballard, however, being arreſted, awakened the conſpirators from their deluſive ſecurity: they all took to flight, and concealed themſelves in woods or barns, but were ſoon diſcovered, and thrown into priſon. In their examinations they contradicted each other; but at length a full confeſſion was extorted from the leaders. Fourteen were condemned and

and executed; of whom ſeven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the reſt were convicted by evidence.

The execution of theſe wretched men ſerved only to pave the way for one of greater importance, in which a captive queen was to ſubmit to the unjuſt deciſions of thoſe who had no other right but that of power to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. Her aſtoniſhment was therefore equal to her anguiſh, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her confederates. The time he choſe for giving her this intelligence was when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting; after which ſhe was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, until ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay Caſtle, in the county of Northampton, which was fixed upon as the laſt ſcene of her trial and ſufferings. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a native of Scotland, were immediately arreſted. All her papers were ſeized, and ſent up to the council. Above ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered.

The Engliſh council was divided in opinion about the meaſures to be taken againſt the queen of Scots. Some members propoſed, that, as her health was very infirm, her life might be ſhortened by cloſe confinement. To avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty, Leiceſter adviſed that ſhe ſhould be diſpatched by poiſon, and he ſent a divine to convince Walſingham of the lawfulneſs of that action; but the majority inſiſted on her being put to death by legal proceſs. It was therefore reſolved to try Mary, not by the common ſtatute of treaſons, but by an act which had paſſed the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, according to that act, appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy counſellors, and empowered them to examine and paſs ſentence on Mary, whom ſhe denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland.

The commiſſioners came to Fotheringay Caſtle, and delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to ſubmit to a trial for her late conſpiracy. Mary peruſed the letter with great compoſure; and as ſhe had long foreſeen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or aſtoniſhment. She however proteſted her innocence, and ſaid, ſhe wondered that the queen of England ſhould command her as a ſubject, who was an independent ſovereign and a queen like herſelf; and that ſhe would never ſtoop to any condeſcenſion which would derogate either from her own dignity or that of her ſon. The laws of England, ſhe obſerved, were unknown to her; ſhe was deſtitute of counſel; nor could ſhe conceive who were to be her peers, as ſhe had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that though ſhe had lived in England many years, ſhe had lived in captivity, and not having received the protection of the laws, ſhe could not, merely by her involuntary reſidence in the country, be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction. When the commiſſioners preſſed her to ſubmit to the queen's pleaſure, otherwiſe they would proceed againſt her as contumacious, ſhe declared, ſhe would rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths than own herſelf a ſubject to any ſovereign on earth. That, however, ſhe was ready to vindicate herſelf in a full and free parliament; but could not view theſe commiſſioners in any other light than as men appointed to juſtify, by ſome colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution. She exhorted them to conſult their own conſcience and character in trying an innocent perſon; and to remember that theſe tranſactions would come under the reviſal of a theatre more extenſive than the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain, Hatton, repreſenting that ſhe injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the ſatisfaction of all the world, overcame her objections. She there-

fore agreed to plead, upon condition that they would admit her proteſt, of diſallowing all legal ſubjection; and this being entered upon record, they proceeded to trial.

Copies of Mary's letters to Mendoza and Babington were then produced, and the confeſſions of the conſpirators, with the declarations of Nau and Curle, her ſecretaries, were read, and the whole heightened by the colourings of legal eloquence. To theſe Mary liſtened without emotion; but at the mention of the earl of Arundel's name, who was then confined in the Tower, ſhe broke out into this tender and generous exclamation, "Alas! how much has the noble houſe of Howard ſuffered for my ſake!"

When the queen's council had finiſhed, Mary with great magnanimity began her defence. She abſolutely denied any correſpondence with Babington or Ballard. Copies only of her pretended letters were produced, though nothing leſs than her handwriting ought to convict her of ſo odious a crime. No proof was brought that the letters had ever been delivered into her hands, or that any anſwer was returned by her direction; the confeſſions of wretches condemned for ſuch an execrable deſign might be procured by the hopes of pardon; and the declarations of her ſecretaries might be extorted by fear of puniſhment. She acknowledged that ſhe had often made efforts for the recovery of her liberty, but that ſhe abhorred the deteſtable crime of aſſaſſination; and if ever ſhe had given conſent by words, or even by thoughts, to any attempt againſt the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of man, ſhe ſhould not even pray for the mercy of God.

The commiſſioners, by Elizabeth's expreſs command, adjourned without pronouncing any ſentence to the Star-chamber in Weſtminſter, and there unanimouſly declared Mary "to be acceſſary to Babington's conſpiracy, and to have imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and deſtruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the expreſs words of the ſtatute made for the ſecurity of the queen's life." The ſame day a declaration was publiſhed, that the ſentence did no way derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland.

The irregularities in this trial were great and flagrant. If the teſtimony of Babington and his aſſociates was ſo explicit, why did not Elizabeth ſpare them for a few weeks, and confront them with Mary? and why were not Nau and Curle, her ſecretaries, produced in perſon at Fotheringay, as Mary demanded, and juſtice required?

The opportunity was now come which Elizabeth had long deſired, for executing vengeance on a competitor, who had firſt been the object of her envy, and afterwards of her apprehenſion. But ſhe was reſtrained from gratifying her reſentment by a variety of conſiderations. She knew the odious colours in which this ſingular example of vindictive and unauthoriſed juriſdiction would be viewed, not only by the numerous partizans of Mary, both in England and Scotland, but the indelible reproach which herſelf might incur with all contemporary ſovereigns, perhaps with all poſterity. The rights of hoſpitality, the ties of blood, and the ſacred claims of the unfortunate, would, in one ſignal inſtance, all be irretrievably violated. Elizabeth, therefore, who excelled in diſſimulation, pretended the utmoſt reluctance to admit the execution of the ſentence. She intreated the parliament, which met four days after, and did not fail to approve the ſentence, that they would find ſome expedient to ſave her from taking a ſtep ſo extremely repugnant to her inclination. At the ſame time, however, ſhe affected to dread another conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate her within a month. In conſequence of this pretended apprehenſion, the parliament, which had before preſented an addreſs to the queen, deſiring that the ſentence againſt Mary might ſpeedily be put into execution, renewed, in the moſt earneſt manner, their ſolicitations, arguments, and intreaties.

Elizabeth ſtill affected to continue inflexible, but at the ſame time permitted Mary's ſentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk to the council, were

were ſent to the unhappy queen to appriſe her of the ſentence, and the impatience of the public for it's ſpeedy execution; and adviſed her to prepare for an event which might become neceſſary for ſecuring the proteſtant religion. Mary received the intelligence with becoming fortitude: "I am proud," ſaid ſhe, "to think that my life is deemed of importance to the catholic religion; and as a martyr for it I am now willing to die." She rejected a proteſtant biſhop that was offered to attend her; and without any clergyman to direct her devotions, ſhe prepared for that death which ſhe well knew was at no great diſtance. She wrote her laſt letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which ſhe now ſeemed willing to part with, but deſiring that, after her enemies ſhould be ſatiated with her innocent blood, her body might be conſigned to her ſervants, and conveyed to France, to repoſe in a catholic country, with the ſacred relics of her mother.

Meanwhile this extraordinary ſentence was ſpread into all parts of Europe, and great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth to prevent it from being carried into execution. The king of France ſent over Believre, as an extraordinary ambaſſador, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her ſon, was ſtill more active in her behalf. He diſpatched ambaſſadors to moſt of the courts in Europe, to ſolicit their aid. To England he ſent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bedchamber, with a letter, conjuring Elizabeth to ſpare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance in caſe of a refuſal. Soon after, James ſent the maſter of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonſtrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth, however, treated his remonſtrances with the utmoſt indignation; and when the Scottiſh ambaſſador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, ſhe anſwered, with great emotion, "No, not for an hour!" Thus Elizabeth, when ſolicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, ſeemed diſpoſed to proceed to extremities againſt her; but when her miniſters urged her to ſtrike the blow, her ſcruples and reluctance, or rather an affectation of them, always returned.

A. D. 1587.] When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed, as decency required, ſhe at laſt determined to carry the ſentence into execution. But, in order to alarm the people, rumours were previouſly diſperſed, that the Spaniſh fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex with a ſtrong army; that the queen of Scots was eſcaped from priſon, and had raiſed an army; that the northern counties had begun an inſurrection; that a new conſpiracy was forming to aſſaſſinate the queen, and ſet the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually aſſaſſinated. Elizabeth, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was obſerved to ſit much alone, penſive and ſilent, and ſometimes to mutter half ſentences, importing the difficulty and diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced. She at laſt called Daviſon, who had lately been made ſecretary, and ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, ſhe afterwards ſaid, ſhe intended to keep by her, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the deliverance of that princeſs. After ſigning the warrant, ſhe commanded Daviſon to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal appended to it. Next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, enjoining him to forbear ſome time executing her former orders; and when Daviſon came and told her that the warrant had already paſſed the great ſeal, ſhe blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, being in perplexity, acquainted the council with the whole tranſaction, and they endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend off Beale with the warrant. If the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure. The ſecretary,

cretary, not ſufficiently aware of their intention, complied with their advice, and the warrant was diſpatched to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, ordering them to ſee the ſentence executed on the queen of Scots.

The two earls came to Fotheringay Caſtle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion, and deſired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She ſeemed no wiſe terrified, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed, with the intelligence. She ſaid, with a chearful countenance, that ſhe did not think the queen, her ſiſter, would have executed the ſentence upon a perſon not ſubject to the juriſdiction of England. She even abjured her being privy to any conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Teſtament, which happened to lie on the table. She deſired that her confeſſor might be permitted to attend her; a requeſt which, however, thoſe zealots refuſed. After the earls retired, ſhe ſat down to ſupper, and with a chearful countenance comforted her attendants, who continued weeping and lamenting. Towards the end of ſupper ſhe called in all her ſervants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of their duty. She in return aſked their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn ſeparation. At her uſual time ſhe went to bed, ſlept ſome hours, and then riſing, ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. Towards the morning ſhe dreſſed herſelf in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet, the only one which ſhe had reſerved to herſelf. She told her maids, that ſhe would willingly have left them this dreſs, rather than the plain garb which ſhe wore the day before; but it was neceſſary for her to appear at the enſuing ſolemnity in a decent habit. Thomas Andrews, the under ſheriff of the county, then entering the room, informed her that the hour was come, and that he muſt attend her to the place of execution. She replied that ſhe was ready; and bidding adieu to her ſervants, ſhe leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, becauſe of an infirmity in her limbs; and ſhe followed the ſheriff, with a ſerene compoſed aſpect, into a hall, where was erected the ſcaffold, covered with black. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony ſhe was ſilent, but ſhewed in her behaviour an unconcern, as if the buſineſs had no wiſe regarded her. Fletcher dean of Peterborough, under pretence of her converſion, repeated a long exhortation, in which ſhe was expoſed to the moſt mortifying reproaches; but ſhe deſired him to forbear, as ſhe was firmly reſolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with ſpectators, who beheld her with pity and diſtreſs; while her beauty, though faded by years and affliction, was ſtill remarkable in this fatal moment.

She now began to undreſs herſelf for the block, with the aid of her two women; the executioner alſo aſſiſted them. She ſmiled, and ſaid, that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants burſting into tears and lamentations, ſhe turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them, and having given them her bleſſing, deſired them to pray for her. The two executioners kneeling, and aſking her pardon, ſhe ſaid ſhe forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as ſhe hoped forgiveneſs from her Maker; and then once more made a ſolemn proteſtation of her innocence. One of her maids, whom ſhe had appointed for that purpoſe, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; ſhe laid herſelf down without any ſign of fear or trepidation, and, by two ſtrokes of the executioner, her head was ſevered from her body. He inſtantly held it up, ſtreaming with blood, to the ſpectators: the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" the earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen;" while the reſt of the ſpectators wept at the affecting ſpectacle.

Thus periſhed, on the 7th of February, Mary queen of Scots, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in

in England. Her perſonal charms, engaging manners, and extraordinary accompliſhments, rendered her the admiration of all who ſaw her; but her natural levity and indiſcretion, aided by youth and inexperience, laid the foundation of her ruin; and at laſt ſhe fell a victim to the jealouſy and ambition of Elizabeth, in violation of every principle of hoſpitality, humanity, and juſtice.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, ſhe affected the utmoſt ſurpriſe and indignation. She put herſelf in deep mourning, was ſeen perpetually bathed in tears, and ſurrounded only by her female attendants. If any of her miniſters approached her, ſhe chaſed them from her with the moſt violent expreſſions of rage and reſentment. They had all of them, ſhe ſaid, been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, contrary to her fixed purpoſe, with which they were ſufficiently acquainted. In order to appeaſe the king of Scots, to whom ſhe ſoon wrote a letter of apology, ſhe committed Daviſon to priſon, and commanded him to be tried in the Star-chamber for his miſdemeanor. The ſecretary was confounded; and being ſenſible of the danger which muſt attend his entering into a conteſt with the queen, he expreſſed penitence for his error, and ſubmitted patiently to be railed at by thoſe very counſellors at whoſe inſtigation he had acted, and who had promiſed to protect him. He was condemned to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds. He remained a long time in cuſtody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorouſly levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen, was ſending him ſmall ſupplies from time to time, to keep him from periſhing. He wrote a letter to Walſingham, (which is preſerved by Camden,) containing many curious particulars relative to the queen's diſſimulation, which was ſo groſs, that it could deceive nobody. Among other things, he obſerves, that when ſhe ſigned the warrant for the execution of Mary, ſhe appeared in ſuch good-humour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him, in a jocular manner, "Go tell this to Walſingham, who is now ſick; though I fear he will die for ſorrow, when he hears it." She blamed Paulet and Drury, who had the cuſtody of Mary, for not having eaſed her of that trouble, and deſired Walſingham might feel their pulſes reſpecting that ſervice; and when Daviſon read Paulet's anſwer, in which he poſitively refuſed to do any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice, ſhe flew into a paſſion, and ſaid, "There are others who will do it for my ſake." But he remonſtrated with her on the impropriety of ſuch an act; as it would expoſe her to danger and diſhonour if ſhe approved of it, and ruin thoſe men and their poſterity if ſhe diſavowed it.

Notwithſtanding Elizabeth's apology, James diſcovered the higheſt reſentment, and refuſed to admit into his preſence Sir Robert Cary, whom the queen had ſent as her ambaſſador. He likewiſe recalled his ambaſſadors from England, and ſeemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The ſtates of Scotland being aſſembled, concurred with the king in ſentiments of indignation, and profeſſed that they were ready to ſpend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of the nobility urged him to take arms: lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, preſented himſelf to the king arrayed in complete armour, and ſaid, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics exhorted James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, and to lay immediate claim to the crown of England. Elizabeth was ſenſible of the danger attending ſo general an indignation of the Scots; and therefore, after allowing James ſome decent interval to vent his grief and anger, ſhe engaged her emiſſaries to employ every motive of hope and fear which might induce him to live in amity with her. Thoſe arguments, joined to the peaceable diſpo-

ſition of James, prevailed over his reſentment, and he fell gradually into a good correſpondence with the court of England.

Elizabeth having ſecured tranquillity from her neareſt neighbour, was not negligent of more diſtant danger. Hearing that Philip was making large naval preparations againſt her, ſhe commiſſioned Drake with thirty ſhips to attack the coaſt of Spain; and that gallant officer having learned that a rich Spaniſh fleet was lying at Cadiz, entered the harbour, and burned an hundred veſſels, laden with ammunition and naval ſtores; while Sir Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman of Devonſhire, fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of an hundred and twenty tons, another of ſixty, and a third of forty: with theſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen veſſels, ſome of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and ſoldiers were clothed in ſilk, his ſails were of damaſk, his top-ſail cloth of gold; and his prizes were eſteemed the richeſt that ever had been brought into England. By theſe expeditions, the Engliſh ſeamen learned to deſpiſe the unwieldy ſhips of the enemy, the intended hoſtilities againſt England were retarded for a twelvemonth, and the queen had leiſure to take more ſecure meaſures againſt that formidable invaſion.

A. D. 1588.] Philip, however, proceeded with unremitting diligence in making preparations to invade England, which, as it ſupported the inſurrection of the Netherlands, ſeemed a neceſſary preparative for re-eſtabliſhing his authority in thoſe provinces. His hoſtile project being formed, every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments, and all the activity of the nation was employed in forwarding the deſign. The marquis of Santa Croce, a ſea officer of great reputation and experience, was deſtined to command the fleet. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building veſſels of uncommon ſize and force; naval ſtores were bought at a great expence; armies were levied, and quartered along the maritime parts of Spain; and every thing threatened the moſt formidable naval enterpriſe that Europe ever beheld. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thouſand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thouſand more were aſſembled in the Netherlands, ready to be tranſported into England. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of ſharing in this great enterpriſe; and the Spaniards, oſtentatious of their power, already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*.

On the intelligence of this mighty fleet, the inhabitants of England were ſeized with terror and conſternation, for all they had to oppoſe it was only a fleet of thirty ſhips of war, and thoſe comparatively very ſmall. All the commercial towns of England, however, were required to furniſh ſhips for reinforcing this ſmall navy. The citizens of London, inſtead of fifteen veſſels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility equipped forty-three ſhips at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham was admiral; and under him ſerved Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, all of them renowned as ſeamen of courage and capacity. The principal fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth. A ſmaller ſquadron, conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, was commanded by lord Seymour, ſecond ſon of protector Somerſet, and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. The land forces, though more numerous than the enemy, were greatly inferior in diſcipline and experience. An army of twenty thouſand men was diſpoſed in different bodies along the ſouth coaſt; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waſte the country around, and to wait for reinforcements from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thouſand foot and a

thouſand

thouſand horſe was ſtationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and was commanded by lord Hunſdon. Thoſe forces were reſerved for guarding the queen's perſon, and were appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy ſhould appear.

In the midſt of all this danger the queen appeared undiſmayed, iſſued her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a ſteady reſiſtance; and the more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, appeared on horſeback at Tilbury, exhorting the ſoldiers to their duty, and promiſing to ſhare with them the ſame dangers and the ſame fate. "I myſelf," cried ſhe, "will be your general, and will reward your virtues in the field. Perſevere in your obedience to command, diſplay your valour, and we ſhall ſoon have a glorious victory over thoſe enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people." The ſoldiers teſtified their attachment to her with acclamations, and only wiſhed for an opportunity of engaging the expected invaders.

The Spaniſh armada was ready in the beginning of May, but it's ſailing was retarded by the death of the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, and that alſo of the vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano. The command of the expedition was therefore given to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a man entirely unexperienced in ſea affairs. This promotion in ſome meaſure ſerved to fruſtrate the deſign, which was alſo rendered leſs ſucceſsful by ſome other accidents. Upon leaving the port of Liſbon, the armada next day met with a violent tempeſt, which ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt of their ſhipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into the harbour. After ſome time ſpent in refitting, they put again to ſea, where they took a fiſherman, who informed them, that the Engliſh fleet, hearing of the diſperſion of the armada in a ſtorm, had retired into Plymouth, and that moſt of the ſeamen were diſcharged. From this falſe intelligence, the Spaniſh admiral, inſtead of ſailing directly to the coaſt of Flanders, to receive the troops ſtationed there, as he had been inſtructed, reſolved to ſteer for Plymouth, and deſtroy the ſhipping in that port. Being deſcried by Fleming, a Scottiſh pirate, who was roving in thoſe ſeas, he immediately ſailed towards the Engliſh fleet, and informed the admiral of their approach. Effingham had juſt time to get out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretching the diſtance of ſeven miles from one extremity to the other. The Engliſh admiral, however, attacked the enemy at a diſtance, not chooſing to engage more cloſely, as his fleet was greatly inferior in the number of ſhips, guns, and weight of metal; nor could he, without manifeſt diſadvantage, pretend to board veſſels which were ſo lofty in their conſtruction. Notwithſtanding this inequality, two Spaniſh galleons were diſabled and taken. As the armada advanced up the Channel, the Engliſh ſtill followed, and infeſted it's rear, until their fleet, which was continually increaſing, ſhould be in a capacity to engage the Spaniards more nearly.

When the armada had reached Calais, and caſt anchor before that place, in expectation that the duke of Parma would join them with his forces, the Engliſh admiral practiſed a ſucceſsful ſtratagem upon the Spaniards. Taking eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and filling them with combuſtible materials, he ſent them, one after another, into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greateſt diſorder and precipitation. The Engliſh fell upon them next morning, while in confuſion, and took or deſtroyed about twelve ſhips, beſides doing great damage to others. The duke of Medina Sidonia, being thus driven to the coaſt of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that, as their ammunition began to fail, as their ſhips had received great damage, and the duke of Parma had refuſed to venture his army under their protection, they ſhould return to Spain by ſailing round the Orkneys, as the wind was contrary to his paſſage through the Channel. They accordingly

ingly proceeded northward, and were followed by the Engliſh fleet as far as Flamborough Head, where they were terribly ſhattered by a ſtorm. Seventeen of their ſhips, having five thouſand men on board, were afterwards caſt away upon the Weſtern Iſles and the coaſt of Ireland. Of the whole armada there returned to Spain only fifty-three ſhips, and thoſe in a miſerable condition.

Such was the wretched iſſue of an enterpriſe which had been preparing for three years, had exhauſted the revenues of Spain, filled the catholics with the moſt ſanguine hopes, and the proteſtants with the moſt terrible apprehenſions. The queen ordered a general thankſgiving, and went in a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's; and two medals were ſtruck to commemorate this great victory. But the joy of Elizabeth was damped by the death of her favourite, Leiceſter, juſt as ſhe had drawn up the patent for making him lord lieutenant of Ireland, with almoſt unlimited power. He was a man deſtitute of courage and capacity; but the queen, from her great partiality, had entruſted him with a chief command during the threatened invaſion; which might have been attended with fatal conſequences, if the armada had not been defeated.

A. D. 1589.] This unſucceſsful expedition of the Spaniards excited the Engliſh to attempt invaſions in their turn. A deſign was formed to ſupport the claim of Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, in his pretenſions to that crown, againſt Philip, to whoſe other dominions that country was united. An armament was fitted out under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, partly at the expence of the queen, but chiefly by the zeal of private adventurers. In their paſſage to Portugal they burned ſome Spaniſh ſhips of war which had been collected at the Groine. They were joined by the young earl of Eſſex, and proceeded to Liſbon; but the want of ammunition and proviſions compelled them to retire; and the enterpriſe was terminated by the capture of Vigo, which they deſtroyed.

The jealouſy of Elizabeth towards her heir had not expired with the life of Mary. She was equally anxious to prevent James from marrying; but the impatience of that monarch broke through all her politics. Diſappointed by the delays which the queen interpoſed to prevent his eſpouſing the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, he renewed his ſuit to the younger, and they were married by proxy. Soon after James went to Copenhagen; and the following ſpring brought his conſort to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people.

A. D. 1590.] The affairs of France now called for the attention of Elizabeth. Henry III. dreading the ambition of the duke of Guiſe, had cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated; and ſoon after fell himſelf a victim to the fanaticiſm of a Dominican friar, named Jaques Clement. The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, aſſumed the government by the title of Henry IV. but the prejudices entertained againſt his religion, which was proteſtant, made a great part of the nobility immediately deſert him. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guiſe, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views either of diſmembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances Henry addreſſed himſelf to Elizabeth, and found her well diſpoſed to contribute to his aſſiſtance, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the catholic league, and of Philip, her dangerous and inveterate enemies. To prevent the deſertion of his Swiſs and German auxiliaries, ſhe made him a preſent of twenty-two thouſand pounds; a greater ſum than, as he declared, he had ever ſeen before; and ſhe ſent him a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe. Strengthened, by theſe ſupplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the ſuburbs ſword in hand, he abandoned them

them to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. He employed this body of Engliſh in many other enterpriſes, and ſtill found reaſon to praiſe their courage and fidelity. The time of their ſervice being elapſed, he diſmiſſed them with many high commendations.

A. D. 1591.] Henry gained over his enemies a pitched battle at Yvrée, in the next campaign, yet the ſituation of his affairs did not allow the queen to diſcontinue her ſuccours. She ſent over three thouſand men, under Sir John Norris, to ſerve in the reduction of the ſea port towns of Britanny, which had been betrayed by the duke Mercœur into the hands of the Spaniards. Henry employed theſe in expelling the leaguers from Normandy. The queen, ſo far from being offended at this change in the original plan, ſupplied him with four thouſand men more, under the earl of Eſſex. Even the failure of the ſiege of Rouen, though it might damp, extinguiſhed not her zeal; ſhe reinforced the Engliſh troops in his ſervice; and employed at the ſame time her naval power againſt Philip. Sir Thomas Howard ſailed with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, to intercept the Spaniſh trade from the Weſt Indies: the king of Spain, informed of his purpoſe, fitted out a great force of fifty-five ſail, and diſpatched them to eſcort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the Engliſh ſquadron, and took one veſſel, the firſt Engliſh ſhip of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; but the reſt returned ſafely into England. The Indian fleet had been ſo long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged at laſt to ſet ſail in an improper ſeaſon, and moſt of them periſhed by ſhipwreck ere they reached the Spaniſh harbours.

A. D. 1592.] Fifteen ſhips of war were ſent to annoy the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh; but his fleet being diſperſed in a ſtorm, the expedition was countermanded. She alſo diſpatched a ſmall ſquadron to cruize off the Azores; and Sir Martin Forbiſher to the coaſt of Spain, in order to wait for the Spaniſh carracks from the Eaſt Indies. Burroughs, who commanded the firſt of theſe ſquadrons, burned one galleon, and took another very richly laden.

A. D. 1593.] Elizabeth having ſummoned a parliament, Sir Edward Coke, the ſpeaker, made to her the three uſual requeſts of freedom from arreſts, of acceſs to her perſon, and of liberty of ſpeech: ſhe declared ſhe would not impeach the freedom of their perſons, nor deny them acceſs to her, provided it were upon urgent cauſes; but ſhe defined their liberty of ſpeech not to conſiſt in uttering what every one liſteth, but merely in ſaying Aye or No; and when Peter Wentworth ventured to tranſgreſs theſe imperial orders, by propoſing a ſupplication to her majeſty for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown, ſhe ſent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had ſeconded him, to the Fleet priſon, together with Stevens and Welſh, two members to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redreſſing the abuſes in the biſhops' courts. This motion was ſeconded by ſome members; but the miniſters and privy counſellors oppoſed it, and foretold the conſequences which enſued. The queen ſent for the ſpeaker; and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, ſhe told him ſhe had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of ſtate nor religion; and now ſhe charged the ſpeaker, upon his allegiance, if any ſuch bills were offered, abſolutely to refuſe them a reading, and not ſo much as permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was ſubmitted to without farther queſtion. Morrice was ſeized in the Houſe by a ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profeſſion as a common lawyer, and kept ſome years priſoner in Tilbury Caſtle.

The Commons no longer preſumed to diſpute the injunctions of the queen; they paſſed an act, that any perſon above ſixteen

years of age, who obſtinately refuſed, during the ſpace of a month, to attend public worſhip, ſhould be committed to priſon; that if after being condemned for this offence he ſhould perſiſt three months in his refuſal, he muſt quit the realm; and that if he either refuſed this condition, or returned after baniſhment, he ſhould ſuffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy. Elizabeth extremely hated the puritans; and ſhe thought by this act either to drive them out of the country, or compel them to conform to the eſtabliſhed church: but her cruel policy failed her; and the ſeverity which now began to be exerciſed upon the non-conformiſts, (ſome of whom were executed upon the 6th of April,) gave riſe to troubles and factions which produced terrible effects in the following reigns.

A grant of three ſubſidies and three fifteenths was voted by the Commons; yet theſe unuſual ſupplies did not prevent them from being expoſed to ſome ſevere reprimands from the queen, on account of their not paying due reverence to privy counſellors. In one of her ſpeeches to parliament, ſhe obſerved on the juſtice and moderation of her government, expreſſed the ſmall ambition ſhe had ever entertained of making conqueſts, diſplayed the juſt grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and diſcovered how little ſhe apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he ſhould make a greater effort againſt her than that of his Invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added ſhe, "that when he attempted this laſt invaſion, ſome upon the ſea-coaſt forſook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and expoſed to his entrance; but I ſwear unto you, by God, if I knew thoſe perſons, or may know of any that ſhall do ſo hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be ſo fearful in ſo urgent a cauſe." By this menace ſhe probably gave the people to underſtand, that ſhe would execute martial law upon ſuch cowards.

Henry the Fourth, finding it impoſſible to reduce his kingdom to obedience while he profeſſed the proteſtant religion, reſolved to bend his opinions to the neceſſity of his affairs; accordingly he renounced the proteſtant religion, and was received into the boſom of the Romiſh church. Though Elizabeth was diſpleaſed at this abjuration, ſhe continued to him her ſuccours both of men and money; ſhe was ſenſible that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domeſtic phyſician to the queen, being impriſoned on ſuſpicion, confeſſed that he had received a bribe to poiſon her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had ſucceeded Parma, lately deceaſed, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was however executed for the conſpiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of theſe diſhonourable attempts of his miniſters, but could obtain no ſatisfaction. York and Williams, two Engliſh traitors, were afterwards executed for a conſpiracy with Ibarra equally atrocious.

A. D. 1594.] After the converſion of the king of France, the league went daily to decay. Norris commanded the Engliſh forces in Britanny, and aſſiſted at taking Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Breſt, towns garriſoned by Spaniſh forces. That brave admiral Sir Martin Forbiſher, with many others, periſhed before Breſt. But Elizabeth being threatened with a new invaſion in England, and with a new inſurrection in Ireland, recalled moſt of her forces, and ſent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding alſo that the French league was almoſt entirely diſſolved, and that the moſt conſiderable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, ſhe thought that he could well ſupport himſelf by his own force and valour; and ſhe began to be more ſparing in his cauſe of the blood and treaſure of her ſubjects.

A. D. 1595.] A new treaty was formed by Elizabeth with the States of Holland; by which they engaged to free her immediately from the charge of the Engliſh auxiliaries, computed

computed at forty thouſand pounds a year; to pay her annually twenty thouſand pounds for ſome years; to aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her conſent. They alſo bound themſelves, on finiſhing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the ſum of an hundred thouſand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment ſhould be in lieu of all demands, and that they ſhould be ſupplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thouſand auxiliaries from England. The queen ſtill retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the riſing power of the States; and ſhe committed the important truſt of Fluſhing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in the Low Countries. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was ſent over to France at the head of two thouſand Engliſh, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to ſupport that prince. Some ſtipulations for mutual aſſiſtance were formed by the treaty, and all former engagements were renewed.

The moſt ſevere blows, however, which Philip received from Elizabeth, were by her naval enterpriſes. James Lancaſter, with three ſhips and a pinnace, deſtroyed thirty-nine ſhips of the enemy, and ſacked Fernambouc on the coaſt of Brazil. The expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, to diſcover the coaſt of Guiana, was leſs ſucceſsful. Having taken the ſmall town of St. Joſeph in the iſle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ſhip, and ſailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to anſwer his expectations. The Engliſh were alſo diſappointed in an attempt on Panama, under Sir Francis Drake, who, from vexation and fatigue, was ſeized with a diſtemper which proved mortal; and they were induced by this bad ſucceſs rather to attack the Spaniſh dominions in Europe. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of an hundred and ſeventy veſſels, ſeventeen of which were capital ſhips of war, the reſt tenders and ſmall veſſels: twenty ſhips were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen, beſide the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Eſſex; the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both theſe commanders had expended great ſums of their own in the armament; for ſuch was the ſpirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral.

A. D. 1596.] The fleet ſet ſail on the 1ſt of June; and after a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtian's, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, reſolved by the council of war to attack the ſhips and gallies in the bay. The enterpriſe was deemed raſh, but was adopted on the ſtrenuous recommendations of Eſſex. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his ſafety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had ſecretly given orders that he ſhould not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Eſſex no ſooner came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot the promiſe which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midſt of the fleet; he broke through, and preſſed forward into the thickeſt of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity for plunder, animoſity againſt the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was ſoon obliged to ſlip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ſhips aground. Eſſex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Calais, which the impetuous valour of the Engliſh ſoon carried ſword in hand. The generoſity of Eſſex, not inferior to his valour, made him ſtop the ſlaughter, and treat his priſoners with the

greateſt

greateſt humanity, and even affability and kindneſs. The Engliſh made rich plunder in the city; but miſſed of a much richer, by the reſolution which the duke of Medina, the Spaniſh admiral, took of ſetting fire to the ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loſs which the Spaniards ſuſtained in this enterpriſe amounted to twenty millions of ducats; beſides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people ſuffered from the ſacking of one of their chief cities, and deſtroying in their harbour a fleet of ſuch force and value. On the return of the Engliſh fleet, Elizabeth expreſſed her ſatisfaction with the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, and created the admiral earl of Nottingham, a promotion which gave great diſguſt to Eſſex.

A. D. 1597.] Notwithſtanding the loſs which Philip had ſuſtained, he collected a formidable fleet, with a great number of land forces, intending to invade England; but it was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and rendered unſerviceable for the ſeaſon. Elizabeth, in return, fitted out a very large armament, and gave the chief command to the earl of Eſſex. The true deſtination of this fleet was firſt to Ferrol and the Groyne, where it was intended to attack the Spaniſh fleet in thoſe harbours, and then proceed to the Azores; but Sir Walter Raleigh, who commanded one of the ſquadrons, being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet by contrary winds, proceeded directly to the Azores, and arriving firſt at Fayal, which he knew it was the intention of Eſſex to attack, he thought it more prudent, after waiting ſome time for the general, to begin the attack alone, leſt the inhabitants ſhould, by farther delay, have leiſure to make preparations for their defence. He ſucceeded in the enterpriſe; but Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtrued it as an intention of robbing him of the glory which attended that action: he caſhiered, therefore, Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded Raleigh to make ſubmiſſions to him. Eſſex was ſoon appeaſed; he received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their commands. Though the quarrel was ſeemingly accommodated, this incident laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity which afterwards took place between theſe two gallant commanders.

Eſſex now reſolved to intercept the galleons, but in this he was diſappointed; three only fell into his hands; with theſe he returned to England. The bad ſucceſs of this enterpriſe was attributed to the chief commander's want of experience in ſeamanſhip, which occaſioned great controverſy: he was likewiſe blamed for his treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To conſole him for this public reproach, the queen promoted him to the dignity of earl marſhal; but being determined to maintain a neutrality between him and Raleigh. She previouſly created Sir Robert Cecil, ſecond ſon of lord Burleigh, a courtier much connected with Raleigh, ſecretary of ſtate, in preference to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Eſſex recommended for that office. From this conduct Eſſex might perceive, that, however Elizabeth loved him, ſhe never intended to give him the entire aſcendant over his rivals.

A. D. 1598.] The exhauſted ſtate of France had induced Henry to conclude at Verviers a peace with Philip; and the treaſurer had ſtrongly inculcated to Elizabeth to finiſh the war on equitable terms. He was oppoſed by Eſſex, who urged that the paſt victories of the queen had given her entire ſecurity againſt any dangerous invaſion; and that the war muſt thenceforth be conducted by ſudden enterpriſes and naval expeditions, in which ſhe poſſeſſed an undoubted ſuperiority; and that as the quarrel had been undertaken on account of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, it would be diſhonourable to abandon them till they were placed in a greater ſtate of ſecurity. The counſels of Eſſex were more agreeable to the queen

queen, than thoſe of Burleigh; the favourite ſeemed daily to acquire an aſcendant over the miniſter. Had he been endowed with caution, he would have ſo riveted himſelf in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit; but his lofty ſpirit could ill ſubmit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Being once engaged in a diſpute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, roſe at this provocation, and ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a paſſionate expreſſion, ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore he would not bear ſuch uſage even from her father, and immediately withdrew from the court. Such, however, was the queen's partiality for him, that ſhe overlooked this offence, and reſtored him again to her favour. By the death of Burleigh, which happened about the ſame time, he was left without a rival, and ſeemed to be confirmed in his power. About the ſame time died Philip II. of Spain, the inveterate enemy of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1599.] While Elizabeth was occupied in cheriſhing the diſpoſition of revolt in the Netherlands, ſhe herſelf was expoſed to the ſame ſpirit in Ireland, where the authority of the Engliſh had been hitherto little more than nominal. Inſtead of being invited to adopt the civilized cuſtoms of their conquerors, the Iriſh were every where marked out as aliens and as enemies; and being treated like wild beaſts, they became ſuch. The uſual revenue of Ireland amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds a year; but as this was not ſufficient to ſupport the expence of it's own government, the queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thouſand more, which ſhe remitted from England; and with this ſmall revenue a body of a thouſand men was ſupported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thouſand. No wonder that a force ſo diſproportioned to the object, inſtead of ſubduing, ſerved only to provoke the natives, and to excite thoſe frequent inſurrections which ſtill farther inflamed the animoſity of the two nations, and increaſed the diſorders to which the Iriſh were naturally ſubject.

From the acceſſion of Elizabeth, Ireland had been continually diſturbed by the revolts of the native chieftains. The moſt formidable of theſe was Shan O'Neale, who ſcorned the title of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have reſtored to him, and who aſſumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulſter. Being hard preſſed by the Engliſh, he fled to the Scottiſh iſlands, where he was put to death on account of ſome ancient injuries. Hugh O'Neale, his nephew, had been raiſed by Elizabeth to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleaſures of opulence and tranquillity. He entered into a correſpondence with Spain; he procured thence a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and having united all the Iriſh chieftains in a dependence upon himſelf, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

By retiring within the bogs and fortreſſes of the country, Tyrone had ſucceſſively baffled the military ſkill of Sir John Norris and Sir Henry Bagnal; he had even obtained a victory over the latter, in which one thouſand five hundred Engliſh, with the general himſelf, were left dead on the ſpot. The queen was now become ſenſible that it was neceſſary to carry on the war in a more vigorous manner, and ſhe had fixed on lord Mountjoy as a proper perſon for the ſituation of deputy; but her choice was oppoſed by Eſſex, who, ambitious of fame, was deſirous of obtaining the government for himſelf; and no ſooner were his wiſhes known, than his enemies, even more zealous than his friends

friends, conſpired to gratify them. The former hoped that if by his abſence Elizabeth had leiſure to forget the charms of his perſon and converſation, his impatient and lofty demeanour would ſoon provoke her diſguſt.

To inſure him ſucceſs, Elizabeth levied an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. She alſo entruſted him with the power of finiſhing the war when he pleaſed, and of filling the moſt conſiderable employments of the kingdom. The firſt act of authority which he exerciſed after his arrival in Ireland was an indiſcretion, but of a generous kind, and in both theſe reſpects ſuitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure by ſecretly marrying without her conſent, and whom ſhe had therefore enjoined Eſſex not to employ in any command under him. The queen no ſooner heard of this inſtance of his diſobedience than ſhe reprimanded him, and ordered him to recall his commiſſion to Southampton; but it was not till after repeated orders from the queen that Eſſex could be prevailed upon to diſmiſs him. This act of indiſcretion was followed by another: inſtead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulſter, he led his forces into the province of Munſter, where he only exhauſted his ſtrength, and afforded the inſurgents an opportunity to prepare the better for their defence. The enemies whom Eſſex had at court failed not to urge this miſconduct in the ſtrongeſt manner; but they had ſtill greater reaſon to attack his reputation, when it was known, that inſtead of humbling the rebels he had only treated with them, and inſtead of forcing them to ſubmiſſion, had concluded a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

So unexpected an iſſue of an enterpriſe, the moſt expenſive Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely againſt Eſſex; and that nobleman was no ſooner appriſed of her anger, than he embraced a reſolution which he knew had once ſucceeded with Leiceſter, her former favourite: he immediately ſet out for England; and making ſpeedy journies, he arrived at court before any one was appriſed of his intentions. Though beſmeared with dirt and ſweat, he haſtened up ſtairs to the preſence-chamber, thence to the privy-chamber; nor ſtopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly riſen, and ſitting with her hair about her face. He threw himſelf on his knees, kiſſed her hand, and had ſome private conference with her; he was ſo graciouſly received, that on his departure he was heard to expreſs great ſatisfaction, and to thank God that though he had ſuffered much trouble and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home.

Though Elizabeth was pleaſed with the arrival of her favourite, whom ſhe longed to ſee, the momentary ſatisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, ſhe reflected on the impropriety of his conduct, and ordered him to be put into cuſtody. Eſſex, reduced to this extremity, uſed every expreſſion of humiliation and ſorrow; but meeting with no return of favour, it ſo preyed upon his mind, that he fell into a diſtemper which ſeemed to endanger his life. The queen, notwithſtanding her apparent ſeverity, was alarmed at his ſituation. She ordered eight phyſicians to conſult on his caſe; and being informed that the iſſue was much to be apprehended, ſhe ſent Dr. James to him with ſome broth; and deſired that phyſician to deliver him a meſſage, that, if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would pay him a viſit. In pronouncing theſe words her eyes were ſuffuſed with tears.

When theſe ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Eſſex were known, they gave a ſenſible alarm to thoſe courtiers who oppoſed his intereſts. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, was ſo affected at this ſudden revolution, that he was ſeized with ſickneſs in his turn; and the queen likewiſe ſent him a favourable meſſage, expreſſing her deſire of his recovery.

A. D. 1600.] Eſſex being now allowed the company of his counteſs, and to retire to his

his own houſe, paſſed his time in indulging that taſte for literature by which he had ever been diſtinguiſhed. Several incidents, however, kept alive the queen's anger againſt him. Mountjoy, his ſucceſſor in Ireland, penetrated into the heart of Ulſter, the chief ſeat of the rebels. Nor was the adminiſtration of Mountjoy more injurious to the reputation of Eſſex, than his popularity was dangerous to his ſecurity; the queen was diſguſted by the writings that were diſperſed in his favour. To juſtify his own conduct, ſhe ordered him to be tried by the court of Star-chamber, where his ſubmiſſive appearance drew tears from many of the members; and the ſentence pronounced only confined him, during her majeſty's pleaſure, to his own houſe, and ſuſpended him from acting in his different qualities of privy counſellor, earl marſhal, and maſter of the ordnance.

It was generally expected that Eſſex would ſoon be reinſtated in his former credit; and the public were confirmed in this opinion, when they ſaw, that though he was ſtill prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of maſter of the horſe, and was reſtored to liberty. But one ſtep of rigour, urged too far, proved his final ruin. He had ſolicited the queen to renew a patent which he held for the monopoly of ſweet wines; the refuſal of this requeſt exhauſted his patience; and while he courted, with increaſe of diligence, the favour of the public, he was heard to ſay, that the queen was grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. Such ſpeeches could not but incenſe Elizabeth, who, though approaching towards her ſeventieth year, was ſtill tenacious of the character of a beauty; yet even theſe ſarcaſms could not provoke her more than the ſecret applications of Eſſex to the king of Scots, her heir and ſucceſſor. The violent meaſures, however, which Eſſex propoſed, of extorting by arms an immediate declaration in favour of James's right of ſucceſſion, were declined by that monarch; and Mountjoy, who had promiſed to aſſiſt the deſign by bringing part of his army over from Ireland, refuſed to concur in it, when he found it was no longer ſanctioned by the king of Scots.

A. D. 1601.] Eſſex being diſappointed in his former project, aſſembled a party of his confidants, with whom he deliberated on the plan of an inſurrection; when it was reſolved that Sir Chriſtopher Blount, with a choice detachment, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the palace gates; that Sir John Davies ſhould ſeize the hall, and Sir Charles Davers the guard chamber; while Eſſex himſelf, attended by a body of his partizans, ſhould ruſh from the Meuſe into the queen's preſence, intreat her to remove his enemies, to aſſemble a new parliament, and to correct the abuſes of the adminiſtration.

The queen having ſome intimation of the deſigns of Eſſex, ſummoned him to attend the council; but, ſuſpecting a diſcovery, he excuſed himſelf on pretence of indiſpoſition; and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to his partizans, requiring their advice and aſſiſtance in the preſent critical ſituation of his affairs. They deliberated whether they ſhould abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or inſtantly ſeize the palace with the force which they could aſſemble; or throw themſelves on the affections of the citizens of London, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. While he and his confederates were in conſultation, a perſon, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a meſſenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendſhip and aſſiſtance againſt all his adverſaries. The wild project of raiſing the city was therefore immediately reſolved on, but the execution of it was delayed until the day following.

Early the next morning he was attended by his friends the earls of Rutland and Southampton, with the lords Sandys and Monteagle, and about three hundred perſons of diſtinction. The doors of Eſſex Houſe were immediately locked, to prevent all ſtrangers from entering; and the earl now explained more fully to all the conſpirators his deſign of exciting an inſurrection in the city. Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh ſending a meſſage to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer

ficer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there discovered to him all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, instantly dispatched Egerton, lord keeper, Sir William Knollys, comptroller, Popham, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Essex House, to demand the cause of those extraordinary assemblies. They with great difficulty procured admittance through a wicket; but all their servants, except the purse-bearer, were excluded. Undaunted in executing their commission, they charged the earl's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms; and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude. Essex, who now saw it was too late to retreat, determined to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with swords; and in his way to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen!—a plot is laid for my life!" hoping to engage the populace to rise: but though he told them that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, no one shewed a disposition to join him. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance; but on his approach the officer stole out at the back-door, and went directly to the mayor. Essex finding the citizens nowise affected to his cause, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to think of retreating to his own house. But he found his road thither barricadoed and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. In endeavouring to force his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman for whom he bore a great friendship, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners. The earl himself, attended by a few adherents, the rest having privately withdrawn, retired towards the river, and, taking a boat, arrived at Essex House; where he found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had set them all at liberty, and gone with them to court. Seeing now no safety but in courage, he appeared determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but afterwards relinquishing this design, and having demanded in vain for hostages and conditions from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Essex and Southampton were tried by their peers: their guilt was too apparent to admit of any doubt, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced against them. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude of a prison, his mind began to sink under the weight of that religious horror, to which, in all his adversities, he was naturally subject. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he could never obtain the pardon of Heaven unless he made a full confession of his disloyalty; and he therefore gave into the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scots. In this confession he spared not even his most intimate friends: in particular he accused lord Mountjoy and Sir Harry Nevil of a correspondence with the conspirators; though it appears that this latter gentleman, a man of merit, had never assented to the proposals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treason. For this offence Nevil was thrown into prison, and underwent a severe persecution; but as the queen found Mountjoy an able and successful commander, she spared him, and sacrificed her resentment to the public service.

The situation of Essex called forth all the tender affections of Elizabeth; she felt a perpetual combat between the care of her own safety and concern for her favourite. Before she signed the warrant for his execution, she discovered great irresolution; and from this circumstance he entertained strong hopes of a pardon. She had formerly given him a ring, which she had desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, and had given

given him assurances that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent her by the countess of Nottingham; but she was prevailed upon by her husband, who was a mortal enemy to Essex, not to deliver it; while Elizabeth's pride was secretly provoked at his obstinacy, in making no applications for pardon. Indeed herself appeared as much an object of compassion as the unfortunate nobleman whom she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution, she countermanded it, she again resolved on his death; and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave final consent to his execution, which was private in the Tower, agreeably to Essex's own request, who was only thirty-four years of age when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. Some of Essex's associates, Cusse, Davers, Blount, and Meric, were tried, condemned, and executed; the earl of Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty, and he was detained in prison till the accession of James.

The wars in Flanders and Ireland had drained the treasury, notwithstanding the great œconomy of Elizabeth's administration; and she found herself under the necessity of calling a parliament. To reward those who had distinguished themselves in civil or military employments, she had granted patents for monopolies; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of those commodities, which were thus assigned over to patentees. When the list was read in the House, a member cried, "*Is not bread in the number?*"—"*Bread!*" said every one, with astonishment. "*Yes, I assure you,*" replied he, "*if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before the next parliament.*" These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised the price of salt from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to secure themselves against incroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent. At the same time, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact. A bill was now introduced into the lower House, abolishing all these monopolies; the courtiers, in opposing it, asserted that the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed or disputed; but the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the House, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of those patents. Such was the gratitude and satisfaction of the House for this condescension, that they granted on that occasion a supply quite unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths.

A. D. 1602.] With this money Elizabeth fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under the command of Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson, who attacked the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal, sunk, burnt, or put to flight eleven gallies in it, and made prize of a rich carrack, valued at a million of ducats.

The preceding year four thousand Spaniards, under Don Juan d'Aquila, landed in Ireland, to assist the earl of Tyrone, and took possession of Kinsale. Lord Mountjoy besieged it by land, while Sir Richard Levison blocked up the harbour with a small squadron. In the mean time, another body of two thousand Spaniards, under Alphonso Ocampo, landed and took possession of Baltimore. They were joined by Tyrone, who, with a detachment of Irish and Spaniards, marched to the relief of Kinsale; but he found the English so well posted, that he

ſounded a retreat. Mountjoy gave orders to purſue them; twelve hundred were killed in the flight, Ocampo was taken priſoner, and Tyrone eſcaped into Ulſter. Aquila, finding himſelf reduced to the greateſt extremities, was obliged to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the deputy preſcribed; he ſurrendered Kinſale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. Lord Mountjoy continued to act with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs againſt the Iriſh chiefs, that their power was entirely broken; and Tyrone ſeeing all hopes either of ſucceeding or eſcaping vaniſh, ſurrendered himſelf at diſcretion to the deputy, who intended to bring him over to England, to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the queen.

A. D. 1603.] Thus ended a rebellion which had continued for more than eight years, and coſt Elizabeth four hundred thouſand pounds. But ſhe was incapable of receiving any ſatisfaction from this fortunate event. Some incidents had revived her tenderneſs for Eſſex, and filled her with ſorrow for his execution. She had now found out the treachery of the counteſs of Nottingham, who on her death-bed ſent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumſtance of the ring, which ſhe had omitted to deliver. The queen, aſtoniſhed at this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion: ſhe ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed; and crying to her, "that God may pardon her, but ſhe never could," ſhe broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy. She rejected all conſolation; ſhe even refuſed food and ſuſtenance; and throwing herſelf on the floor, ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and exiſtence an inſufferable burden to her. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her; and her phyſicians could not perſuade her to make trial of any remedies which they preſcribed. Her anxious mind at laſt had ſo long preyed on her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching; and the council being aſſembled, ſent the keeper, admiral, and ſecretary, to know her will with regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered, with a faint voice, that, as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil requeſting her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe ſubjoined, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be but her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots? Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied that ſhe did ſo, nor did her mind in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; her ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired gently, without farther ſtruggle or convulſion, on the 24th of March, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

She ordered that her corpſe ſhould not be touched or ſeen by any but her women; and it was generally believed that ſhe had ſome imperfection which rendered her unfit for marriage, notwithſtanding ſhe had two favourites. Her perſon was tall and ſtrait, her complexion fair, brown eyes, white, and yellow hair. She poſſeſſed an excellent memory, underſtood the dead and living languages, had made a great proficiency in the ſciences, and was well acquainted with hiſtory and politics. When we contemplate this princeſs as a woman, we are ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition. Though her vigour, conſtancy, penetration, and addreſs are to be commended, a conduct leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, more ſincere, more indulgent to her people, is requiſite to form a perfect character. She was rather a great princeſs than an amiable woman.

Elizabeth deſerves immortal credit for having eſtabliſhed the reformation; but the attempt to impoſe uniformity of opinion and worſhip, mark her character with bigotry and cruelty. Happy would it have been for the country, and even for herſelf, if ſhe had employed her almoſt unlimited authority in procuring to every man the exer-

ciſe

ciſe of his right, to worſhip his creator according to his own judgment.

The Court of High Commiſſion was terrible in it's juriſdiction, both becauſe the crime of hereſy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence; and becauſe it's methods of inquiſition, and of adminiſtering oaths, were more contrary to all the moſt ſimple ideas of juſtice and equity. Several perſons ſuffered death by the judgment of this court; fines and impriſonments were frequent; the deprivations and ſuſpenſions of the clergy for nonconformity were alſo numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the eccleſiaſtics of England.

Elizabeth was highly tenacious of her prerogative. Her conduct towards her parliament was extremely reprehenſible; ſhe ſtrictly prohibited them from interfering either with ſtate or eccleſiaſtical concerns, and ſhe ſent the members to priſon who dared to tranſgreſs her orders in theſe particulars. There paſſed few ſeſſions of parliament during her reign in which inſtances of this arbitrary conduct did not occur; but the wiſdom and vigour of her adminiſtration in other reſpects, ſaved her from the conſequences to which ſhe was expoſed by this procedure.

The œconomy of Elizabeth was remarkable, and ſeemed in ſome inſtances to border on avarice: yet ſhe never amaſſed any treaſure; and the real cauſe of her frugality was a deſire of independency. She is ſaid to have paid four millions of debt left on the crown by her father, brother, and ſiſter. The States, at the time of her death, owed her about 800,000l. the king of France 450,000l. It is difficult to compute exactly her ordinary revenue; but it certainly fell much ſhort of 500,000l. a year.

Elizabeth, ſenſible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on it's naval power, was deſirous to encourage navigation. Sir Martin Frobiſher undertook three fruitleſs voyages to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage: Davis, not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, made a new attempt, when he diſcovered the ſtraits which paſs by his name. In the year 1600 the queen granted the firſt patent to the Eaſt India Company: the ſtock of that company was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; and they fitted out four ſhips under the command of James Lancaſter, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was ſucceſsful; and the ſhips returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583, and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth.

In the year 1582 the ſeamen in England were found to be fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five men; the number of veſſels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons.

The navy which the queen left at her deceaſe appears conſiderable, when we reflect on the ſtate in which ſhe found it; but when we conſider that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns, that four only came up to that number, that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons, and twenty-three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons, that the whole number of her fleet was only forty-two, and the guns belonging to it were ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four, we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the Engliſh navy, compared to the force which it has now attained.

The ſtate of the Engliſh manufactures were at this time very low; and foreign wares of almoſt all kinds had the preference. The perſecutions in France and the Low Countries drove, however, a great number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them. It was then that Sir Thomas Greſham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants; the queen viſited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange. This

ſtructure

ſtructure was burned by the fire of London, and the preſent edifice was erected ſoon after.

There were two attempts made in this reign to ſettle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh, in Virginia; but neither of them proved ſucceſsful. All thoſe noble ſettlements were made in the following reigns.

In the preſent reign we find ſeveral diſtinguiſhed characters, particularly that great and illuſtrious philoſopher Sir Francis Bacon. He was born at York Houſe in the Strand, Jan. 22, 1561. He was ſo eminent at the age of twenty-eight, as to be named by queen Elizabeth her learned council extraordinary. In 1593 he was choſen member of parliament for the county of Middleſex, and procured the office of regiſter to the Star-chamber. In the ſucceeding reign he was knighted, appointed ſolicitor general, lord keeper, lord high chancellor of England, baron of Verulam, and viſcount St. Albans. He died about 1626.

William Camden, the famous hiſtorian and antiquarian, flouriſhed alſo in Elizabeth's reign. He was born in the Old Bailey, London, May 2, 1551. He was made ſecond maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool; the duties whereof he executed with great diligence, and equal ſucceſs. He died Nov. 9, 1623, at his houſe at Chiſlehurſt, in the county of Kent.

At this period our celebrated poets Spencer, Shakſpeare, and Ben Jonſon, commenced their literary fame. Spencer was born in London; and after ſtudying in Cambridge, took up his reſidence with ſome friends in the north, where he fell in love with his Roſalind, whom he celebrates in his paſtorals. He was patronized by Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards created poet laureat to queen Elizabeth. He at length became ſecretary to the lord Gray of Wilton, on that nobleman's being appointed lord deputy of Ireland; after which he was rewarded by a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thouſand acres of land in the county of Cork. He was here viſited by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1589, who brought him with him to England, and introduced him to the queen; but in the Iriſh rebellion he was plundered, and deprived of his poſſeſſions. He died in 1598, and was interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, where his obſequies were attended by the poets of that time.

William Shakſpeare was the ſon of John Shakſpeare, a conſiderable dealer in wool, and was born at Stratford upon Avon, in April 1564. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an actor, a manager, and an excellent dramatic writer. He was highly eſteemed by queen Elizabeth, who had ſeveral of his plays acted before her. He alſo obtained the friendſhip and favour of the earl of Southampton, who gave him a thouſand pounds, to enable him to complete a purchaſe which he heard he had a mind to. The latter part of his life was ſpent in eaſe, retirement, and the converſation of his friends. He died in 1616, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Ben Jonſon, the ſon of a clergyman, was born at Weſtminſter in 1574, and educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool; from whence he was taken home by his mother, who had married a bricklayer for her ſecond huſband, who obliged him to work at his trade; but being extremely averſe to it, he enliſted himſelf as a ſoldier, and was diſtinguiſhed by his bravery in the wars of the Netherlands. Upon his return to England, he reſumed his former ſtudies, and was admitted into St. John's College, Cambridge; but being unable to ſupport himſelf there, he entered into an obſcure playhouſe, called the Curtain, though unable to gain any reputation as an actor. He there quarrelling with his brother comedians, fought a duel, in which he killed his antagoniſt; for which he was committed to priſon, but was ſome time after diſcharged. He was patronized by Shakſpeare; who not only brought out his plays, but performed in them himſelf. He was poet laureat to James I. and Charles I. He died Auguſt 16, 1637.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Acceſſion of James I.—A ſuppoſed Conſpiracy—Conference with the Puritans—A fruitleſs Struggle of the Commons for Redreſs of Grievances—Gunpowder Treaſon—Peace with Spain—Affairs of Ireland—Of Scotland—Raleigh's Expedition and fatal End—Rupture with Spain—A Maſſacre of the Engliſh at Amboyna—King's Death, &c. &c.

JAMES, the Sixth of Scotland and the Firſt of England, aſcended the throne with the general approbation of all orders of the ſtate. He was the great grandſon of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII. and on the failure of the male line, he was next in the order of ſucceſſion. So ardent was the deſire of the Engliſh to behold their new ſovereign, that in his progreſs to London men of all ranks flocked about him from every quarter; but the king, who hated the buſtle of a mixed multitude, iſſued a proclamation forbidding this reſort of people, on the pretence of ſcarcity of proviſions, and other inconveniences, which, he ſaid, would neceſſarily attend it. He was not, however, inſenſible to the public teſtimonies of affection which appeared in his new ſubjects; and to this motive may perhaps be aſcribed that profuſion of titles of honour which diſtinguiſhed that period of his reign. During ſix weeks after his entrance into England, it is computed that he beſtowed knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons. A paſquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, intimating, that inſtructions would be delivered for aſſiſting ſhort memories to retain the names of the new nobility.

A. D. 1603.]

Though the Scots ſhared theſe honours in a proportion which perhaps excited the envy of the Engliſh, it muſt be owned, in juſtice to James, that he left almoſt all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's miniſters. Among theſe ſecretary Cecil, created earl of Saliſbury, was continued prime miniſter and chief counſellor. Though, during the laſt reign, he had been apparently leagued againſt the earl of Eſſex, whoſe cauſe was favoured by James, yet he kept a ſecret correſpondence with that monarch, and ſecured his own intereſts without forfeiting the confidence of his party.

Henry the Fourth of France propoſed to James a league, in conjunction with Venice and the United Provinces, to attack the Auſtrian dominions on every ſide: but the love of peace was the ruling paſſion of the king of England; and the utmoſt that Sully, the French ambaſſador, and the Engliſh miniſters could influence him to, was to conclude a treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that the two kings ſhould allow the Dutch to levy forces in their reſpective dominions, and ſhould underhand remit to that republic the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year for the pay of theſe forces: that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France; but that the third of it ſhould be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the princes, they agreed to aſſiſt each other, Henry with a force of ten thouſand men, James with that of ſix.

About this time was diſcovered a real or pretended conſpiracy, to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's by the family of Lenox, and deſcended equally from Henry VII. but who had been committed to the Tower immediately after the death of Elizabeth, from the apprehenſion that ſome effort might be made in her behalf; and ſhe ſtill remained in cuſtody. The chiefs of it were, Sir Walter Raleigh, ſuſpected to be of that ſect who have ſince

received the appellation of *free-thinkers*, lord Grey, a puritan, and lord Cobham. Raleigh was accuſed by Cobham alone, a man of infamous character, who afterwards retracted his accuſation, and then again inſiſted on it; yet on the ſingle evidence of this witneſs, who was never produced in court, was that great man, contrary to law and equity, found guilty by the jury: he was reprieved, not pardoned, and he remained in confinement many years. Every thing remains ſtill myſterious in this conſpiracy; and there is reaſon to believe, that this accuſation was only a ſcheme of the enemies of Sir Walter, to ruin him.

A. D. 1604.] The religious diſputes between the church and the puritans induced James to call a conference at Hampton Court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the two parties. This was an employment entirely ſuitable to the king's taſte; affording him an opportunity of dictating concerning points of faith and diſcipline, to an aſſembly of divines, and of receiving their applauſe for his ſuperior zeal and learning. The church of England had not yet abandoned the doctrines of grace and predeſtination; the puritans had not ſeparated themſelves from the church, nor openly renounced epiſcopacy. Though the ſpirit of the parties was conſiderably different, the only apparent ſubjects of diſpute were concerning the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, the uſe of the ſurplice, and the bowing at the name of Jeſus. Theſe were the important queſtions which were ſolemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton Court, between ſome biſhops and dignified clergy on one hand, and ſome leaders among the puritans on the other, in the preſence of the king and his miniſters. From the beginning of the conference, the king ſhewed the ſtrongeſt propenſity to the eſtabliſhed church, and frequently inculcated the maxim, "*No biſhop, no king.*" The biſhops, in their turn, were very liberal in their praiſes towards the royal diſputant; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid, that "undoubtedly his majeſty ſpake by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit." The two parties agreed to a few alterations in the Liturgy, and ſeparated with mutual diſſatisfaction.

A plague had raged in London, and upwards of thirty thouſand perſons periſhed in one year, though the number of inhabitants little exceeded one hundred and fifty thouſand. This delayed the meeting of parliament; but being now aſſembled, the firſt buſineſs in which the Commons engaged was of the utmoſt importance to the preſervation of their privileges. The chancellor had hitherto aſſumed the power of iſſuing a writ for the election of any member of the Houſe of Commons, by his own authority; but that body now maintained, that though the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the ſole right of judging, with regard to elections, belonged to the Houſe itſelf. James, not ſatisfied with this innovation, ordered a conference between the Houſe and the judges, whoſe opinion in this caſe was oppoſite to that of the Commons. This conference, he ſaid, he commanded as an abſolute king; an epithet which, though it had been uſed by Elizabeth, could not prove very grateful to the people. He added, that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them againſt him. The Commons, ſeeing the conſequences of that aſſumed power to which their predeceſſors had, in ſome inſtances, blindly ſubmitted, were in ſome perplexity; but ſo great was their deference for majeſty, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. The queſtion of law now began to appear in James's eyes a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to extricate himſelf with ſome honour, he propoſed that the two members whoſe return had given riſe to the diſpute ſhould be ſet aſide, and a writ be iſſued, by a warrant of the Houſe, for a new election. The Commons embraced the expedient; but in ſuch a manner, that, while they ſhewed their regard for the king, they ſecured for the future the free poſſeſſion of their ſeats, and the right, which they claimed,

of

of judging ſolely in their own elections and returns.

The Commons diſplayed their ſpirit and judgment not only in defence of their own privileges, but in their endeavour, though at this time ineffectual, to free trade from thoſe ſhackles which the highly-exerted prerogative, and even, in this reſpect, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth had impoſed upon it. James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predeceſſor, and which extremely fettered every ſpecies of domeſtic induſtry. But the excluſive companies ſtill remained; another ſpecies of monopoly, by which almoſt all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engroſſers. Theſe companies, arbitrarily erected, had carried their privileges ſo far, that almoſt all the commerce of England was centered in London; nay, the whole trade of the capital was confined to about two hundred citizens, who, by combining among themſelves, could fix whatever price they pleaſed to the exports and imports of the nation.

While the Commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the kingdom, they alſo endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of wardſhips, and to remove thoſe remains of the feudal tenures under which the nation ſtill laboured. The profit which the king reaped both from wards and from reſpite of homage, was eſtimated; and it was intended to compound for theſe prerogatives by a ſecure and independent revenue. But after ſome debates in the Houſe, and ſome conferences with the Lords, the affair could not be adjuſted. The ſame fate attended an attempt to free the nation from the burden of purveyance.

The union of the two kingdoms was zealouſly urged by James; but the more he recommended this meaſure, the more backward was the parliament in concurring with him; while they aſcribed his exceſſive zeal to a partiality in favour of his Scottiſh ſubjects. Their complaiſance for the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four commiſſioners, to deliberate concerning the terms of a union, but without any power of making advances towards accompliſhing it. However, to aboliſh all diſtinctions as much as lay in his power, James aſſumed the title of king of Great Britain.

The peace with Spain was finally concluded this ſummer, and ſigned by the Spaniſh miniſters at London. Some articles in the treaty, which ſeemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared, that by ſecret agreement James had expreſsly reſerved the power of ſending aſſiſtance to the Hollanders.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour on the acceſſion of James; but they ſoon diſcovered their miſtake, and were at once ſurpriſed and enraged to find James on all occaſions expreſs his intention of ſtrictly executing the laws enacted againſt them, and of perſevering in all the rigorous meaſures of Elizabeth. This declaration determined them upon deſperate meaſures, and they at length formed the deſign of deſtroying the king and both houſes of parliament at a blow. The ſcheme was firſt propoſed by Cateſby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family; who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be placed under the parliament-houſe, ſo as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Percy, a deſcendant of the houſe of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Theſe two communicated the horrid plot to Thomas Winter, who went over to Flanders; in queſt of Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal and courage the conſpirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enliſted any new conſpirator, the more firmly to bind him to ſecreſy, they always, with an oath, employed the communion, the moſt ſacred rite of religion. None of theſe devotees ever entertained the leaſt compunction,

compunction, with regard to the dreadful catastrophe which they projected. Some of them only were startled by the idea that many catholics must be present as spectators or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the House of Peers; but Tesmond and Garnet, two Jesuits, superiors of the order, absolved their consciences from every scruple.

They hired a house in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble; and having pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness, they were alarmed at hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found that it came from the vault from below the House of Lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. They therefore hired the place, in which they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, covered with faggots bought for the purpose. The doors of the cellar were then boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Having made these preparations, they proceeded to plan, with great confidence of success, the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The duke, on account of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved that Percy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire: Sir Everard Digby, with some others, was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

A. D. 1605.] The meeting of parliament, by different prorogations, was adjourned to November the 5th, and the day at length approached on which it was to assemble. Never was treason more determined, or ruin more apparently inevitable. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near a year and an half; and when every other motive that could check their design had been extinguished in the breasts of the conspirators, a remorse of private friendship providentially saved the kingdom. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic, son to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I will advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament, for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety: for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; unto whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle was astonished on perusing this mysterious letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury likewise considered it as a matter of no importance, he laid it before the king, who came to town a few days after. None of the counsellors, who were present, could make any thing of it; and the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. From the serious, earnest style of the letter, he conjectured that it implied something dangerous and important. "A terrible blow," and yet *the authors concealed*; a danger *so sudden*, and yet *so great*; these circumstances, he thought, seemed all to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was judged adviseable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain; who purposely delayed the search until the

the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked thoſe great piles of wood and faggots which lay in the vault under the upper houſe; and caſt his eye upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and who paſſed himſelf for Percy's ſervant. That daring and determined courage which ſo much diſtinguiſhed this conſpirator, even among his deſperate aſſociates, was fully painted in his countenance, and ſtruck the lord chamberlain with ſtrong ſuſpicion. The great quantity alſo of fuel, for the uſe of one who lived ſo little in town as Percy, did not paſs unnoticed; and it was reſolved that a more minute inſpection ſhould be made. About midnight Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of peace, was ſent with proper attendants. At the entrance of the vault he ſeized a man dreſſed in a cloak and boots, with a dark lanthorn in his hand. This perſon was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had juſt been making the laſt preparations for the enterpriſe next morning, the matches, and every thing proper for ſetting fire to the train, being found in his pocket. The whole deſign being now diſcovered, his audaciouſneſs was increaſed by deſpair; the only concern he teſtified was for the failure of the enterpriſe. Before the council he diſplayed the ſame firmneſs, mixed even with ſcorn and diſdain, and refuſed to diſcover his accomplices. But his obſtinate ſpirit was at length ſubdued: being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack juſt ſhewn him, his courage, fatigued with ſo long an effort, at laſt failed him, and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators.

Cateſby, Percy, and the other aſſociates, hearing that Fawkes was arreſted, fled with all ſpeed to Warwickſhire, where Sir Everard Digby, relying on the ſucceſs of the plot, was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth. But the country riſing on all ſides to oppoſe them, they reſolved, to the number of about eighty perſons, to make a ſtand at a houſe in Warwickſhire, and, acting in their own defence, to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. But even this miſerable conſolation was denied them: a ſpark of fire happening to fall among ſome gunpowder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and ſo maimed a number of the conſpirators, that the people ruſhed in upon them. Percy and Cateſby were killed by one ſhot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being made priſoners, were tried, confeſſed their guilt, and, as well as Garnet, died by the hand of the executioner. Garnet was conſidered by the bigotted catholics as a martyr, and miracles were ſaid to have been wrought by his blood, notwithſtanding the magnitude of his offence.

The moderation of James, after the extinction of this conſpiracy, was highly commendable. Though the general hatred of the people againſt the catholics now became outrageous, he wiſely rejected all violent meaſures, which were prompted in the ſpirit of revenge. The lords Mordaunt and Stourton, however, two catholics, were fined, the former ten thouſand pounds, the latter four thouſand, by the Star-chamber, becauſe their abſence from parliament had excited ſome ſuſpicion of their being acquainted with the conſpiracy. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and detained ſeveral years priſoner in the Tower; becauſe, excluſive of other ſuſpicious circumſtances, he had admitted Percy into the number of gentlemen penſioners without taking the requiſite oaths. Lord Monteagle was rewarded by a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a penſion of five hundred pounds for life. The king, in his ſpeech to parliament, obſerved, that the guilt of the conſpirators ought not to involve the whole body of the Roman catholics in the ſame predicament, or be admitted as ground of ſuſpicion that they were all equally diſpoſed to commit ſuch enormous barbarities. For his part, he added, that the late conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhould never alter in the leaſt his plan of government; but as, on one hand, he was determined to puniſh the guilty, ſo, on the other, he would ſupport and protect the innocent.

A. D. 1606.] The parliament being aſ-

ſembled according to prorogation, an act was paſſed againſt popiſh recuſants, and a large ſupply was granted to the king; but this was ſoon ſquandered by his uſual prodigality, and he was reduced to his former neceſſity. He again renewed his ſolicitation to parliament to agree to a union between the two kingdoms; but finding them refractory, he ſent for both Houſes to attend him at Whitehall, and in a long ſpeech endeavoured to ſhew them the advantage and neceſſity of the union. However this had no farther effect than to obtain an abolition of the hoſtile laws formerly enacted between the two kingdoms. James was ſo exaſperated at their oppoſition to his favourite meaſure, that he loaded them with the epithets of blind, ignorant, reſtleſs, and diſaffected, and thenceforward ſhewed a great averſion to parliaments: he even tampered with the judges, to countenance and determine actions on the authority of his proclamations alone. The Commons now began to keep a regular journal of their proceedings.

A. D. 1607.] In the beginning of this year an inſurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, on account of the people having been deprived of their right of common. They roved about in bodies of four or five hundred, and deſtroyed a few parks and incloſures. Proclamations were iſſued, ordering them to diſperſe; but as theſe were ineffectual, a party was ſent againſt them, who ſhed as little blood as poſſible. At length, in conſequence of another proclamation, promiſing a redreſs of their grievances, they diſperſed. Captain Pouch, and others of their ringleaders, were tried for high treaſon, and executed.

An inſurrection of a more ſerious nature was threatened in Ireland. The earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel had conſpired to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and maſſacre all the Engliſh who had ſettled in that kingdom; but their deſign being diſcovered, Tyrone fled to Rome, where he ſoon after died.

A new tranſlation of the Bible was begun this year, and publiſhed in 1611, which is the ſame as that now in common uſe.

A. D. 1608.] Two prieſts were executed for having refuſed to take the oath of allegiance. James having waſted the public money, by his prodigality to his Scottiſh favourites, to procure a farther ſupply granted many monopolies, to the incredible loſs of our woollen manufactures. He enforced alſo an annual acknowledgment for liberty to fiſh on the coaſts of Great Britain.

A. D. 1609.] In the ſpring of the year, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, under the guarantee of France and England, that war, which, for near half a century, had been proſecuted between Spain and the States of the United Provinces; that haughty monarchy at laſt conſented to acknowledge them for a free people whom ſhe had ſo long treated as rebellious ſubjects, and ſolemnly to relinquiſh all pretenſions to ſovereignty over them. This event proved a ſource of great mortification and diſſatisfaction to James, who, on all occaſions, condemned the Hollanders as rebels, it being his avowed maxim, in all debates concerning his prerogative, that ſubjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their prince upon any account whatever; he therefore conſidered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the ſovereign authority of kings: this appeared more evidently at preſent by his licenſing two books, which maintained moſt extravagant maxims of arbitrary power. The firſt, written by Dr. Cowel, of Cambridge, profeſſor of the civil law, and vicar-general to archbiſhop Bancroft, laid down theſe three principles: "1. That the king was not bound by the laws or his coronation-oath. 2. That the king is not obliged to call a parliament to make laws, but might do it alone, by his abſolute power. 3. That it was a great favour to admit the conſent of the ſubject in giving ſubſidies." The other, written by Dr. Blackwood, a clergyman, laboured to prove that the Engliſh were all ſlaves by right of the Norman conqueſt.

A. D.

A. D. 1610.] James having ſquandered the money which he had raiſed by unconſtitutional means, found himſelf under the neceſſity of re-aſſembling the parliament. The earl of Saliſbury, who had been created treaſurer, explained to them the king's neceſſities; and in order to prevail upon them to grant the ſupply, he declared that his majeſty, far from intending to rule deſpotically, was ready to hear the remonſtrances of his parliament, and redreſs their grievances. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, the members of the Houſe of Commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality, and exceſſive profuſion towards his own countrymen: others ventured to affirm, that his intention was to ſap the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpation. He had been heard to declare, at his own table, that the civil law of the Roman emperors ought to be ſubſtituted in the room of the common law of England; and approved of the treatiſe called the Interpreter, written by Dr. Cowel, on that ſubject: but the chief cauſe of their complaint was the High Commiſſion Court, which had exerciſed great ſeverities againſt the puritans, whoſe party was eſpouſed by a majority of the Commons.

James being informed of theſe proceedings, had recourſe to his own eloquence, which he thought irreſiſtible, and required the attendance of the two Houſes at Whitehall, on the 21ſt of March, where he talked to them, in a very high ſtrain, of prerogative; a ſubject the reader will beſt underſtand by the following ſhort extract. "As it is blaſphemy," ſays he, "to diſpute what God may do, ſo it is ſeditious in ſubjects to diſpute what a king may do in the height of his power." Then he tells them not to meddle with the main points of government; "for," ſays he, "that is my craft; and it would be leſſening me, who have been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and have ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years here in England:" ſo that there did not want much penetration to perceive how diſtant the king's maxims of government, how artfully ſoever palliated, were from the eſtabliſhed conſtitutions of the land. If the whole ſpeech ſhould be examined, there is ſcarce a word but what tends, either plainly or ambiguouſly, to eſtabliſh in the king an abſolute deſpotic power. The Engliſh had not been uſed to hear their kings ſpeak in ſuch a ſtyle; and indeed the whole of this curious harangue was very ill calculated to ſoothe the animoſity of the people.

The Commons, though highly diſguſted at the doctrines he had broached, granted him a ſupply of one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which would hardly amount to one hundred thouſand pounds, and was not a ſixth part of what was demanded upon the preſent occaſion. They agreed to ſettle the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds per annum upon him, provided he would part with ſome of his prerogatives, and redreſs their grievances. They complained of the king's pretending that his proclamations ought to have the force of law, and of the power arrogated by the High Commiſſion Court; of his having impoſed new duties on certain ſpecies of merchandiſe; and they petitioned that nobody ſhould lend money to the king, or give a reaſon for his refuſal.

Having received ſeveral meſſages, forbidding them to debate his right of laying impoſts, they maintained, that it was their fundamental right to debate on all matters that concerned the ſubject. They afterwards paſſed a bill againſt taxes and impoſitions on merchants and merchandiſe, and another to circumſcribe the eccleſiaſtical prerogative of the crown; but the Houſe of Lords, as is uſual, defended the prerogative, and rejected them both.

The parliament being adjourned to the latter end of the year, the ſubject of the annual ſettlement was then renewed; and though both the King and the Commons were deſirous of bringing it to an iſſue, it miſcarried. The reaſon of this is not known, as the journals of that ſeſſion are loſt: it only appears, that James was highly diſpleaſed with the conduct of the parliament, and ſoon after diſſolved it. This was his firſt parliament, and ſat near ſeven years.

A memo-

A memorable event took place this year, which gave great concern and alarm in England, the murder of Henry IV. of France, by the poinard of the fanatical Ravaillac; who confeſſed that he aſſaſſinated him becauſe he did not make war upon the Hugonots; and affirmed, that his making war againſt the pope was the ſame as making war againſt God; "ſeeing the pope was God, and God the pope." With his death, the glory of the French monarchy ſuffered an eclipſe for ſome years. In England the antipathy to the catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and ſome of the laws which had formerly been enacted in order to keep them in awe, began now to be exerciſed with greater rigour and ſeverity.

A. D. 1611.] The management of Ireland had engaged the attention of James ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne; and by this time he had done more towards the civilization of that country, than all his predeceſſors in four hundred years. To accompliſh this great object, it was neceſſary to aboliſh the Iriſh cuſtoms, and ſubſtitute the Engliſh laws in their place. All minds were quieted by a general indemnity, circuits were eſtabliſhed, juſtice adminiſtered, and diſorders of every kind ſeverely puniſhed. The natives were all declared free citizens; and a ſmall army, ſeverely diſciplined, was maintained there, but paid from England, to prevent the ſoldiers from oppreſſing the country, as in former reigns.

About this time lord Sanquhir, a Scottiſh nobleman, aſſaſſinated one Turner, a fencing-maſter. The Engliſh nation, who were generally diſſatisfied with the Scots, were enraged at this crime; but James appeaſed them, by preferring the ſeverity of law to the interceſſion of the friends and family of the criminal, and he was executed.

A. D. 1612.] Prince Henry dying ſuddenly, diffuſed an univerſal grief throughout the nation. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he already commanded more reſpect than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune nor his youth had ſeduced him into any irregular pleaſures; buſineſs and ambition ſeem to have been his ſole paſſion. His inclinations, as well as exerciſes, were martial. The French ambaſſador, taking leave of him, and aſking his commands for France, found him employed in the exerciſe of the pike: "Tell your king," ſaid he, "in what occupation you left me engaged." He had conceived great affection and eſteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh. It was his ſaying, "Sure no king but my father would keep ſuch a bird in a cage." He ſeems indeed to have nouriſhed too violent a contempt for the king, on account of his pedantry and puſillanimity; and by that means ſtruck in with the reſtleſs and martial ſpirit of the Engliſh nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people.

Some time after the death of the prince, the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth, with Frederic, elector palatine, was finiſhed; but this proved an unhappy event both to the king and his ſon-in-law, and had ill conſequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, truſting to ſo great an alliance, engaged in enterpriſes beyond his ſtrength; and the king, not being able to ſupport him in his diſtreſs, loſt entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and eſteem of his own ſubjects.

The perſons who make the principal figure in the hiſtory of this reign are the royal favourites. About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, had arrived in London. All his natural accompliſhments conſiſted in a handſome perſon, and all his acquired abilities in an eaſy and graceful demeanor. This youth came into England with letters of recommendation to his countryman lord Hay, who, ſenſible that the king's taſte led him to admire not mental, but perſonal accompliſhments, aſſigned Carre the office of preſenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horſe, and his leg was broke in the king's preſence. James approached him with

pity

pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure ſhould be completed. The king, after the tilting, paid him a viſit in his chamber, and frequently returned during his confinement. The ignorance and ſimplicity of the youth confirmed the monarch's affections, and Carre was therefore ſoon conſidered as the moſt riſing man at court. He was knighted, created viſcount Rocheſter, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy counſellor, and was at laſt created earl of Somerſet. The riches heaped upon this minion, even while the king's miniſters could ſcarcely find ſupplies ſufficient for the neceſſary purpoſes of government, were in proportion to his rapid advancement in confidence and honour. The favourite, however, did not immediately become intoxicated with his proſperous fortune; but, ſenſible of his own inexperience, had frequent recourſe to the aſſiſtance and advice of a friend. The perſon whom he chiefly conſulted was Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning, who endeavoured to inſtil into him the principles of prudence and diſcretion; and by following whoſe counſels young Carre had the rare felicity of enjoying the higheſt favour of the prince, without being hated by the people. But that virtue, which remained as yet uncorrupted by the accumulation of riches and honours, proved not equally ſucceſsful againſt the ſuggeſtions of a criminal paſſion.

James, on his acceſſion to the throne of England, manifeſted a particular friendſhip for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, which had ſuffered for their attachment to the cauſe of Mary and to his own. Having reſtored the heir of the latter to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the houſe of Norfolk, he ſought the farther pleaſure of uniting theſe families by the marriage of the earl of Eſſex with lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, until both ſhould attain the age of puberty, that he ſhould go abroad, and paſs ſome time in his travels. He returned into England after four years abſence, and had the pleaſure to find his counteſs univerſally admired for her beauty. But when the earl approached her, and claimed the privileges of a huſband, ſhe diſcovered the ſtrongeſt ſigns of averſion. A criminal correſpondence had commenced between her and Carre, who, by his perſonal accompliſhments and aſſiduities, had obtained the entire aſcendant over her affections. She even reſolved to procure a divorce from Eſſex, and to marry her paramour. When Rocheſter mentioned to Overbury the deſign of the counteſs and himſelf, that faithful counſellor uſed every method to diſſuade him from ſuch an attempt; and went ſo far as to threaten that he would ſeparate himſelf for ever from him, if he could ſo far forget his honour and intereſt as to proſecute the intended marriage. This ſalutary advice proved fatal to Overbury. The counteſs, being made acquainted with his expoſtulations, urged her lover to enter into a project for his ruin. In conſequence of this plan, the king was perſuaded by the favourite to order Overbury on an embaſſy into Ruſſia. Meantime, he earneſtly diſſuaded Overbury from accepting this offer, and took on himſelf the office of ſatisfying the king, if he ſhould be anywiſe diſpleaſed with the refuſal. To the king, however, he treacherouſly aggravated the inſolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which James intended as a ſlight puniſhment for his diſobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower, who was a creature of Rocheſter's, had lately been put into the office for this very purpoſe. He confined Overbury ſo ſtrictly, that no communication of any kind was allowed with him during near ſix months which he lived in priſon.

The lovers now purſued their purpoſe; and the king, forgetting the dignity of his character, entered zealouſly into the project of procuring the divorce; which even Eſſex was now willing to forward by any honourable expedient. After a trial, therefore, ſe-

conded by court influence, the ſentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Eſſex and his counteſs; and the king, ſolicitous leſt the lady ſhould loſe any rank by her new marriage, beſtowed on his favourite the title of earl of Somerſet.

The counteſs of Somerſet, not ſatisfied with the impriſonment of Overbury, ſtimulated her huſband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, to the atrocious deſign of taking him off ſecretly by poiſon. Repeated though ineffectual attempts were made with weak poiſons; but at laſt they adminiſtered one ſo violent, that it ſoon put a period to his life. His interment was performed with the greateſt precipitation, and the full proof of the crime was not brought to light until ſome years after. But Somerſet, conſcious of the murder of his friend, received ſmall conſolation from the ſucceſs of his love, or the utmoſt indulgence of his ſovereign. The graces of his youth gradually diſappeared; the gaiety of his manners forſook him; his obliging behaviour was turned into moroſeneſs; and the king, whoſe affections had been engaged by thoſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, began to withdraw his attachment from a man who no longer contributed to his amuſement.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poiſon, having retired to Fluſhing, had there divulged the ſecret; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he gave orders to Sir Edward Coke, lord chief juſtice, to make the ſtricteſt inveſtigation into the affair. This injunction was executed with an induſtry which unravelled the whole labyrinth of guilt. The inferior criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weſton, and Mrs. Turner, were firſt tried and condemned: Somerſet and his counteſs were likewiſe found guilty; but Northampton's death, a little before, had ſaved him from a like fate. The king beſtowed a pardon on Somerſet and the counteſs, whom, after ſome years' impriſonment, he reſtored to their liberty, and conferred on them a penſion, with which they retired, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and ſorrow. Their guilty loves were turned into the moſt deadly hatred; and they paſſed many years together in the ſame houſe without any intercourſe with each other.

A. D. 1614.] The earl of Saliſbury being dead, he was ſucceeded in the office of treaſurer by the earl of Suffolk, a man of narrow intellects. He had recourſe to a ſcheme projected by Saliſbury to raiſe money by the creation of knights-baronets, a new order of nobility between barons and knights-bachelors, but whoſe title was to be hereditary. Two hundred of theſe patents, at one thouſand pounds each, were ſold. Other methods were reſorted to alſo, to procure money without having recourſe to parliament; each rank of nobility had it's price; privy-ſeals were iſſued to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds; benevolences were demanded to fifty thouſand pounds, beſides ſome monopolies that were eſtabliſhed. The money which had been raiſed by theſe means being all expended, James found himſelf under the neceſſity of calling a new parliament. The miniſtry exerted themſelves to get a majority; but the meaſures of the king were ſo unpopular, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual. Inſtead of granting a ſupply, they reſumed the ſubjects which had been canvaſſed laſt parliament, and exclaimed againſt the king's uſurpation, in pretending to levy new cuſtoms and impoſitions by the mere authority of prerogative. The king, provoked at this inſult, as he deemed it, diſſolved the parliament with the higheſt marks of indignation, and carried his reſentment ſo far as to impriſon ſome of the members, who had glorioufly aſſerted the liberties of their country.

A. D. 1615.] Somerſet's enemies remarked the coolneſs of the king towards him, and ſeized the opportunity of ſupplanting him by means of a new minion. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and was remarkable both for a handſome perſon and elegant manners. At a comedy, he was purpoſely placed by the courtiers in the view of the king,

king, who was immediately caught with his appearance. The king, however, it is ſaid, endeavoured to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handſome ſtranger; and employed every art of diſſimulation to fix him in his ſervice, without ſeeming to deſire it. At laſt, after the intervention of ſome intrigues, Villiers was taken into the king's ſervice, and the office of cup-bearer was beſtowed upon him. The whole court was now thrown into parties between the two minions, the elder of whom exerted all his intereſt to depreſs the riſing favourite: but the diſcovery of Somerſet's guilt in the murder of Overbury put an end to the rivalſhip, and expoſed him to the ruin and infamy which he ſo juſtly merited.

The elevation of Buckingham, after the fall of Somerſet, was rapid. In the courſe of a few years he was created viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, maſter of the King's Bench office, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of counteſs of Buckingham, his brother was created viſcount Purbeck, and a numerous train of needy relations was puſhed up into credit and authority. This profuſion of expence was too great for the moderate revenues of James; and to ſupply them, therefore, the cautionary towns muſt be delivered up to the Dutch. In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when ſhe lent the revolted Hollanders large ſums of money, required of them a proper depoſit, as ſecurity for payment. The Dutch, in compliance with this demand, put into her poſſeſſion the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, Brille, and Ramekins; but James, in his preſent exigence, agreed to evacuate theſe fortreſſes, upon being paid only a third part of the money which was due. But this ſuddenly diſappeared; and Suffolk, the treaſurer, was proſecuted for corrupt practices in the Star-chamber, fined thirty thouſand pounds, and condemned to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure.

A. D. 1616.] James having now ſpent ſome years among his Engliſh ſubjects, in order to acquaint himſelf with the nature of their conſtitution, ſet out in the month of March on a journey to Scotland, in order to accompliſh a ſcheme he had formed for reducing the Scottiſh clergy to a conformity with the church of England. He had ſent over to be inſerted in their canon ſeveral articles referring to the peculiar practice of the Engliſh church, and on his arrival, with much difficulty prevailed on the aſſembly of the Scottiſh kirk to receive them; though this impoſition laid the foundation for thoſe troubles which afterwards brought ruin upon his ſon and ſucceſſor.

At the ſame time that James acted ſo repugnantly to the principles of his Scottiſh ſubjects, he gave great diſguſt to many of thoſe in England, where, during the prevalence of popery, the people were allowed to take their diverſion on Sundays, after the performance of divine ſervice. The king, who was no enemy to the pageantry of the Romiſh church, reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore this cuſtom, and with this view publiſhed a performance entitled "The Book of Sports," recommending all kinds of diverſions after ſermon. He commanded this book to be publicly read in all churches, and ſeverely puniſhed ſuch miniſters as refuſed to comply with his royal injunction.

A. D. 1617.] This year is memorable for an act of cruelty and injuſtice which remains as the blackeſt ſtain upon the memory of James. The brave Sir Walter Raleigh had been confined twelve years in the Tower for a conſpiracy, which had never been proved againſt him; and during his confinement he had written his Hiſtory of the World, and other pieces, which are ſtill held in great eſtimation. In a former voyage to Guiana, Keymis, one of his captains, brought him a piece of ore, which induced him to think there was a rich gold mine near them; he therefore found means to acquaint the king of this circumſtance, and ſolicited a commiſſion to go in ſearch of it. As James wanted

wanted money, this was a favourable opportunity; he therefore gave Raleigh his liberty, but not a pardon; and granted him a commiſſion, directed to "Our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, knight," &c. It was afterwards ſaid the king granted this commiſſion with a condition that he ſhould do no injury to the ſubjects of Spain. A number of adventurers engaged in the enterpriſe, and Raleigh being furniſhed with twelve ſhips, he and captain Keymis ſet ſail. When they arrived at the coaſt of Guiana, as Raleigh was rather indiſpoſed, he ſent Keymis and his ſon with five ſhips up the river Oroonoque. The deſign was evidently betrayed to the Spaniards, for the plan which Raleigh had given to the king got there before him, and in conſequence he met with reſiſtance where he expected little or none, the Spaniards having ſent forces thither to oppoſe him.

Captain Keymis and his party committed no hoſtilities till they were attacked, and young Raleigh was ſhot; when, in revenge, they burnt the town of St. Thomas, but brought away no plunder. Though Keymis pretended that he had ſeen the mine, and gave the firſt account of it to Raleigh, he now began to retract, and though within two hours march of the place, he refuſed, on the moſt abſurd pretences, to take any effectual ſtep towards finding it. He returned therefore to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his ſon's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in deſpair.

When Raleigh returned to England, count Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, complained againſt the expedition, and the king declared that expreſs orders were given to avoid all hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. To ſatisfy the court of Spain, the king, however, reſolved to ſacrifice Raleigh; and it was intended to have commenced a new proſecution againſt him, on account of this voyage. But, from an eagerneſs to defend himſelf, Raleigh wrote an apology; in which he moſt clearly proved, that, as far as diſcovering a country gives *right* to poſſeſſion, this part of Guiana belonged to England, for he had diſcovered and taken poſſeſſion of it, in the name of the Engliſh crown, twenty-three years ago, and before the Spaniards; that his going thither was no breach of treaty; and that the Spaniards were the firſt aggreſſors. The miniſtry were thus convinced, that if they tried him on this ground he muſt be acquitted; and therefore the king availed himſelf of the power he had reſerved in his own hands, and ſigned the warrant for Raleigh's execution upon his former ſentence, contrary to law, juſtice, and humanity.

A. D. 1618.] In vain did Raleigh plead that his commiſſion, wherein the king ſtyled him "our faithful and well-beloved ſervant," was equivalent to a pardon; his fate was inevitable: he therefore collected all his courage, and reſolved to act his part with reſolution. As he felt the edge of the axe, he ſaid, "It is a ſharp remedy, but a ſure one for all ills." His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent, and with the utmoſt indifference he laid his head on the block. This legal murder was committed on the 29th of October.

No meaſure of James's reign gave more general diſſatisfaction than the puniſhment of Raleigh, who was executed upon a ſentence univerſally eſteemed unjuſt, which had been ſo long ſuſpended, and which ſeemed to have been tacitly pardoned by conferring on him a new commiſſion.

There ſoon appeared obvious reaſons for James's complaiſance to the court of Spain in the caſe of Raleigh. This monarch entertained an idea, that in marrying his ſon Charles prince of Wales, any alliance below that of a great ſovereign would be unworthy of him. He was therefore obliged to ſeek either in the court of France or Spain a ſuitable match, and the latter was propoſed to him by Gondemar, the ambaſſador, who made offer of the ſecond daughter of the Spaniſh king. To render the temptation irreſiſtible, he gave hopes of an immenſe fortune,

fortune, which ſhould attend the princeſs. This propoſal was an artifice to prevent James from interfering in the tranſactions of Germany. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, artfully protracted the negociation during five years.

A. D. 1619.] The ſtates of Bohemia, inſpired by the love of civil and religious liberty, were in arms againſt the emperor Ferdinand. Conſcious of their own weakneſs to reſiſt the preparations of the houſe of Auſtria, they caſt their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine. They conſidered, that beſide commanding no deſpicable force of his own, he was ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that theſe princes, moved by the connections of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would intereſt themſelves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatneſs. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they conſidered as elective; and the young palatine, without conſulting either James or Maurice, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in ſupport of his new dominions. But James refuſed to patronize the revolt of ſubjects againſt their ſovereign. He denied to his ſon-in-law the title of king of Bohemia, and forbade him to be prayed for in the churches by that appellation; while the people, who were inveterate againſt the catholics, were on fire to engage in the quarrel.

A. D. 1620.] Affairs now haſtened to a criſis. Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the duke of Bavaria, and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In the Low Countries, Spinola collected a veteran army of thirty thouſand men. This armament was but too ſucceſsful; the news ſoon reached England that Frederic, being defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had invaded the palatinate, and, meeting with no reſiſtance, except from ſome princes of the union, and from one Engliſh regiment of two thouſand four hundred men, commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere, had in a little time reduced the greater part of that principality.

The murmurs againſt the king's inactive diſpoſition were very high; but he flattered himſelf, that after he had formed an intimate connection with the Spaniſh monarch by means of his ſon's marriage, the reſtitution of the palatinate might be procured from the motive only of friendſhip, and perſonal attachment. James was, however, far from openly avowing the meaſures he was determined to purſue.

A. D. 1621.] To engage his people to furniſh him with ſupplies, he tried the expedient of a benevolence. Diſappointed in this, he had recourſe to parliament; and the Commons, on being informed that he had remitted ſeveral conſiderable ſums to the palatine, voted him without a negative two ſubſidies: they followed up that vote with an examination of grievances; which conſiſted of oppreſſive patents for monopolies, that had been granted by the crown. Theſe the king ſeemed ready to redreſs. The Commons then carried their ſcrutiny into other abuſes of importance. The great ſeal was at that time in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created viſcount St. Albans; a man univerſally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for the courteouſneſs and humanity of his behaviour. But his want of economy, and his indulgence to ſervants, had involved him in neceſſities; and, to ſupply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes from the ſuitors in chancery. The Commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the Peers; and Bacon himſelf acknowledged twenty-eight articles of the charge. He was ſentenced to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower during the king's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to ſit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. This ſentence, dreadful to a man of nice ſenſibility to honour, he ſurvived

vived five years; and being releaſed in a little time from the Tower, his genius, yet unbroken, ſupported itſelf amidſt involved circumſtances and a depreſſed ſpirit, and ſhone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weakneſſes to be forgotten or overlooked by poſterity. In conſideration of his great merit, the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his ſentence, and conferred on him a large penſion of eighteen hundred pounds a year.

This diſpoſition of the Houſe to notice complaints, induced the king to adjourn them for ſix months; this interval he employed in aboliſhing patents, and in courting popularity; but the ſtate of affairs in Germany thwarted all his meaſures. Frederic languiſhed in poverty and exile in Holland. The victorious Auſtrian exerciſed every ſpecies of cruelty againſt the profeſſors of the reformed religion throughout the conquered palatinates; and no ſooner were the Commons aſſembled, than they intreated his majeſty to turn his ſword againſt Spain, whoſe arms were the chief ſupport of the catholic intereſt; and that he would enter into no negociation for the marriage of his ſon, but with a proteſtant princeſs.

When the king heard of this remonſtrance, he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he ſharply reproved them for debating things above their capacity; and avowed his intention to puniſh any man whoſe inſolent behaviour there ſhould give occaſion of offence. The Commons were not intimidated, but inflamed, by this violent letter. In a new remonſtrance they inſiſted on their advice; they maintained that they were entitled to interpoſe with their counſel in all matters of government; and if any member abuſed the liberty of ſpeech, it belonged only to the Houſe to inflict a proper cenſure on him.

James, who would never ſuffer his prerogative to be queſtioned, told the Houſe, that their remonſtrance was more like a denunciation of war than an addreſs of dutiful ſubjects, and concluded with theſe memorable words: "And though we cannot allow of your ſtyle, in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wiſhed that ye had ſaid, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us, (for the moſt of them grew from precedents, which ſhews rather a toleration than inheritance;) yet we are pleaſed to give you our royal aſſurance, that as long as you contain yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predeceſſors were, nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative." The Commons determined to oppoſe his pretenſions; and they aſſerted, "that the liberties, franchiſes, privileges, and juriſdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the ſubjects of England."

The king, informed of theſe proceedings, ſent for the journals of the Commons, and tore out this proteſtation; and as the meeting of the Houſe might have proved dangerous after this breach, he prorogued the parliament; and ſoon after diſſolved it by proclamation. The leading members of the Houſe, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips, were committed to the Tower; Selden, Pym, and Mallory, to other priſons; and as the king at that time exerciſed the prerogative of employing any man, even without his conſent, in any branch of public ſervice, he ſent ſome others, as a lighter puniſhment, to execute ſome buſineſs in Ireland.

It was in this parliament that the parties of court and country, or, as they have been ſince termed, Whigs and Tories, were firſt regularly diſtinguiſhed. All thoſe who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, were denominated Tories; thoſe who maintained toleration, and the liberty of the ſubject, were called Whigs. As the court, in order to diſcourage all parliamentary oppoſition, affixed the name of Puritans to it's antagoniſts, the religious Puritans readily adopted the diſtinction of Whig

Whig and Tory, which was ſo advantageous to them, in confounding their cauſe with that of the patriots, or country party.

A. D. 1622.] Reiterated proclamations, prohibiting the diſcourſing on ſtate affairs, had been publiſhed; but ſuch proclamations ſerved rather to inflame the curioſity and reſentment of the public. With domeſtic politics thoſe of the continent were intermingled. Frederic had made vigorous efforts for the recovery of his dominions; of three armies which he had raiſed, two had been defeated; but the third, under count Mansfeldt, though much inferior in force to it's enemies, ſtill maintained the war. James, however, believed no effectual ſervice could be expected from it, and he perſuaded his ſon-in-law to withdraw his forces, and ſubmit to the emperor, and to truſt to the effects of his negociations. Frederic complied with this advice.

How little theſe negociations were reſpected, may be gathered from a pleaſantry generally mentioned. In a farce acted at Bruſſels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news that the palatinate would ſoon be wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria, ſo powerful were the ſuccours which were haſtening to the relief of the elector: the king of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his aſſiſtance an hundred thouſand pickled herrings, the Dutch an hundred thouſand butter-boxes, and the king of England an hundred thouſand ambaſſadors. On other occaſions, James was painted with a ſcabbard, but without a ſword; or with a ſword which nobody could draw, though ſeveral were pulling at it.

But the king's hopes for the reſtitution of the palatinate depended upon his connections with Spain; and if he could effect his ſon's marriage with the Infanta, he doubted not but the other point could be eaſily obtained. To remove all obſtacles, he diſpatched the earl of Briſtol as his ambaſſador to Philip IV. and to conciliate the court of Rome, from which a diſpenſation was requiſite, he iſſued public orders for diſcharging all popiſh recuſants who were impriſoned. This meaſure was highly acceptable both to the courts of Rome and Madrid.

A. D. 1623.] During this impatient ſtate of the court, a project entered the head of Villiers, who had now the entire aſcendant over the king, that the prince ſhould travel in diſguiſe into Spain, and viſit in perſon the object of his affections. Buckingham, who wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whoſe duty it was to have checked ſo wild a ſcheme, gave his conſent to the propoſal. The prince and Buckingham, with a few attendants, ſet out on the expedition, and paſſed undiſcovered through France. They even ventured to a ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards eſpouſed, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. On their arrival at Madrid, they were received by the court of Spain with every demonſtration of reſpect; but Buckingham filled the city with intrigues, jealouſy, and challenges. To complete the meaſure of his follies, he fell in love with the ducheſs of Olivarez, and perſonally inſulted her huſband, who was the prime miniſter. At length Buckingham becoming ſenſible that he had rendered himſelf odious to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the Infanta, reſolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. Having by this time obtained an abſolute dominion over Charles, he ſo effectually worked on the mind of that prince, that, on quitting Madrid, he was firmly determined, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions, to break off the treaty with Spain; and the reſolution was carried into effect ſoon after their arrival in London.

A. D. 1624.] The pecuniary diſtreſs of the king obliged him once more to ſummon a parliament. Buckingham preſented a long narrative to that aſſembly, in which he declared that he had found ſuch artificial dealing in the court of Madrid, as made him conclude all the ſteps taken towards the marriage to be falſe and deceitful; and that the

the reſtitution of the palatinate, which had ever been regarded by the king as an eſſential preliminary, was not ſeriouſly intended. This narrative was vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, who was preſent; and even the king ſeemed tacitly to approve of it. Notwithſtanding it contained many contradictions, the parliament readily admitted it's truth, becauſe ſo agreeable to their own inclinations, as it furniſhed an opportunity for going to war with the papiſts.

Though James was not willing to engage in hoſtile meaſures, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of yielding to parliament; and after touching on his own debts, he demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies and twelve fifteenths to commence the war. This was a very large ſum, and as he knew they had no confidence in his application of it, he offered that the money voted ſhould be paid to a committee of parliament, and ſhould be iſſued by them, without being intruſted to his management. The Commons accepted of this conceſſion, but only voted half the ſum demanded, reſolving to continue their ſupplies as public exigencies required; but took no notice of the king's complaints about his own neceſſities.

The preſent good agreement between the king and parliament was embraced as a happy opportunity, to paſs a bill againſt monopolies. This bill was conceived in ſuch terms as to render it declaratory; all monopolies were condemned, as contrary to law. It was there ſuppoſed, that every ſubject of England had power to diſpoſe of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow ſubjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magiſtrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could reſtrain that unlimited freedom. To an addreſs, craving the ſevere execution of the laws againſt catholics, James had given a gracious anſwer; but he ſoon after prorogued the parliament, and let fall ſome hints, though in gentle terms, of the ſenſe which he entertained of their unkindneſs, in not ſupplying his neceſſities.

About this time advice was received of a cruel tragedy, acted at Amboyna in the Eaſt Indies, in February 1673. A treaty was concluded in 1619 between England and the United Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that in regard to the great trouble and coſt pretended to have been beſtowed by the Dutch in gaining the trade to the Molucca Iſlands, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Dutch ſhould enjoy two-thirds of that trade, and the Engliſh one-third. In conſequence of this agreement Engliſh factories were erected at the Moluccas, at Banda, and at Amboyna: the latter is the principal place in the Eaſt Indies where nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, and other ſpices grow. Here the Engliſh had been ſettled about two years; when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their ſhare of the ſpice trade, pretended a plot was formed between the Engliſh and the natives, to take poſſeſſion of the Dutch fort at Amboyna; whereupon the Engliſh were tortured by the Dutch, both with fire and water, in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; and on February the 27th captain Gabriel Towerſon, and nine other Engliſhmen, with nine Japaneſe, and one Portugueſe, were ignominiouſly executed for this pretended conſpiracy, though they proteſted their innocency to the laſt. For this violent injury no reparation was obtained till the year 1654, when Cromwell made the Dutch pay three hundred thouſand pounds upon that account.

James had been compelled, by the combination of his people, his parliament, his ſon, and his favourite, to embrace meaſures to which he entertained a ſettled averſion. Though he diſſembled his reſentment, he began to eſtrange himſelf from Buckingham, to whom he aſcribed all thoſe violent counſels; and he impatiently longed for the arrival of Briſtol, whoſe wiſdom he reſpected; but it was of the greateſt conſequence to Buckingham to keep the earl at a diſtance both from the king and parliament. He applied therefore to James, whoſe weakneſs and

and diſſimulation were now become abſolutely incurable. A warrant for ſending Briſtol to the Tower was iſſued immediately upon his arrival in England; and though he was ſoon releaſed from confinement, yet orders were carried him from the king, to retire to his country ſeat, and to abſtain from all attendance in parliament. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter. On all occaſions he proteſted his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miſcarriage. Buckingham, and at his inſtigation the prince, declared that they would be reconciled to Briſtol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct; but the ſpirited nobleman, jealous of his honour, refuſed to buy favour at ſo high a price. The Spaniſh ambaſſador had alſo made an attempt to open the eyes of James, by ſlipping into his hand a paper, in which he expoſed the intrigues of Buckingham, but without effect.

Though James might have known by experience the inſurmountable antipathy of the Engliſh againſt all alliance with catholics, he ſtill perſevered in his opinion, that his ſon would be degraded by marrying a princeſs of leſs than royal extraction. He therefore negociated a match between Charles and Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, which was ſoon brought to a concluſion. One article of the marriage treaty ſtipulated, that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, ſhould belong to the mother; a ſtipulation which eventually proved the ruin of that family.

War being reſolved upon againſt Spain and the emperor, and the twelve years truce between Holland and Spain having expired, ſix thouſand men were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. But the Engliſh nation appeared bent on recovering the palatinate; a ſtate lying in the midſt of Germany, and cut off from all communication with England. For this purpoſe twelve thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, were embarked under count Mansfeldt; but ſo ill had every thing been concerted, that they were neither permitted to land at Calais nor Middleburgh. The men having been ſo long cooped up in narrow veſſels, were infected with a peſtilential diſorder; half of the army died while on board, and the other half were too ſmall a body to march into the palatinate. Thus ended this ill-fated and fruitleſs expedition.

A. D. 1625.] Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the conſtitution of James is uncertain; but he was ſoon after, in the ſpring, ſeized with a tertian ague. After ſome fits he found himſelf extremely weakened, and ſent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to perſevere in the proteſtant religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the palatine. He then prepared himſelf with decency and courage to meet his end, and expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign over England of twenty-two years.

The character of this prince has been variouſly repreſented. Of learning and capacity he doubtleſs poſſeſſed a great ſhare; but the former was tainted with pedantry, and the latter was better adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms. He is generally acknowledged to have been endued with many virtues; but theſe were, for the moſt part, carried to a degree beyond the ſtandard of purity; in conſequence of which his generoſity bordered on profuſion, his pacific diſpoſition on puſillanimity, his wiſdom on cunning, and his friendſhip on boyiſh fondneſs. Though on ſome occaſions he ſacrificed to his love of peace what ſome high ſpirits would call *the honour of the country*, yet to that diſpoſition the nation was indebted for the increaſe of it's commerce, an influx of wealth, and the extenſion of civil liberty.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March, 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age. Of ſix children born to him by the queen, he left only one ſon, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter,

Elizabeth, twenty-nine years of age, married to the elector palatine.

The number of temporal peers on the acceſſion of James was ſeventy-eight, but at his demiſe they were ninety-ſeven; he muſt therefore have created nineteen new peerages, beſides thoſe that expired. In the firſt parliament of this reign, the Houſe of Commons conſiſted of four hundred and ſixty-ſeven members, but they were augmented to four hundred and ninety four, therefore James muſt have created ten new boroughs; and four ancient boroughs, which had neglected to ſend repreſentatives, now revived their charter.

The king's revenue, as it ſtood in 1617, is thus ſtated: of crown lands eighty thouſand pounds a year; by cuſtoms and a new impoſition near an hundred and ninety thouſand pounds; by wards and other branches of revenue, beſides purveyance, an hundred and eighty thouſand pounds; the whole amounting to four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. The king's ordinary diſburſements, by the ſame account, are ſaid to exceed this ſum thirty-ſix thouſand pounds. All the extraordinary ſums which James had raiſed by ſubſidies, loans, ſale of lands, ſale of the title of baronet, money paid by the States and by the king of France, benevolences, &c. were in the whole about two millions two hundred thouſand pounds; of which the ſale of lands afforded ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds. The extraordinary diſburſements of the king amounted to two millions, beſides above four hundred thouſand pounds given in preſents.

The militia, amounting to an hundred and ſixty thouſand men, was the ſole defence of the kingdom. The city of London procured officers who had ſerved abroad to diſcipline their trained bands; and all the counties were emulous of the capital in training their militia. By this means the public was entirely free from the danger and expence of a ſtanding army.

In five years preceding 1623 James built ten new ſhips, and expended fifty thouſand pounds a year on the fleet, beſides the value of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds in the timber which he annually gave from the royal foreſts. The largeſt ſhip that had ever come from the Engliſh docks was built during this reign. She was only fourteen hundred tons, and carried ſixty-four guns. The merchant ſhips, in caſes of neceſſity, were converted into ſhips of war.

This reign is memorable for the commencement of the Engliſh colonies in America. That fine coaſt reaching from St. Auguſtine to Cape Breton, which had been neglected by the Spaniards, was gradually peopled from England. A colony went over to Virginia in 1606, and began a ſettlement; and a company, erected by patent for that purpoſe in London and Briſtol, under the name of the Virginia Company, took care to ſupply it with yearly recruits of proviſions, utenſils, and new inhabitants. About 1609 Argal diſcovered a more direct and ſhorter paſſage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had firſt directed their courſe ſouthwards to the tropic, ſailed weſtwards by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the Engliſh ſettlements. The ſame year five hundred perſons, under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ſhip, meeting with a tempeſt, was driven into the Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a ſettlement in thoſe iſlands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the Engliſh colonies; but notwithſtanding all his care, ſeconded by ſupplies from James, and by money raiſed from the firſt lottery ever known in the kingdom, ſuch difficulties attended the ſettlement of theſe countries, that in 1614 there were not alive more than four hundred men of all that had been ſent thither. After ſupplying themſelves with proviſions more immediately neceſſary for the ſupport of life, the new planters began the cultivating of tobacco; and James, notwithſtanding his antipathy to that drug, which he affirmed to be pernicious to men's morals as well as their health, gave them permiſſion to enter it in England; and he inhibited by proclamation

mation all importation of it from Spain. By degrees new colonies were eſtabliſhed in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they ſettled, leaving that of Virginia to the province firſt planted. For the better encouragement of new ſettlers in Nova Scotia, a patent was granted in 1662, for advancing a number of perſons to the hereditary dignity of baronets of Nova Scotia. The iſland of Barbadoes was alſo planted in this reign. In this reign alſo Sir Hugh Middleton, a private citizen of London, ſupplied a part of the city with water, conveyed in an aqueduct from Ware in Hertfordſhire, now known by the name of the New River.

Fifteenths, tenths, and ſubſidies having frequently been mentioned, ſome account of them may be acceptable to the reader. The tax called a fifteenth originally correſponded to the name, and was the value of a fifteenth part of the moveables; but in the reign of Edward III. a valuation being made, which was afterwards adhered to, each town paid a particular ſum, aſſeſſed by the inhabitants themſelves. In corporate towns this was called a tenth, becauſe it amounted to a tenth of their moveables; but both together were frequently called a fifteenth, when the produce of the whole was mentioned, and amounted to about twenty-nine thouſand pounds. A ſubſidy was not invariable, like a fifteenth; in the eighth of Elizabeth a ſubſidy amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; in the fortieth of the ſame reign it was not above ſeventy-eight thouſand; it afterwards fell to ſeventy thouſand, and was continually decreaſing. This was owing to the method of levying it. One ſubſidy was originally given for four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight-pence on moveables, throughout the counties; which, when the nation was enriched by trade, would have amounted to a conſiderable tax, had it been ſtrictly levied; but, during the reign of James, the twentieth part of that ſum was not paid. The tax was ſo far perſonal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he poſſeſſed eſtates in other counties; the aſſeſſor forming a looſe eſtimation of his property, and rating him accordingly. However, to preſerve ſome rule in the eſtimation, it appears to have been the practice to keep an eye to former aſſeſſments, and to rate every man according to his anceſtors, or according to what men of ſuch eſtimated property were accuſtomed to pay. This was a ſufficient reaſon why ſubſidies could not increaſe, notwithſtanding the increaſe of money, and the riſe of rents. In ſhort, ſubſidies at laſt became ſo unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change them into a land-tax.

CHAPTER V.

Acceſſion of Charles I.—Impeachment of Buckingham—War with France—Petition of Rights—Buckingham's Death—Hampden's Trial—Diſcontents in Scotland—Meeting of the Long Parliament—Impeachment of Strafford and Laud—Triennial Bill—High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber aboliſhed—Civil War—King's Trial and Execution, &c. &c.

THE great progreſs of knowledge, and the diſputes about religion, which took place under the reign of Elizabeth, had produced great change in the conſtitution, by increaſing the power of the Commons. Neither James nor Charles appear to have been ſenſible of this change, or that many of the prerogatives of the king, being founded on the ignorance of the people, muſt neceſſarily be reduced, as that ignorance ſubſided. They thought themſelves poſſeſſed of an imperiſhable right to all the powers which their predeceſſors

predeceſſors had exerciſed, without conſidering whether thoſe powers were obtained by violence or conſent, or whether they were calculated for the benefit of the ſovereign or the people.

But the oppoſite characters of theſe two princes produced very different effects. The puſillanimity of James, in avoiding wars and great difficulties, and the facility with which he diſcarded his favourites when he found them obnoxious to the people, produced all the tranquillity of his reign; whereas the firmneſs of Charles, in encountering any danger to ſecure the prerogative, and his conſtancy in ſupporting thoſe to whom he was attached, without appreciating their merits, was the cauſe of all his and the public misfortunes.

A. D. 1625.] Charles, ſoon after his acceſſion, ſent for his conſort, the princeſs Henrietta Maria of France, and they were married the day after her arrival. As there are ſeldom any prejudices entertained againſt a new ſovereign, ſo Charles aſcended the throne with a degree of popularity, which if he had been careful to preſerve, the parliament would not have laid thoſe ſevere reſtraints upon his power which produced the fatal quarrel. But when the people ſaw that he retained the ſame counſellors as his father, they had every reaſon to fear he would purſue the ſame arbitrary meaſures. His favourite, the weak and worthleſs duke of Buckingham, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the inconſtancy of James, had affected to join the puritans; but being ſecure of the confidence of Charles, he abandoned that party, and rather became their perſecutor: this, in return, expoſed him to their hatred and reſentment. In private life, his character was notoriouſly bad before he was inveſted with public authority, and his incapacity for the high offices he ſuſtained manifeſted itſelf in all his conduct after his acceſſion to power. Lord Clarendon, and other cotemporary writers, have related a ſtory of his father's ghoſt appearing to an old ſervant of the family, and commanding him to tell his ſon, that if he did not alter his courſe of life, ſome great miſchief would ſoon happen to him. This is thought to have been a trick of the duke's mother, in order to reclaim him; and it proves, that even in her opinion his conduct was very blameable.

The parliament were aſſembled on the 18th of June; and after mentioning ſome grievances that were not redreſſed, they demanded an account of the laſt money granted for the recovery of the palatinate; but the plague raging at this time in London, they petitioned for a receſs: however, as they were unwilling totally to withhold a ſupply from the young king, they granted him two ſubſidies, or about one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; they were then adjourned till the firſt of Auguſt, to meet at Oxford.

But before the next meeting of parliament, an incident tranſpired which inflamed the jealouſy and reſentment of the Engliſh. James, a little before his death, had engaged to furniſh the French with one ſhip of war and ſeven armed merchantmen, to be employed againſt the Genoeſe; but Buckingham prevailed upon Charles to lend them to act againſt the proteſtants at Rochelle. When this ſquadron arrived at Dieppe, their deſtination was diſcovered by the ſailors, who mutinied; and Pennington, the admiral, declared, "that he would rather be hanged in England for diſobedience, than fight againſt his brother proteſtants in France:" accordingly he returned to the Downs. Buckingham, the lord admiral, ſent them new orders to return to Dieppe; but as he was ſenſible that authority alone was not ſufficient to engage the commanders in an action ſo repugnant to honour and conſcience, a rumour was ſpread, that a peace had been concluded between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. On their return to Dieppe, they found they had been deceived. The captains of the merchantmen maintained, that the king had no right to diſpoſe of their property, and prepared to ſail away; but Pennington fired to bring them to; Sir Ferdinando Gorges only eſcaped with his ſhip, and returned to England; the reſt were all delivered to the French. However, the officers

officers and ſeamen, notwithſtanding the great offers made them, immediately deſerted. When the parliament came afterwards to examine Pennington's papers, they found a letter from the king, ſigned *Charles Rex*, "requiring him to diſpoſe of thoſe ſhips as he ſhould be directed by the *French king*, and to ſink or fire ſuch as ſhould refuſe to obey thoſe orders."

When the parliament met at Oxford, the king told them the neceſſity he was under for money. His ſpeech occaſioned conſiderable debates in the Houſe. Sir Edward Coke obſerved, "that if the king's neceſſities aroſe from improvidence, (which he proved in many inſtances,) the parliament had no cauſe to give." He then proceeded to point out the errors of adminiſtration, the vaſt increaſe of penſions, and the immoderate luxury of the courtiers. The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, and the redreſs of grievances; and to invite the duke of Buckingham to anſwer the objections brought againſt him, before they would vote any ſupplies. Charles, finding he had nothing to expect from the parliament, took advantage of the plague, which appeared at Oxford, and diſſolved them.

Before the parliament was diſſolved, they ſummoned Montague, one of the king's chaplains, to appear at their bar, and anſwer for a book which he had written in defence of ſome Roman catholic tenets. The book was condemned, and the author was bound in two thouſand pounds ſurety to appear at the next ſummons. Notwithſtanding this book was condemned by the parliament, as well as the general voice of the people, it met with great applauſe at court, and Montague was inſtantly rewarded with the biſhopric of Chicheſter, and ſoon after tranſlated to Norwich. By this the king manifeſted his contempt for the opinion of parliament.

It has often been urged, that in the beginning of this reign there could be few grievances to complain of; but when we conſider that the king was guided by the counſels of his worthleſs favourite the duke of Buckingham, whoſe diſſolute manners, and abuſe of the public money, was manifeſt to all the nation; that the king had married a Roman catholic princeſs, and ſhe had a chapel at Somerſet Houſe, where a convent was eſtabliſhed for Capuchin friars; that the king ſent an order to the lord keeper for granting full liberty and toleration to the papiſts, notwithſtanding the laws againſt them; that upon ſome of the privy council adviſing him againſt this illegal ſtep, he replied, "that it was his will thoſe laws ſhould all ſtand diſcharged," while the other diſſenters lay under grievous reſtrictions; and as the parliament received no ſatisfactory anſwer reſpecting theſe matters, they determined to exerciſe the only real power with which the conſtitution has inveſted them, that of withholding the ſupplies. It has alſo been ſaid, that the parliament knew the wants of government were real and preſſing, the king having entered into a war againſt Auſtria with their approbation; and therefore their oppoſition to him was ill-timed: but what time could be more fit to withhold ſupplies, than when they ſaw a profligate miniſter going to be intruſted with them, and with the conduct of a war, for which he had neither experience nor abilities? It is only when money is much wanted, that withholding it can produce any effect; and if the public ſervice was injured by it, the fault was evidently in the king, who ought to have immediately changed his miniſter at the requeſt of ſo reſpectable a body. Even if we admit that Charles had a right to chooſe his own miniſters, the parliament are bound by their duty to the nation to withhold the ſupplies, if they ſee reaſon to refuſe their confidence; and, in any caſe, it ill became a young inexperienced king to prefer his own judgment to that of the parliament, eſpecially as their requeſts were ſo very moderate. They interfered with no prerogative; as the guardians of the public purſe, they inquired after the application of money; and only deſired him to remove the duke of Buckingham from his counſels, and continue the reſtrictions which had been made for the ſecurity of the ſtate

againſt papiſts, whoſe cruelty under Mary, and conſpiracies under Elizabeth and James, were yet recent in their memories.

His compliance in theſe reſpects would have prevented the neceſſity which afterwards appeared of diminiſhing his prerogatives, and the ſupplies would readily have been granted; but Charles moſt abſurdly thought, that the exerciſe of a power which was given expreſsly to check the conduct of the ſovereign, was an incroachment upon his authority. If the controul of the public purſe is not to be exerciſed, why was it given? And who is to judge when the exerciſe of this power becomes neceſſary? Surely not the king, or his miniſters.

Notwithſtanding the groſs miſmanagement of Buckingham, Charles was ſo obſtinate, that he rather choſe to diſſolve the parliament, without having obtained any grant of money, than part with this worthleſs minion. To ſupply the want of parliamentary aids, he iſſued privy-ſeals for borrowing money from his ſubjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a ſmall compenſation for the diſguſt which it occaſioned: by means, however, of that ſupply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet. It conſiſted of eighty veſſels, great and ſmall; and carried on board an army of ten thouſand men. Sir Edward Cecil, lately created viſcount Wimbleton, was intruſted with the command. He ſailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spaniſh ſhips of great value. He either neglected to attack theſe ſhips, or attempted it prepoſterouſly. The army was landed, and a fort taken; but the undiſciplined ſoldiers, finding ſtore of wine, could not be reſtrained from the utmoſt exceſſes. Farther ſtay appearing fruitleſs, they were re-embarked; and the fleet put to ſea, with the intention of intercepting the Spaniſh galleons: but the plague having ſeized the ſeamen and ſoldiers, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and return to England.

A. D. 1626.] This enterpriſe having failed, Charles was obliged again to have recourſe to a parliament; but though he named four popular leaders, Coke, Philips, Wentworth, and Seymour, ſheriffs for counties, to prevent their being elected, patriots were not wanting, and the new Houſe of Commons adopted the ſentiments of their predeceſſors. When the king laid before the Houſe his neceſſities, and aſked for ſupply, they immediately voted him three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added one ſubſidy more: but the ſupply was *only voted* by the Commons; the paſſing of that vote into a law was reſerved till the end of the ſeſſion; as they were determined to ſee whether he was willing to redreſs the public grievances, before they entruſted him with the money.

The duke of Buckingham, long obnoxious to the public, became every day more unpopular. The earl of Briſtol having taken his ſeat in the Houſe, accuſed that haughty favourite of treaſon, and publiſhed a clear account of the negociation with the court of Spain and the houſe of Auſtria. The Commons accuſed the duke of having united many offices in his perſon; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the ſeas, inſomuch that many merchant ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ſhips to the French king, in order to ſerve againſt the Hugonots; of being employed in the ſale of honours and offices; of accepting extenſive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; of adminiſtering phyſic to the late king, without acquainting his phyſicians; of extorting ten thouſand pounds from the Eaſt India Company; and of confiſcating ſome goods belonging to ſome French merchants, under pretence of their being the property of Spaniards.

While the Commons were uſing every means to bring Buckingham to juſtice, the king loſt no opportunity of convincing them how firmly he was attached to that miniſter. The earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, dying about this time, Buckingham, though under impeachment, was yet, by means of court intereſt, choſen

in

in his place. The Commons loudly complained of this affront; and, the more to enrage them, the king himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election. The lord keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the House not to meddle with his minister and servant Buckingham; ordering them, at the same time, to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer. Buckingham, in a speech, a few days after, endeavoured to mollify and explain away these harsh commands; but they failed not to leave behind them a disagreeable impression. So regardless now was the king of conciliating the Commons, that he informed them, if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try "new counsels." But what farther exasperated the Commons was, that two of their members, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke, were thrown into prison. The Commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther in business until they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alledged, as the reason of this measure, certain seditious expressions which those members were said to have used in their accusation of the duke; but, upon inquiry, it appeared that no such expressions had been used. The members, however, were released. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the House of Lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed, by the king. Thus the two Houses, having refused to answer the intentions of the court, without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and therefore resolved to dissolve the parliament. The Lords endeavoured to dissuade him from it, but in vain; and when they petitioned him to allow the parliament to sit some time longer, he hastily replied, "No, not for a moment."

The Commons had just prepared a remonstrance, but they had not time to deliver it before they were dissolved. It began with a recapitulation of the reasons why the present and former parliament had been in a manner abortive, and threw the whole blame upon Buckingham. They complain of his having appointed Sir Edward Coke and others for sheriffs, to disqualify them from serving in parliament; and sending Mr. Glanville abroad, as secretary to the fleet, for the same purpose. They declared that it was their resolution to have supported his majesty in the prosecution of the war, had not all their intentions been blasted by the enormities of Buckingham, whose crimes they repeat. They complain of the violation of their privileges, in the imprisonment of their members; of the protection granted to Montague, in opposition to the sense of parliament; of war against Spain without declaration; of sending ships to be employed against the French protestants; of dispensing with the laws against papists in an arbitrary manner; of the total misapplication of money; and many other enormities, too tedious to relate. They then profess the greatest respect and attachment to the king's person, and beg of him to remove Buckingham from his counsels. "For," say they, "we protest to your majesty, and to the whole world, that until this person be removed from intermeddling in the great affairs of state, we are out of hope of any good success; and do fear, that whatever money we can or shall give, will, through his mismanagement, be turned rather to the hurt and prejudice of this your majesty's kingdom, than otherwise; as by lamentable experience we have found in those large supplies we have formerly and lately given: but no sooner shall we receive redress and relief in this, which of all others is the most insupportable grievance, but we shall forthwith proceed to accomplish your majesty's own desire for supply; and likewise, with all chearfulness, apply ourselves to the perfecting of divers other great things, such as we think

think no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the ſtability, wealth, ſtrength, and honour of this your kingdom, and the ſupport of your friends and allies abroad; and we doubt not but, through God's bleſſing, as you are the beſt, ſo ſhall you be the beſt beloved, and the greateſt monarch, that ever ſat on the royal throne of this kingdom."

This remonſtrance was to have been preſented to the king; but as the parliament were prevented from ſo doing by their haſty diſſolution, they diſperſed it among the people, in juſtification of their own conduct. Shortly after the king publiſhed a declaration of his reaſons for diſſolving the parliament; but as the facts and arguments contained in the remonſtrance were too ſtrong to be refuted, he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all perſons who had any copies of it to burn it, on pain of his diſpleaſure.

The "new counſels," which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. Inſtead of making peace with Spain, and thus retrenching his expences, ſince he could not increaſe his revenues, he reſolved to proſecute the war, and for this purpoſe to keep up a ſtanding army. Perhaps he alſo entertained a deſign of reſtraining the liberty of his ſubjects, and governing without parliaments, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But at preſent his forces were new levied, ill paid, and worſe diſciplined; ſo that the militia of the country, when led out againſt him, would be far his ſuperiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commiſſion was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for diſpenſing with the penal laws enacted againſt them. He borrowed a ſum of money from the nobility, whoſe contributions came in but ſlowly; and from the city he required a loan of an hundred thouſand pounds; but the citizens, after many evaſions, gave him at laſt a flat refuſal. The greateſt ſtretch of his power, however, was in the levying of ſhip-money. In order to equip a fleet, each of the maritime towns was required, with the aſſiſtance of the adjacent counties, to arm ſo many veſſels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This was the revival of a tax which had once been impoſed by Elizabeth. But the extortions of the miniſtry did not reſt here; a general loan was demanded: thoſe who refuſed it were ſummoned before the council; and, upon perſiſting in a refuſal, were put into confinement. The will of the monarch was obeyed with reluctance; and moſt of thoſe who refuſed to lend their money being thrown into priſon, patiently ſubmitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their releaſe. Five perſons alone undertook, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand their releaſement, by the laws of their country. The names of theſe patriots were, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edward Hampden. No particular cauſe was aſſigned of their commitment. The ſpecial command of the king and council was pleaded; and it was affirmed that by law this was not ſufficient reaſon for refuſing bail or releaſement to the priſoners.

A. D. 1627.] The queſtion was brought to a ſolemn trial before the King's Bench; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the iſſue of ſo important a cauſe. By the debates on this ſubject it appeared, that perſonal liberty had been ſecured by no leſs than ſix different ſtatutes, and an article of the Great Charter: it alſo appeared that, in turbulent times, the princes infringed upon thoſe laws; and of this many precedents were produced. But no precedent can juſtify a direct violation of the law; if it could, all law may be ſuperſeded, and become a nullity; for on the ground of precedent there is no act of tyranny, however groſs, that may not be exerciſed; but as theſe ſtatutes were made expreſsly to protect the ſubject againſt theſe violences, the court was only more criminal to urge their precedents, and on the authority of them to purſue ſuch violent meaſures. As it was legal, therefore, that theſe five gentlemen ſhould plead the ſtatute,

tute, by which they might demand bail; ſo it was expedient in the court to remand them to priſon, without determining on the neceſſity of taking bail for the preſent. Sir Randolf Crew, chief juſtice, had been diſplaced, as unfit for the purpoſes of the court; and Sir Nicholas Hyde, eſteemed more obſequious, had obtained that office; by his direction the judges remanded the gentlemen to priſon, and refuſed the bail which was offered.

But this was not the only injury of which the people had reaſon to complain. The army which had made the fruitleſs expedition to Cadiz was diſperſed throughout the kingdom, and money was levied upon the counties for the payment of their quarters. The ſoldiers were billeted upon private houſes, contrary to cuſtom; and thoſe who had refuſed or delayed the loan, were ſure to be loaded with a great number of theſe diſorderly gueſts. Many who had ſhewn their diſapprobation of the meaſures of government were preſſed into the ſervice, and enliſted in the fleet or army. Military law, with all it's terrors, was ſuſpended over the heads of the aſtoniſhed people, on account of the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers.

But force was not the only means employed by Charles to extort money from the people. The clergy were inſtructed to recommend the doctrines of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance* from the pulpit. Manwaring, one of the king's chaplains, aſſerted, "that the king is not bound to obſerve the laws of the realm concerning the ſubjects' *rights* and *liberties*; and that his royal will, in impoſing taxes without conſent of parliament, binds his ſubjects, on pain of damnation." Abbott, archbiſhop of Canterbury, for refuſing to licenſe this ſermon, was ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his office, and confined to his country houſe.

The arms of the allies on the continent, in the mean time, had been unſucceſsful againſt the emperor; and a ſquadron of ſhips ſent by Charles to block up the mouth of the Elbe, to prevent the Spaniards from a ſupply of naval ſtores from Germany, proved ineffectual; the Baltic being open, they were ſupplied from Lubeck.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and ſome of the moſt powerful foreign ſtates, it was not without amazement that all men ſaw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the moſt intimate alliance. It was the misfortune of Charles to be implicitly governed by the counſels of Buckingham, and to him the war with France is univerſally aſcribed. When Charles married by proxy the princeſs Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been ſent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and to conduct the new queen into England. All hiſtorians agree, that on this occaſion he had the boldneſs to pay his addreſſes to the queen of France, who ſeems to have encouraged his preſumption; in a ſecret viſit to her, he was diſmiſſed with a reproof which favoured more of kindneſs than of anger. Information of this correſpondence was ſoon carried to Richelieu. The vigilance of that miniſter was here farther rouſed by jealouſy. He, too, either from vanity or politics, had ventured to pay his addreſſes to the queen, and was determined to defeat the amorous projects of his rival. When the duke was making preparations for a new embaſſy to Paris, a meſſage was ſent him from Louis, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey. In a romantic paſſion, he ſwore that he would ſee the queen, in ſpite of all the power of France; and from that moment he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom. He firſt took advantage of ſome quarrels excited by the queen of England's attendants; and perſuaded Charles to diſmiſs at once all her French attendants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. He encouraged the Engliſh ſhips of war and privateers to ſeize veſſels belonging to French merchants; and theſe he forthwith condemned as prizes, by a ſentence of the court of Admiralty. But finding that all theſe injuries produced only remonſtrances and embaſſies, or at moſt repriſals, on the part of France, he reſolved at once to under-

take a military expedition againſt that kingdom; and Charles was taught to hope that hoſtilities with France would be the ſureſt means of producing unanimity at home.

Accordingly a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of France, and both of them entruſted to the command of Buckingham, who was totally unacquainted both with land and ſea ſervice. The fleet appeared before Rochelle, a maritime town in France, which had long enjoyed it's privileges independent of the French king, but which had for ſome years embraced the reformed religion, and was beſieged by a formidable army. This expedition proved as unfortunate as that to the coaſt of Spain. The duke's meaſures were ſo ill concerted, that the inhabitants, though in want of ſuccours, ſhut their gates, and refuſed to admit allies of whoſe coming they were not previouſly informed: neither could they fail to recollect that an Engliſh ſquadron had been employed againſt them before; and they might think the intentions of this was hoſtile. Inſtead of attacking the iſland of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceleſs, he bent his courſe to the iſle of Rhé, which was garriſoned and well fortified. While he was there endeavouring to ſtarve out the garriſon of St. Martin's Caſtle, the French landed their forces privately on another part of the iſland; ſo that Buckingham was obliged to retreat, but with ſuch precipitation, that two-thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could re-embark. Himſelf, however, was the laſt man of the whole army that quitted the ſhore; but this mark of courage proved no compenſation for the extreme imprudence of his conduct.

A. D. 1628.] This ill-concerted enterpriſe helped to mature the diſcontents of the Engliſh. Their liberties, they ſaw, were raviſhed from them, illegal taxes were extorted, and their military honours ſtained. Theſe ills were aſcribed to the obſtinacy of Charles, in adhering to the counſels of Buckingham, yet under theſe unfavourable circumſtances they reſolved to aſſemble a parliament. The abſolute neceſſity of ſupply, it was hoped, would engage the Commons to forget all paſt injuries; but, when they aſſembled, they appeared to be men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed of ſuch riches, that their property was computed to ſurpaſs three times that of the Houſe of Peers: they were deputed by boroughs and counties, inflamed all of them by the late violations of liberty; yet they entered on their buſineſs with temper and decorum; and in ſtating the grievances the nation laboured under, their language was decent and nervous.

When the king opened the parliament, he told them, if they ſhould refuſe to contribute what was neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his conſcience, uſe thoſe other means which God had put into his hands, in order to ſave that which the folly of ſome particular perſons would otherwiſe endanger. "Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I ſcorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has moſt care of your preſervation and proſperity." The Commons, however, were not intimidated by this declaration of the king, though it was afterwards enforced by the lord keeper. They boldly inveighed againſt his late arbitrary meaſures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without the conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, billeting ſoldiers, martial laws; and againſt all theſe grievances they inſiſted that a perpetual remedy ſhould be provided. Theſe ſentiments were unanimouſly embraced by the whole houſe. Even the court-party pretended not to plead, in defence of the late meaſures, any thing but the neceſſity to which the king had been reduced by the obſtinacy of the two former parliaments. A vote, therefore, was paſſed, without oppoſition, againſt arbitrary impriſonments and forced loans.

The ſpirit of liberty having obtained ſome ſatisfaction by this declaration, the reiterated meſſages of the king, who preſſed for ſupplies, were received with greater temper.

Five

Five subsidies were voted him, with which he declared himself well satisfied. But the supply, though voted, was not as yet passed into a law; and the Commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers to their rights and privileges, so lately violated. They were sensible that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former measures, had not of itself sufficient authority to secure the constitution against future encroachments, and therefore they appointed a committee to prepare the model of so important a law. This they resolved to call a Petition of Right; as implying that it contained a confirmation and explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. Charles, however, considered this bill as the most violent encroachment on his prerogative, and used, at first, every method to obstruct it's progress. When he found that nothing but his assent would satisfy the House, he gave it; but in so ambiguous a manner, as left him still in the possession of his former power. The Commons were preparing a remonstrance against Buckingham; when the king, to avoid their indignation, and still more to screen his favourite, thought proper to give them full satisfaction. He came therefore to the House of Peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "Soit droit fait come il est desiré," ---"Let it be law as is desired," gave the Petition of Right all the sanction that was necessary to pass it into a law. The acclamations with which the House resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the nation, sufficiently testified how much this petition was the favourite object of the people.

This petition, as agreed to by both Houses, stood as follows.

I. Humbly shew unto our sovereign lord the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in parliament assembled, that whereas it is delared and enacted, by a statute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called "Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo," that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs, in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament, held in the 25th year of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that from henceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none shall be charged with any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or by such like charge; by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

II. Yet, nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have been issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and in other places; and others have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

III. And whereas also, by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his

his free cuſtoms, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner deſtroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, that no man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever that he be, ſhould be put out of his land or tenement, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to anſwer by due proceſs of law.

V. Nevertheleſs, againſt the tenour of the ſaid ſtatutes, and others the good laws and ſtatutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your ſubjects have of late been impriſoned without any cauſe ſhewed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before a juſtice, by your majeſty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court ſhould order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cauſes of their detainer, no cauſe was certified, but that they were detained by your majeſty's ſpecial command, ſignified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to their ſeveral priſons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make anſwer according to law.

VI. And whereas of late great companies of ſoldiers and mariners have been diſperſed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, againſt their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houſes, and there to ſuffer them to ſojourn, againſt the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas alſo, by authority of parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that no man ſhall be forejudged of life or limb againſt the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the ſaid Great Charter, and other the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws eſtabliſhed in this your realm, either by the cuſtoms of this realm, or by acts of parliament; and whereas no offender, of what kind ſoever, is exempted from the proceedings to be uſed, and puniſhments to be inflicted, by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, nevertheleſs, of late, divers commiſſions, under your majeſty's great ſeal, have iſſued forth, by which certain perſons have been aſſigned and appointed commiſſioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the juſtice of martial law, againſt ſuch ſoldiers and mariners, or other diſſolute perſons joining with them, as ſhould commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or outrage or miſdemeanor whatſoever, and by ſuch ſummary courſe and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is uſed in armies in the time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of ſuch offenders, and them to cauſe to be executed and put to death, according to law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof ſome of your majeſty's ſubjects have been, by ſome of the ſaid commiſſioners, put to death; when and where, if by the laws and ſtatutes of the land they had deſerved death, by the ſame laws and ſtatutes alſo they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. And alſo ſundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming exemption, have eſcaped the puniſhment due to them by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, by reaſon that divers of your officers and miniſters of juſtice have unjuſtly refuſed or forborne to proceed againſt ſuch offenders, according to the ſame laws and ſtatutes, upon pretence that the ſaid officers were puniſhable only by martial law, and by authority of ſuch commiſſioners as aforeſaid; which commiſſions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the ſaid laws and ſtatutes of this your realm.

X. They therefore humbly pray your moſt excellent majeſty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or ſuch like charge, without common conſent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make an anſwer, or take ſuch oath, or to give attendance, or be

be confined, or otherwiſe moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for refuſal thereof; and that no freeman, in any ſuch manner as is before mentioned, be impriſoned or detained; and that your majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid ſoldiers and mariners, that your people may not be ſo burdened in time to come; and that the aforeſaid commiſſions, for proceeding by martial law, be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commiſſions of like nature may iſſue forth to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid; leſt, by colour of them, any of your majeſty's ſubjects be deſtroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the land.

XI. All which they moſt humbly pray of your moſt excellent majeſty as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm; and that your majeſty would alſo vouchſafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premiſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example; and that your majeſty would be alſo graciouſly pleaſed, for the further comfort and ſafety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleaſure, that, in the things aforeſaid, all your officers and miniſters ſhall ſerve you according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majeſty, and the proſperity of this kingdom.---*Stat.* 4. *Car.* I. *cap.* xiv.

The leaders of the Houſe of Commons, at this time, were remarkable for zeal and courage in purſuing whatever they conſidered as of importance to public freedom, and they reſolved to ſcrutinize every part of government which they thought defective. A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commiſſion had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of ſtate, empowering them to concert the methods of levying money by impoſitions or otherwiſe. The Commons applied for cancelling that commiſſion; which indeed, by the late ſtatute of the Petition of Right, was rendered entirely unneceſſary. They objected alſo to another commiſſion for raiſing money towards the introduction of a thouſand German horſe, which they were apprehenſive might be employed againſt the liberties of the people. The Commons next reſumed their cenſure of Buckingham's conduct, againſt whom their reſentment was implacable; and they openly aſſerted that the levying of tonnage and poundage, without conſent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the liberties of the kingdom. All theſe grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonſtrance to his majeſty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came ſuddenly to the parliament, and ended the ſeſſion by a prorogation.

The Commons had taken into conſideration the ſermon of Dr. Manwaring, the king's chaplain, which was printed by ſpecial command of his majeſty; and finding that it contained doctrines ſubverſive of all civil liberty, they impeached him before the Peers. The ſentence pronounced upon him by them was, that he ſhould be impriſoned during the pleaſure of the Houſe, be fined a thouſand pounds to the king, make ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of his offence, be ſuſpended during three years, be incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical dignity or ſecular office, and that his book be called in and burnt. But it is worthy of notice, that no ſooner was the ſeſſion ended, than this man, ſo juſtly obnoxious to both Houſes, received a pardon, was promoted to a living of conſiderable value, and afterwards raiſed to the biſhopric of St. Aſaph.

Charles, being freed from the embarraſſment of parliament, began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally as unſucceſsful as in his domeſtic government. The earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was diſpatched to the relief of Rochelle, now cloſely beſieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by ſea: but he returned without effecting any thing; and, from declining to attack the enemy's fleet, had incurred the imputation either of cowardice or miſconduct. In order to repair this diſhonour, th duke went to Portſmouth, where he had prepared a conſiderable

fleet and army, on which all the ſubſidies given by parliament had been expended; but before he could ſet out on his expedition, he met with that fate from the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, which, had he ſurvived much longer, he would probably have ſuffered from the laws of his injured country.

One Thomas Felton, a man of a good family, but of an ardent temper, had ſerved under the duke in the ſtation of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the iſle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; but being denied his requeſt, he threw up his commiſſion, and retired in diſcontent from the army. Stimulated by private revenge, and alſo by national complaints, of which he conſidered the duke as the cauſe, and conceiving that he ſhould render heaven and his country an acceptable ſervice, by ridding the world of this enemy to liberty and virtue, he formed the reſolution of aſſaſſinating Buckingham. With this deſign he followed the duke to Portſmouth, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his purpoſe. Buckingham had been engaged in converſation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and the converſation being finiſhed, the duke drew towards the door. While he was ſpeaking to one of his colonels, Felton ſtruck him over that officer's ſhoulder in the breaſt with his knife. The duke had only time to ſay, "The villain has killed me!" when he fell at the colonel's feet, and inſtantly expired. No one had ſeen the blow, nor the perſon who gave it; but in the confuſion it was generally ſuppoſed that the murder had been committed by one of the French gentlemen, and in the hurry of revenge they had nearly been put to death. In the mean time there was found near the door a hat, on the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonſtrance of the Commons which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under theſe lines was a ſhort ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was readily concluded that this hat belonged to the aſſaſſin; and while they were employed in conjectures whoſe it ſhould be, a man without a hat was obſerved walking before the door, who was heard to exclaim, "I am he!" He even gloried in the act; affirming that the duke was an enemy to his country; and, as ſuch, deſerved to ſuffer. When aſked at whoſe inſtigation he had performed that horrid deed, he replied, that they needed not trouble themſelves in that inquiry; that his conſcience was his only prompter, and that no man whatever could influence him to act againſt it's dictates. He ſuffered with the ſame degree of conſtancy to the laſt; and both his fortitude and the action which he had perpetrated were ſubjects of general admiration to the people, who rejoiced in the death of the duke.

When the news of this aſſaſſination reached the king, he received it with an undiſturbed countenance; which induced the courtiers who were preſent to conclude, that he was ſecretly not diſpleaſed to be rid of a miniſter ſo generally odious to the nation. But Charles's apparent apathy proceeded from the natural coldneſs of his temper; for during his whole life he retained an affection towards Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice againſt his enemies.

After the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army was given to the earl of Lindeſey, and an unſucceſsful attempt was made to relieve Rochelle. The Rochellers being diſappointed of the ſuccours they had expected from England, after having ſuffered the extremities of famine and fatigue, by which their numbers were reduced from fifteen to four thouſand, they agreed to ſurrender at diſcretion. The victory, however, over the Hugonots was uſed by the French king with great moderation. A toleration was ſtill continued to them; the only avowed and open toleration which at that time was granted in any Roman catholic kingdom.

The majority of the Engliſh were ſtrongly attached to puritaniſm, and generally ſent to parliament men of the ſame principles; but as Arminianiſm was found to be better calculated to promote the arbitrary views of the king and his miniſters, they encouraged it by

by every means in their power. For the ſame reaſon the penal laws againſt Roman catholics were ſuſpended, and many of them held employments under government; while the Arminians obtained the higheſt preferments in the church. This partiality in the court promoted an hoſtility of opinion, and men were perpetually involved in diſputes. It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the appellation *puritan* ſtood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were political puritans, who maintained the higheſt principles of civil liberty; the puritans in diſcipline, who were averſe to the ceremonies and epiſcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the ſpeculative ſyſtem of the firſt reformers. In oppoſition to all theſe ſtood the court party, the hierarchy, the Arminians, and Roman catholics. As the controverſies on every ſubject grew daily warmer, men united themſelves more intimately with their friends, and ſeparated themſelves wider from their antagoniſts; and the diſtinction gradually became quite uniform and regular. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other biſhops, who were the chief ſupporters of epiſcopal government, and the moſt zealous partizans of the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church, were all ſuppoſed to be tainted with Arminianiſm. Theſe men and their diſciples were the ſtrenuous preachers of paſſive obedience, and of entire ſubmiſſion to princes; and it was concluded, if they could be cenſured, and expelled the church and court, that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be leſs rigidly inſiſted on, and the king obliged to abate thoſe high claims of prerogative on which he at preſent inſiſted. But Charles, beſides being averſe to the puritans, was unhappily ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of Laud; and not having an army on which he could rely, he conſidered the hierarchy as the moſt ſolid baſis of his authority. To put an end to religious diſputes, by promoting uniformity of opinion, Charles cauſed the Thirty-nine Articles to be drawn up and publiſhed. He alſo endeavoured to weaken the oppoſition, by gaining ſome of the members to his party, and ſucceeded but too well with Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom he created viſcount Wentworth and earl of Strafford, and placed at the head of the miniſtry. Aſhamed of what the party he had abandoned termed apoſtacy, he endeavoured to conceal his ſentiments for a time, and then openly to juſtify them; but Mr. Pym deſired him not to take any pains in juſtifying his conduct, and added, "Though you have left us, we will not leave you, while you have a head upon your ſhoulders;" which promiſe was carefully obſerved.

A. D. 1629.] The treaſury being exhauſted, notwithſtanding the illegal means which had been taken to raiſe money, Charles found himſelf under the neceſſity of re-aſſembling the parliament. They met on the 10th of January, and their firſt buſineſs was to appoint a committee to inquire into eccleſiaſtical concerns. Laud, biſhop of London, who, as the king's ſpiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of hierarchy and prerogative, was the object of their reſentment. To him was attributed the encouragement and protection which had been given by the king to all thoſe clergymen who had defended arbitrary principles, and the growth of popery and Arminianiſm. They likewiſe proceeded to take into conſideration every thing that had been tranſacted againſt the liberty of the ſubject, in direct oppoſition to the Petition of Right. Several complaints were made to the Houſe by merchants, whoſe goods had been ſeized in conſequence of their having refuſed to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. While they were debating on this ſubject, the king ſent a meſſage, deſiring they would proceed no further in the buſineſs till he could ſpeak to them in perſon at Whitehall. Both Houſes accordingly attended him next day, when he blamed them for inquiring into the infractions of the Petition of Right, and recommended to them to diſpatch the bill for tonnage and poundage, which he ſaid would have been paſſed laſt ſeſſion, if there had been time.

time. "That he had not taken these duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and still is, his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; and that, if he had hitherto levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to justify himself only by the necessity of so doing, not by any right which he assumed." But the Commons were not satisfied with this acknowledgment; they insisted, as a necessary preliminary, that the king should forbear to levy those duties; after which they were to take into consideration how far, in a parliamentary way, they would restore to him a revenue which he had once fairly resigned. On this occasion debates ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a remonstrance against the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, "not being granted by act of parliament." Charles, finding the Commons determined to protect their privileges, immediately adjourned the House. When they met again in March, the same subject was renewed; and as they were determined to suffer no interruption, they locked the door, and gave the key to Sir Miles Hobart. The king having sent a message to them by the usher of the black rod, he was refused admission. Charles was so enraged at this, that he sent for the guards to force an entrance. In the mean time Sir John Elliot framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament: but the speaker, Sir John Finch, refused to read it; declaring that the king had given him orders to adjourn the House to the 10th of March, and to put no question, nor admit of any debate; upon which he rose, and left the chair. The whole House was now in an uproar; the speaker was forced back into the chair, and held in it by Mr. Holles and Mr. Valentine, while Sir John Elliot read the protestation, which was passed, and the House adjourned to the 10th of March before the guards came.

Protestation of the House of Commons.

I. Whosoever shall bring in an innovation of religion, or by favour seek to introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

II. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall likewise be reputed a common enemy to the commonwealth.

III. If any man shall voluntarily yield to pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to this commonwealth.

In a day or two after the adjournment, the following gentlemen, Dewzil Holles, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, William Coriton, Walter Long, William Stroude, and Benjamin Valentine, who had most distinguished themselves by their opposition, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, and their papers seized.

On the 10th of March the king dissolved the parliament. In his speech he complimented the peers for their dutiful demeanor, but bestowed the epithet of *vipers* on the gentlemen of opposition among the Commoners.

Elliot, Holles, and Valentine, in October were brought to trial in the King's Bench; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were sentenced to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and Sir John Elliot was fined two thousand pounds, Dewzil Holles one thousand marks, and Benjamin Valentine five hundred. So rigorous was their confinement, that they were denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; nor were their wives permitted to see them even in sickness; insomuch that Sir John Elliot, after long imprisonment, sunk and died under the oppression.

About the same time alderman Chambers was prosecuted in the Star-chamber for having

ing ſaid, "that the merchants were more oppreſſed in England than in Turkey," and ſentenced him to a fine which reduced him to extreme poverty.

The parliament having been diſſolved without voting any ſupply, Charles was under the neceſſity of making peace with the two crowns, againſt whom he had waged war, which had been entered upon without neceſſity, and conducted without glory. In the treaty with Spain, no conditions were made in favour of the palatine, except that Spain promiſed in general to uſe it's good offices for his reſtoration. During the reſt of his reign he ſeems to have interfered very little with foreign politics.

A. D. 1630, 1631, 1632.] The attention of Charles was now directed to the internal policy of the kingdom; a taſk in which he admitted two aſſociates, but who ſtill acted a ſubordinate part to himſelf. Theſe were Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford, and Laud biſhop of London. The fidelity of Strafford to the king was unſhaken; but in ſerving the intereſts of the crown, he did not conſider himſelf as an agent alſo for the benefit of the people. As he now employed all his counſels to ſupport the prerogative which he had formerly endeavoured to diminiſh, he was evidently guided by ſelf-intereſt and ambition. He was made preſident of the council of York, an arbitrary court, which had been inſtituted by Henry VIII. and had hitherto acted chiefly as a criminal court; but Charles thought proper to extend it's powers, and give it a large civil juriſdiction. In conſequence of this illegal meaſure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common law, and ſubjected to an authority wholly arbitrary. He was alſo appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. In all eccleſiaſtical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud had great influence over the king. His zeal was unrelenting in the cauſe of religion; and in the proſecution of his purpoſes he neglected the rules of moderation, prudence, and humanity.

Since the times of Elizabeth puritaniſm had been gaining ground in England. Of all ſects this was conſidered as the moſt dangerous to monarchy, the tenets of it being more calculated to ſupport that equality which obtains in a ſtate of nature; and in the countries where their opinions had taken place, not only a religious but a political freedom began to be eſtabliſhed. Such was the ſtate of the people's mind at the time which Laud choſe for the introduction of new ceremonies and obſervances, the reſemblance of which to the Romiſh ritual was no objection to Laud and his brethren, who bore a much greater kindneſs to the mother-church, as they called her, than to the ſectaries and preſbyterians. So openly was this preference aſſerted, that not only the puritans believed the church of England to be faſt relapſing into Romiſh ſuperſtition, but the court of Rome itſelf entertained hopes of regaining it's authority in this iſland; and, in order to forward Laud's intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he refuſed. Orders were given, and rigorouſly inſiſted on, that the communion ſhould be removed from the middle of the church, where it had ſtood ſince the Reformation, to the eaſt end, where it ſhould be railed in, and be denominated the altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the uſing of copes, an embroidered veſtment, in adminiſtering the ſacrament, were introduced, to the great diſcontent of the people, who knew them to be practiſed in popiſh countries. Pictures were again admitted into the churches by his command. All ſuch clergymen as neglected to attend every ceremony, were ſuſpended, and deprived of their benefices, by the court of High Commiſſion. And, to mortify the puritans farther, orders were iſſued from the council, forbidding any controverſy, either from the pulpit or the preſs, on the points of diſpute between them and their opponents.

In return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occaſion, the regal

authority, and to treat with the utmoſt indignation all the pretenſions of the puritans to a free and independent conſtitution. The king's divine, hereditary, and indefeaſible right, was the theme of every ſermon; and thoſe who attempted to queſtion ſuch doctrines, were conſidered as making an attack upon religion itſelf. But while theſe prelates were ſo liberal in raiſing the crown at the expence of public liberty, themſelves made no ſcruple of encroaching on the moſt inconteſtible of the royal rights, in order to exalt the hierarchy. All the doctrines of the Romiſh church, which freed the ſpiritual from ſubordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the church of England, and an apoſtolic charter was inſiſted upon in preference to a parliamentary.

The king, who did not foreſee the dangerous conſequences which might reſult from theſe exorbitant pretenſions of the church, and who had now taken a reſolution of calling no more parliaments, was very well ſatisfied with thoſe doctrines, as they tended to facilitate his meaſures of government, and procure thoſe pecuniary ſupplies which he had no legal means of obtaining. While Laud, therefore, ruled the church, during the long ſuſpenſion of parliaments, the king and Strafford undertook the management of the temporal intereſts of the nation. A proclamation was iſſued, in which Charles declared, "That, whereas, for ſeveral ill ends, the calling again of parliament is divulged, though his majeſty has ſhewn, by frequent meetings with his people, his love to the uſe of parliaments, yet the late abuſe having, for the preſent, driven him unwillingly out of that courſe, he will account it preſumption for any one to preſcribe to him any time for the calling of that aſſembly." This was generally conſtrued as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be ſummoned; and every meaſure of the king's confirmed that ſuſpicion.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former additional impoſitions were exacted; and even new impoſitions were laid on ſeveral kinds of merchandize. The cuſtom-houſe officers received orders from the council to enter any houſe, warehouſe, or cellar; to ſearch any trunk or cheſt, and to break open any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of cuſtoms. Monopolies were revived, and a ſtamp-duty impoſed on cards. To exerciſe the militia, and keep them in order, each county, by an edict of the council, was aſſeſſed in a certain ſum for maintaining a muſter-maſter appointed for that purpoſe. Compoſitions were openly made with recuſants. A commiſſion was granted for compounding with ſuch as were poſſeſſed of crown-lands upon defective titles. Fines and compoſitions were made with thoſe whoſe eſtates amounted to forty pounds a year, and who had neglected or refuſed to be knighted at the coronation; and on theſe pretences money was extorted from the people.

A. D. 1633.] The courts of Star-chamber and High Commiſſion exerciſed their power independently of any law, and even encroached on the juriſdiction of other courts; impoſing heavy fines, and inflicting puniſhments beyond the uſual courſe of juſtice. Prynne, a barriſter of Lincoln's Inn, had written a quarto book, called Hiſtro-Maſtyx, in which he cenſured ſtage-plays, muſic and dancing, hunting, public feſtivals, and Chriſtmas-keeping; as the king and queen frequented the former amuſements, he was indicted in the Star-chamber as a libeller. He was condemned to be put from the bar, to ſtand twice on the pillory, to loſe both his ears, to be branded in both cheeks with the letters S L, denoting ſeditious libeller, to pay five thouſand pounds to the king, and to be impriſoned during life. This ſentence, no leſs cruel than unjuſt, was rigorouſly executed.

Charles made a journey to Scotland this year, where he took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing the ritual and government of the church of England. Immediately on his return,

return, the archbiſhopric of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Abbot, he raiſed Laud to that ſee, and gave Juxon the biſhopric of London. The Book of Sports to be uſed on Sunday evenings was ordered to be read in the churches; and all clergymen who refuſed to comply were either ſuſpended, deprived, or proſecuted in the High Commiſſion court.

A. D. 1634.] Ship-money was now introduced. This tax was levied on the inland as well as the maritime parts of the country; but as it was arbitrary, and by the ſame right any other tax might be impoſed, it produced general diſcontent. The city of London petitioned againſt it; notwithſtanding it was collected with as much rigour as if it had paſſed with the authority of parliament.

A. D. 1635.] A formidable fleet of ſixty ſail was equipped under the earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring-buſſes of the Dutch, which fiſhed in what were called the Britiſh ſeas. The Dutch were content to pay thirty thouſand pounds for a licence during this year. They openly denied, however, the claim of dominion in the ſeas beyond the friths, bays, and ſhores; and it may be queſtioned whether the laws of nations warrant any farther pretenſions. A ſquadron was alſo ſent againſt Sallee; and, with the aſſiſtance of the emperor of Morocco, deſtroyed that receptacle of pirates, by whom the Engliſh commerce, and even the Engliſh coaſts, had been long infeſted.

A. D. 1636.] Burton, a divine, and Baſtwick, a phyſician, were tried in the Star-chamber for ſeditious and ſchiſmatical libels, and were condemned to the ſame puniſhment that had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne himſelf was tried for a new offence, and, together with another fine of five thouſand pounds, was condemned to loſe what remained of his ears. They were afterwards baniſhed to the iſles of Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, where they were incarcerated, neither their wives, nor any friend, being permitted to ſee them. The ſeverity of the Star-chamber was generally aſcribed to the vindictive ſpirit of Laud.

The puritans, deprived of the liberty of conſcience, and perpetually harraſſed and perſecuted by the Star-chamber and High Commiſſion courts, reſolved to ſeek an aſylum in the wilds of America: but even this relief from the cruelty of their enemies was not permitted; the king iſſued a proclamation to debar them of their intended retreat. Eight ſhips, lying in the Thames, and ready to ſail, were detained by order of council; and in theſe were embarked Sir Arthur Haſelrig, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, who had reſolved for ever to abandon their native country, and fly to the other extremity of the globe; where they might enjoy that religious liberty which was denied them here. Charles had full leiſure to repent this act of arbitrary power.

Complaints about this time were made, that the Petition of Right was violated, and that, upon a commitment by the king and council, bail or releaſement had been refuſed to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers. Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, a popular prelate, and who had been lord keeper, was on frivolous pretences fined ten thouſand pounds, and committed to the Tower: though Laud owed his firſt promotion to Williams, this ſevere ſentence was aſcribed to his implacable vengeance. The latter, having differed with Buckingham and the archbiſhop, on account of their violent meaſures, had joined the country party, and found himſelf continually expoſed to the reſentment of the court. Not long after, a ſecond fine of eight thouſand pounds was levied on him, on account of ſome letters directed to him, and which were pretended to contain ſatirical alluſions to Laud. Lilburne was accuſed before the Star-chamber of publiſhing ſeditious pamphlets; as he refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, for this contempt he was condemned to be whipped, pillored, and impriſoned. The firmneſs with which he bore his puniſhment gave freſh provocation to the Star-chamber; he was impriſoned and loaded with irons.

The

The caſe of Dr. Leighton, as deſcribed in a petition, afterwards preſented to parliament, commands particular notice. He was arreſted by two ruffians belonging to the Star-chamber, who dragged him to Laud's houſe, where they told him he was to be examined, Laud being then at home; but inſtead of that, he was carried through a ſubterraneous paſſage, not opened ſince queen Mary's bloody reign; there he was heavily fettered, and afterwards removed to Newgate, where he was caſt into a naſty dog-hole, full of rats and mice, with no light but from the uncovered roof, and nothing to eat from Tueſday to Thurſday. In this dreadful ſituation they kept him fifteen days, without ſuffering his wife, or any friend, to viſit him. Four days after his commitment, Laud's ruffians went to the doctor's houſe in Blackfriars, under a pretence of ſearching for books; they laid violent hands on his diſtreſſed wife, and treated her with ſo much inhumanity as is a ſhame to expreſs; they rifled every one in the houſe, and preſented a piſtol to the breaſt of a child five years old, threatening to kill him if he did not diſcover where the books were, at which he was ſo frightened that he never afterwards recovered. At laſt they carried off all the books, furniture, and wearing apparel. During his confinement he almoſt pined away, and was ſo ill, that an attorney and four phyſicians certified his caſe to be deſperate. Yet, abſent and ſick, his cauſe was brought before the Star-chamber, where he was ſentenced to undergo the dreadful puniſhment, which we will give in his own words. "This horrid ſentence was to be executed with knife, fire, and whip, at and upon the pillory, with ten thouſand pounds fine; which ſome of the lords conceived could never be inflicted, only that it was impoſed on a dying man, to terrify others. But Laud and his creatures cauſed the ſentence to be executed with a witneſs; for the hangman was animated with ſtrong drink all the night before, in the priſon; and with threatening words to do it cruelly. Your petitioner's hands being tied to a ſtake, beſides all other torments, he received thirty-ſix ſtripes with a treble cord; after which he ſtood almoſt two hours in the pillory, in cold, froſt, and ſnow; and then ſuffered the reſt, as cutting off the ear, firing the face, ſlitting up the noſe." Here the clerk of the Houſe of Commons was interrupted; and when he was going on again, he was ordered to ſtop a ſecond time, till the auditors recovered themſelves; for the Houſe was melted down with tears. The petitioner proceeded---"He was made a theatre of miſery to men and angels; and being ſo broken with his ſufferings that he was not able to go, the warden of the Fleet would not ſuffer him to be carried in a coach, but hurried him away by water, to the further endangering of his life. And on that day ſevennight, the ſores on his back, ear, noſe, and face not being cured, he was again whipped at the pillory in Cheapſide, and there had the remainder of the ſentence executed, by cutting off the other ear, ſlitting up the other ſide of the noſe, and branding the other cheek." Humanity ſhudders at the recital of theſe barbarities. The parliament, in conſideration of Dr. Leighton's ſufferings, voted him ſix thouſand pounds, and made him warden of the priſon where he had ſo long lived in confinement.

Theſe are ſome of the inſtances of extreme rigour; but the priſons were filled with thoſe who ſuffered in a leſs degree. When any one was proſecuted in the Star-chamber, or High Commiſſion court, he had always one general charge brought againſt him, viz. that he was an enemy to the church and ſtate. Thus branded, they were treated with the utmoſt rudeneſs. But the ſeverity of their perſecutions could not break the ſpirits of men who placed their honour and conſcience in ſuffering; and the magnanimity with which they endured theſe cruelties, ſerved to heighten the indignation of the people againſt the government.

A. D. 1637.] The diſcontent which prevailed throughout the nation, and the oppoſition which was made to the collecting of ſhip-money, had induced Charles to obtain what he called a legal authority for this tax.

tax. He conſulted the judges; and received for anſwer, "that the king might impoſe that tax, that he was the ſole judge of the neceſſity, and that he might compel payment in caſe of refuſal." This opinion was circulated through the country; and men perceiving that they had no hopes of obtaining protection from the courts of judicature, where the judges had been ſo venal as to deliver an opinion contrary to law, began to deſpair. But in the midſt of this general deſpondency, JOHN HAMPDEN, by his ſpirit and courage, acquired univerſal popularity by the ſtand he made in defence of the liberties of his country. He had been rated at twenty ſhillings for an eſtate which he poſſeſſed in Buckinghamſhire; and, notwithſtanding the opinion of the judges, and the great power of the crown, reſolved, rather than tamely ſubmit to ſo illegal an impoſition, to ſtand a legal proſecution, and expoſe himſelf to all the indignation of the court. This caſe was argued during twelve days in the Exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this important trial. The event was eaſily foreſeen; but the principles, reaſonings, and behaviour of the parties engaged in the trial were much inveſtigated, and nothing could equal the favour paid to the one ſide, except the hatred which attended the other.

Hampden's counſel proved that the tax was illegal, and that it was not even juſtified by the plea of neceſſity, as the nation was in profound peace. In vain are precedents of ancient writs produced: theſe writs, when examined, are only found to require the ſea-ports, ſometimes at their own charge, ſometimes at the charge of the counties, to ſend their ſhips for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative which empowered the crown to iſſue ſuch writs is aboliſhed, and it's exerciſe almoſt entirely diſcontinued, from the time of Edward III. and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exerciſed, was to preſs ſhips into the public ſervice, to be paid for by the public. The plea of neceſſity would warrant any other tax as well as that of ſhip-money. And if ſuch authorities prevail, what authority is left to the Great Charter, to the ſtatutes, and to that very Petition of Right, which in the preſent reign had been ſo ſolemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legiſlature?

Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, the prejudiced judges, four excepted, gave ſentence in favour of the crown. Hampden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his ſafety and his quiet: the people were rouſed from their lethargy, and became ſenſible of the danger to which their liberties were expoſed. Theſe national queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that liberty was totally ſubverted, and an unuſual and arbitrary authority exerciſed over the kingdom. Slaviſh principles, they ſaid, concur with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical tyranny gives aid to civil uſurpation; iniquitous taxes are ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and all the privileges of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lie proſtrate at the feet of the monarch.

Parliaments having been ſo long diſcontinued, there appeared no proſpect of obtaining any conſtitutional redreſs of public grievances; and the people impatiently wiſhed for ſome incident, however calamitous, that might ſecure them from thoſe oppreſſions, which they felt, or the greater ills, which they apprehended, from the combination of eccleſiaſtical tyranny and political injuſtice.

During the reign of the late king, the Scots had diſplayed a ſtrong attachment to preſbyterian principles; and though they continued to allow of biſhops, thoſe dignitaries were reduced to famine, and exerciſed little more authority than preſiding in their aſſemblies. James had perceived this decline of epiſcopacy, and had endeavoured to revive it; but in the midſt of thoſe efforts he died. It was the fate of Charles for ever to

at projects which were at once impracticable and unneceſſary; what his father, therefore, had begun, he reſolved to complete. This ill-judged attempt ſerved to alienate the affections of his Scottiſh ſubjects, as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England.

The canons for eſtabliſhing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction were promulgated in 1635; and were received by the nation, though without much apparent oppoſition, yet with great inward apprehenſion and diſcontent. Men felt diſpleaſure at ſeeing the royal authority highly exalted by them, and repreſented as abſolute and uncontroulable.

The liturgy, which Charles, from his own authority, endeavoured to impoſe on Scotland, was copied from that of England; but leſt a ſervile imitation might ſhock the pride of his ancient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to ſave appearances, were made in it; and in that ſtate it was tranſmitted to the biſhops at Edinburgh. No ſooner had the dean, arrayed in his ſurplice, opened the book to read the new liturgy, than the congregation began clapping their hands, and crying out, "A pope! a pope!---antichriſt!---ſtone him!" raiſed ſuch a tumult, that it was impoſſible to proceed with the ſervice. The biſhop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appeaſe the people, had a ſtool thrown at him; and it was with difficulty that the magiſtrates were able, partly by authority, and partly by force, to expel them. The tumult, however, ſtill continued without; ſtones were thrown at the doors and windows; and when the ſervice was ended, the biſhop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly eſcaped from the hands of the enraged multitude.

When it was found the king, notwithſtanding this inſtance of diſcontent, intended to perſevere in the new mode of worſhip, all men throughout the kingdom began to unite themſelves in oppoſition to it. The moſt dangerous ſymptoms of inſurrection and diſorder appeared on all hands. The primate, a man of wiſdom and prudence, who had been averſe to the liturgy, repreſented to the king the ſtate of the nation. The earl of Traquaire, the treaſurer, ſet out for London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him. But Charles was inflexible. Yet to ſo violent a combination of the whole kingdom Charles had nothing to oppoſe but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all paſt offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to ſubmit peaceably to the uſe of the liturgy. This proclamation was inſtantly encountered with a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and Lord Lindeſey; and this was the firſt time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of oppoſition. But this proved a criſis. The inſurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and ſlow progreſs, now blazed up at once. No diſorder, however, attended it; on the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four Tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One conſiſted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, a fourth of burgeſſes. The table of gentry was divided into many ſubordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were iſſued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmoſt regularity; and among the firſt acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT; which conſiſted firſt of a renunciation of popery, ſigned by James in his youth; and was followed by a bond of union, by which the ſubſcribers obliged themſelves to reſiſt religious innovations, and to defend themſelves againſt all oppoſition whatſoever; they alſo profeſſed the moſt profound reſpect for his majeſty's perſon and government, which they did not mean to infringe. The people, without diſtinction of rank or condition, flocked to ſign it; and ſo general was the contagion, that it even ſeized the king's miniſters.

A. D. 1638.] Charles began to apprehend the conſequences; he ſent the marquis of Hamilton with an offer to the covenanters, if they would renounce the covenant, to ſuſpend the liturgy and canons till they could receive them in a legal way. The popular leaders

leaders anſwered, they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm than the covenant; and the clergy invited the commiſſioner himſelf to ſubſcribe it.

A ſecond offer to aboliſh the canons, the liturgy, the High Commiſſion court, and even to reſtrain the power of the biſhops, was equally ineffectual. The popular leaders, however, readily acceded to his propoſal of ſummoning a general aſſembly. It met at Glaſgow; and beſides a great concourſe of people, all the nobility and gentry were preſent. It ſoon appeared a firm determination had been entered into of utterly aboliſhing epiſcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the preſbytery of Edinburgh, and ſolemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accuſation againſt the biſhops, as guilty, all of them, of hereſy, ſimony, bribery, perjury, and other crimes; and that they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general aſſembly at Montroſe, in the preceding reign, conſented to their being admitted into parliament. By theſe they were obliged to act only as deputies of the church; to propoſe nothing without expreſs orders, and to be accountable to the general aſſembly for their conduct in parliament. The biſhops ſent a proteſt, declining the authority of the aſſembly; the commiſſioner, too, proteſted againſt that court, as illegally conſtituted and elected; and, in his majeſty's name, diſſolved it. This meaſure was foreſeen, and little regarded. The aſſembly ſtill continued to ſit, and to purſue their buſineſs. All the acts of aſſembly, ſince the acceſſion of James to the crown of England, were, upon reaſonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament which affected eccleſiaſtical affairs were ſuppoſed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus epiſcopacy, the high commiſſion, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were aboliſhed, and declared unlawful; and the fabric which James and Charles, in a long courſe of years, had been rearing with ſo much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The Covenant likewiſe was ordered to be ſigned by every one, under pain of excommunication.

A. D. 1639.] The king had for ſome months, by the advice of Hamilton, been making preparations for war with great ſecrecy and caution; but this coming to the knowledge of the covenanters, and that it was intended againſt them, they determined to prepare for an event to which the precipitation and obſtinacy of Charles might drive them. Accordingly they applied to ſome foreign princes for aſſiſtance; but their chief reſource was in their own vigour and abilities. The earl of Argyle became a principal leader; many Scotch officers, who had acquired reputation in the German wars, were invited over; forces were regularly liſted and diſciplined; and the command was entruſted to Leſlie, a ſoldier of experience and reputation. They ſeized all places of ſtrength, fortified the town of Leith; and ſo eager was the deſire of completing the work, that women mixed with the populace, and carried on their ſhoulders the materials neceſſary for erecting the fortifications.

When Charles found that his intentions were diſcovered by the Scotch, and that they had even anticipated him in the means of defence, he reſolved to act againſt them more openly. By œconomy he had ſaved two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which he reſerved for any ſudden emergency. He had recourſe to the clergy for a further ſupply; and the queen, by her influence with the catholics, who extremely hated the preſbyterians, obtained a conſiderable ſum from them. His fleet was formidable; and having put five thouſand land forces on board, he entruſted it to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail to the Frith of Forth, and to cauſe a diverſion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was levied of near twenty thouſand foot, and above three thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of Arundel; the earl of Eſſex was appointed lieutenant-general; and the earl of Holland was general of the horſe. The king himſelf joined the army, and he ſummoned

ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a ſplendid court, rather than of a military armament; and in this ſituation, carrying more ſhow than real force, the army arrived at Berwick.

The Scottiſh army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The firſt was engaged in a national cauſe; the latter was retained entirely by pay, and looked on the quarrel with the indifference that belongs to mercenaries. The conſequences of a defeat, while Scotland was enraged, and England diſcontented, were ſo dreadful, that no motive could perſuade the king to hazard it. In this perplexity, Charles concluded a ſudden pacification, in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould withdraw his fleet and army; that within forty-eight hours the Scots ſhould diſmiſs their forces; that the king's forts ſhould be reſtored to him, his authority be acknowledged, and a general aſſembly and parliament be immediately ſummoned, in order to compoſe all differences.

Though Charles agreed to abrogate the canons, the liturgy, and the high commiſſion, and to aboliſh the order of biſhops, he could not be prevailed on to advance one ſtep farther. To ſecure theſe, it was neceſſary that ſeveral civil regulations ſhould take place; and the marquis of Hamilton, who knew the king's duplicity, repreſented to him the dreadful conſequences of his not acting with ſincerity, by leaving the aſſembly and parliament at free liberty to gratify the people, with regard to every thing that had been underſtood to be granted by the late pacification; but he perceived, by the king's anſwers, that this was not his intention; he therefore reſigned the office of high-commiſſioner in Scotland, and that invidious employment was given to the earl of Traquaire.

The general aſſembly met at Edinburgh in Auguſt. They firſt confirmed all the acts of the aſſembly that had been held at Glaſgow the preceding year. They voted epiſcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: Charles was willing to allow it contrary to the conſtitutions of that church. They declared the liturgy and canons to be popiſh inſtitutions; he ſimply agreed to their being aboliſhed. They denominated the high commiſſion tyranny; he would only ſet it aſide. After the aſſembly broke up, the parliament held their ſittings. They began to take into conſideration the means for preſerving the civil liberties of the kingdom, and proceeded to ratify the acts of the aſſembly. Charles, alarmed at theſe proceedings, directed his commiſſioner, the earl of Traquaire, to prorogue the parliament. As the conceſſions which the king had made fell far ſhort of their expectations, and his engagements, they prepared to obtain that by force which had failed by negociation, and the war was renewed.

A. D. 1640.] When the covenanters diſmiſſed their troops, they gave orders to the officers to be ready for ſervice on the firſt notice, and the ſoldiers were warned not to think the nation ſecure from an Engliſh invaſion. No ſooner was the nation again called to arms, than the zeal for religious and civil liberty, with which all men were animated, made them flock to the ſtandard. But the king collected his army with great difficulty: men, who ſaw the neceſſity of defending their own liberty againſt an arbitrary government, could not readily be prevailed upon to aſſiſt in enſlaving their ſiſter kingdom. Money was wanted, and the calling a parliament was a dangerous experiment; but, as the king's neceſſities were preſſing, Strafford, who had returned from Ireland, propoſed a ſubſcription, to which he gave twenty thouſand pounds; the duke of Richmond gave the ſame ſum; their example influenced many of the nobility and clergy, ſo that a conſiderable ſum was ſoon raiſed; but this was not ſufficient to proſecute the war. A parliament muſt therefore now be aſſembled, after above eleven years intermiſſion, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, and after the puritans

ritans had ſuffered multiplied injuries and diſguſts.

The king informed the Houſe of his want by the lord-keeper Finch; and repreſented the neceſſity of granting ſupplies for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments; that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhauſted by unneceſſary expences; that all the taxes levied on his ſubjects had been employed for their advantage; that though he deſired an immediate ſupply, it was far from his intention to prevent them from inquiring into the ſtate of the kingdom, and preſenting petitions for the redreſs of grievances afterwards.

Theſe topics, however plauſible, made ſmall impreſſion on the Houſe of Commons. By many illegal and ſuſpicious meaſures of the crown, and by the courageous oppoſition which particular perſons, amidſt dangers and hardſhips, had made to them, the minds of men, throughout the nation, had taken ſuch a turn, as to aſcribe every honour to thoſe who oppoſed the king and his miniſters. While a compliance with the court was conſidered as a ſlaviſh dependence, a regard to the king ſervile flattery, a confidence in his promiſes ſhameful proſtitution, the preſent Houſe of Commons, being entirely compoſed of country gentlemen, whom the crown had no means of influencing, could not fail to contain a majority of theſe inflexible patriots. They perceived that the time was now come when they muſt maintain the liberties of the nation againſt the arbitrary and aſſumed power of the crown; and they knew, that if they granted the ſupply, they might be prorogued or diſſolved immediately. Their duty to their conſtituents, therefore, required that before they gave any money, they ſhould ſecure it's proper application, and remove the oppreſſions under which the nation groaned. Neither could a majority of the members think the war with Scotland juſt or neceſſary, as the Scots were ſtruggling for what the king ought not to withhold; and what they wanted for themſelves, *liberty of conſcience*. Inſtead, therefore, of taking notice of the king's application for ſupply, they entered immediately upon grievances. They inquired into the impriſonment of Sir John Elliot, Holles, and Valentine, and other violations of privileges in the laſt parliament. Each of theſe was referred to a ſeparate committee, and it was reſolved not to grant any ſupplies till theſe grievances were removed. This ſteady behaviour in the Commons excited the indignation of Charles. He came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons, when he aſſigned his reaſons for wanting the ſupply immediately; and deſired the Peers, by their advice, to diſpoſe the Commons to give his ſupply the precedence. The Peers voted that the ſupply ſhould have the precedence, and that there ſhould be a conference with the Commons to diſpoſe them to it. The granting of ſupplies had always been the peculiar province of the Commons, and they voted ſo unprecedented an interpoſition to be a breach of privilege. The Peers acknowledged their error, and deſired the Commons to proceed in their own manner, on the affairs of the kingdom.

As the ſhip-money had given great alarm and diſguſt, Charles informed the Houſe, that all the money levied had been regularly expended on equipping the navy; and he now went ſo far as to offer them a total abolition of that obnoxious claim, by any law which the Commons ſhould think proper to preſent to him. In return he aſked, for his neceſſities, a ſupply of twelve ſubſidies, about ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and that payable in three years; but, at the ſame time, he let them know, that, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs, a delay would be equivalent to a denial.

The partizans of the court repreſented, that the happieſt occaſion now offered for reconciling the ſovereign to the uſe of parliaments. To this the popular leaders replied, that it was the ancient practice to give grievances the precedence of ſupply; that ſcarcely any argument more unfavourable could be pleaded for a ſupply, than an offer to aboliſh ſhip-money; a taxation the moſt

illegal, and the moſt dangerous, that had ever, in any reign, been impoſed upon the nation; and that, by bargaining for the remiſſion of that duty, the Commons would, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; at leaſt give encouragement for advancing new pretenſions of a like nature, in hopes of reſigning them on like advantageous conditions.

Theſe reaſons, joined to ſo many occaſions of ill-humour, ſeemed to ſway with the majority. The king now ſaw that the ſame counſels were prevalent in parliament, which had ever bred ſuch oppoſition. If the Houſe met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly paſs to blaſt his revenue of ſhip-money. In this perplexity, he haſtily formed and executed the reſolution of diſſolving this parliament.

This haſty meaſure excited the reſentment of the people, who ſaw all their hopes blaſted, while none of their grievances had been redreſſed. The ſtudies, and even the pockets, of the earl of Warwick and lord Broke were ſearched before the expiration of privilege, in expectation of finding treaſonable papers. Henry Bellaſis and Sir John Hotham were ſummoned before the council; and not giving ſatisfactory anſwers to interrogatories concerning expreſſions in parliament, were committed to the Fleet. All the petitions and complaints were demanded of Carew, chairman of the committee of religion; and on his refuſing to deliver them, thus ſcreening the names of thoſe who complained of innovations in religion, and the proceedings of the High Commiſſion court, he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

Contrary to undeniable practice, the convocation continued to ſit, and exerciſed a dangerous and unconſtitutional independence, by granting the king a ſupply from the ſpirituality of four ſhillings in the pound for ſix years, without the ſanction of parliament. They made canons, by which all ſectaries were made ſubject to the ſame penalties as popiſh recuſants, and impoſed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the univerſities, by which every one ſwore to maintain the eſtabliſhed government of the church by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, chapters, &c. Theſe ſteps were commonly deemed illegal, becauſe not ratified by conſent of parliament, in whom all authority was centered, while the oath was viewed with abhorrence; beſides, nothing could afford more ſubject of ridicule, than an oath which contained an *et cætera* in the midſt of it.

The people, who deteſted the convocation, could only be reſtrained by a ſtrong guard from inſulting them. A multitude broke into St. Paul's cathedral, where the High Commiſſion court then ſat, crying out, "No biſhops, no high commiſſion;" and broke the benches. An attack was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above five hundred perſons; and numerous inſtances of diſcontents were, to accurate obſervers, preſages of an approaching revolution.

The diſcontents were heightened by the expedients the king had recourſe to in order to ſupply his neceſſities. He borrowed money from his miniſters and courtiers. A loan of forty thouſand pounds was extorted from the Spaniſh merchants, who had bullion in the Tower. Coat and conduct-money for the ſoldiery was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but aboliſhed by the Petition of Right. All the pepper was bought from the Eaſt India Company upon truſt, and ſold, at a great diſcount, for ready money.

Theſe expedients, however, enabled the king, though with great difficulty, to march his army, conſiſting of nineteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general; the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general; lord Conway general of the horſe. A ſmall fleet was thought ſufficient to ſerve the purpoſes of this expedition.

The Scottiſh covenanters, in the mean time, had not been idle. The nobility and gentry of that party had ſtripped themſelves of every luxury, and the ladies of their jewels and ornaments, to ſupport the war. Men, women, and children, worked with amazing alacrity

alacrity at the fortifications of Leith; and Ruthven was declared a traitor by the covenanters, for having refuſed to deliver the caſtle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor, into their hands.

The Scottiſh army, though ſomewhat ſuperior to the king's, was ſooner ready. Amidſt their hoſtile attempts, they preſerved the moſt ſubmiſſive language; and entered England, they ſaid, with no other view than to obtain acceſs to the king's preſence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn upon Tyne they were oppoſed by a detachment of four thouſand five hundred men, under Conway, who ſeemed reſolute to diſpute with them the paſſage of the river. The Scots firſt intreated them, with great civility, not to ſtop them in their march to their gracious ſovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed ſeveral, and chaſed the reſt from their ground. Such a panic ſeized the whole Engliſh army, that the forces at Newcaſtle fled immediately to Durham; and not yet thinking themſelves ſafe, they deſerted that town, and retreated into Yorkſhire. The Scots took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle; and in order to prevent their advancing upon him, the king agreed to a treaty, and named ſixteen Engliſh noblemen, who met with eleven Scottiſh commiſſioners at Rippon. The earls of Hertford, Bedford, Saliſbury, Warwick, Eſſex, Holland, Briſtol, and Berkſhire, the lords Kimbolton, Wharton, Dunſmore, Paget, Broke, Saville, Paulet, and Howard of Eſcric, were choſen by the king; all of them popular men, and conſequently ſuppoſed nothing averſe to the Scottiſh invaſion, or unacceptable to that nation.

An addreſs had arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; but the king contented himſelf with ſummoning a great council of the peers at York. Much about this time, Northumberland's illneſs devolved the command of the army on Strafford, a nobleman who poſſeſſed more vigour of mind than the king, or any of his council. He adviſed Charles rather to put all to the hazard, than to ſubmit to ſuch terms as were likely to be impoſed upon him. His opinion was to attack the Scots; and to ſhew how eaſy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an aſſault to be made on ſome of their quarters, and he gained an advantage over them. Though no ceſſation of arms had been agreed to during the treaty at Rippon, yet that was underſtood, and great clamour prevailed on account of this act of hoſtility; and when it was known that the officer who conducted the attack was a papiſt, a violent outcry was raiſed againſt the king, for employing that hated ſect in the murder of his proteſtant ſubjects.

Charles, in deſpair of being able to ſtem the torrent, at laſt determined to yield to it; and as he foreſaw that the great council of the peers would adviſe him to call a parliament, he told them, in his firſt ſpeech, that he had already taken that reſolution. As many difficulties occurred in the negociation with the Scots, it was propoſed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London; which they willingly accepted.

The cauſes of diſguſt, which, for above thirty years, had been daily multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with ſome great revolution or convulſion. The king had aſſumed powers which rendered it impoſſible even for his moſt zealous partizans to juſtify his conduct. The nobility had been ſeized with the general diſcontent, and threw themſelves into the ſcale of the popular party. All the elections ran in favour of thoſe who, by their profeſſions of piety and patriotiſm, had gained the public confidence. It is a uſual compliment to regard the king's inclination in the choice of a ſpeaker; and Charles had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important truſt; but he could not obtain a ſeat in the Houſe, and the king was obliged to make the choice of ſpeaker fall on Lenthal.

The Commons immediately entered upon buſineſs, and ſtruck at once a blow which may in a manner be regarded as deciſive. The earl of Strafford, who was conſidered as chief miniſter, by a concurrence of incidents laboured

laboured under the ſevere hatred of all the three nations which compoſed the Britiſh monarchy. The Scots could never pardon the vigour with which he had acted againſt them while general of the army. The Iriſh, who were ſtill averſe to the Engliſh laws and religion, were provoked by the vigilance and activity he had diſplayed during eight years that he had been their lieutenant. The Engliſh deteſted him as the man by whoſe counſels the king had been miſguided. His manners, though to his friends full of affection, were at bottom haughty, rigid, and ſevere; and his former aſſociates in popular counſels, finding that he owed his advancement to the deſertion of their cauſe, repreſented him as the great apoſtate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to ſacrifice as a victim to public juſtice.

Strafford was ſenſible how much he was the object of public hatred, and it was only on the promiſe of Charles's protection that he ventured to attend in parliament. No ſooner was his arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the Houſe of Commons. It was led by Pym, who, after expatiating on a long liſt of popular grievances, We muſt inquire, added he, from what fountain theſe waters of bitterneſs flow; and though doubtleſs many evil counſellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterpriſe, and capacity, is entitled to the firſt place among theſe betrayers of their country. He is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of York, who in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been entruſted with authority, has raiſed ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a ſurvey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counſel. Many others entered into the ſame topics; and it was moved that Strafford ſhould be impeached. The impeachment was voted with univerſal applauſe, and Pym was choſen to carry it up to the Lords: moſt of the Houſe accompanied him; and, on their preſentation, Strafford was immediately ordered into the cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod. But the Commons did not ſtop their impeachments here: Laud was likewiſe accuſed of high treaſon; by order of the Peers he was ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody. The commitment of Laud was accompanied with the releaſe of biſhop Williams from the Tower. Finch, the lord keeper, and Windebank, the ſecretary, were alſo impeached; but theſe miniſters, conſcious how obnoxious they were, fled, the firſt to Holland, the laſt to France.

Thus, in a few weeks, this Houſe of Commons produced ſuch a revolution in the government, that the two moſt powerful and moſt favoured miniſters of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life: two other miniſters had, by flight alone, ſaved themſelves from a like fate: all the king's ſervants ſaw that no protection could be given them by their maſter; and all thoſe trembled, who had before exulted moſt in their credit and authority.

What rendered the power of the Commons more formidable, was the prudence with which it was conducted. The authority which, during the late military operations, had been exerciſed by the lieutenants of counties, was now voted illegal, and the perſons who had aſſumed them declared *delinquents*; a term newly adopted, and expreſſing a ſpecies of guilt not exactly aſcertained. The ſheriffs, who had levied ſhip-money, were compriſed in this deſcription. All the farmers and officers of the cuſtoms, who had been employed during ſo many years in levying tonnage and poundage, and the new impoſitions, were likewiſe declared criminals, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon, by paying a fine of an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Every diſcretionary or arbitrary ſentence of the Star-chamber and High Commiſſion courts underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny; and all thoſe who had any hand in ſuch ſentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law.

law. The judges who had given their vote againſt Hampden, in the trial of ſhip-money, were accuſed before the Peers, and obliged to find ſurety for their appearance; and Berkley, a judge of the King's Bench, was ſeized by order of the Houſe, even when ſitting in his tribunal. All thoſe monopolies which had lately been granted by the crown were annihilated by the order of the Commons; who carried their deteſtation of that grievance ſo far, as to expel from the Houſe all ſuch members as had been monopoliſts. The proceedings of the laſt convocation were voted to be illegal, and not binding on the clergy.

The iniquitous ſentences againſt Leighton, Prynne, Burton, Baſtwick, Lilburne, and others, were reverſed. Baſtwick had been confined in Scilly, Burton in Jerſey, and Prynne in Guernſey. When theſe illuſtrious ſufferers landed at their reſpective places in England, they were received with the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. In this triumphal proceſſion boughs were carried, and the roads were ſtrewed with flowers; and, amidſt the exultations of joy, invectives were intermingled againſt thoſe who had ſo cruelly perſecuted ſuch worthy characters.

Petitions to parliament, craving redreſs for particular grievances, were poured in from all parts of the kingdom; and ſo many grievances were offered, that the Houſe was divided into forty committees, each charged with the examination of ſome particular violation of law and liberty. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary, the ſentence againſt Hampden cancelled, the court of York, the Star-chamber, and High Commiſſion courts, were aboliſhed; compoſitions for knighthood ſtigmatized, the enlargement of the foreſts condemned, patents for monopolies annulled, and every late meaſure of adminiſtration treated with reproach and obloquy. Every diſcretionary act of the council was conſidered as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was, that a deſign had been formed to ſubvert the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

The Commons, conſidering the preſſure of the northern counties by the two armies that lay upon them, reſolved that two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed for their maintenance; and till it could be regularly levied, one hundred thouſand pounds were borrowed on the credit of ſome of the members.

A bill which had paſſed the Commons, prohibiting all clergymen the exerciſe of any civil office, and of courſe depriving the biſhops of their ſeats among the Peers, was rejected by the upper Houſe; the puritans, however, far from being diſcouraged by this check, the firſt they had received, brought in another bill immediately for the total aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, though they thought proper to let it ſleep till a more favourable opportunity.

Among other acts of regal executive power which the Commons found it neceſſary to aſſume, they iſſued orders for demoliſhing all images, altars, and crucifixes. Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of theſe orders was committed, removed all croſſes even out of ſtreets and markets.

Though diſuſe of parliaments, proſecution of members, ſhip-money, and an arbitrary adminiſtration were loudly complained of, yet the grievances which tended chiefly to inflame the parliament and the nation, eſpecially the latter, were the ſurplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the ſabbath, embroidered copes, lawn ſleeves, the uſe of the ring in marriage, and of the croſs in baptiſm.

Charles, convinced by experience of the danger of his former meaſures, endeavoured now to regain the confidence of his people by conceſſions. He paſſed a bill, by which the right of tonnage and poundage was for ever veſted in the Commons. He made a little difficulty with regard to the bill for triennial parliaments. By an old ſtatute, paſſed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, that parliaments ſhould be held once every year, or more frequently, if neceſſary; but as no proviſion had been

made in caſe of failure, and no preciſe method pointed out for execution, this ſtatute had been conſidered merely as a general declaration, and was diſpenſed with at pleaſure. The defect was ſupplied by thoſe vigilant patriots who now aſſumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was firſt bound under ſevere penalties, failed to iſſue writs by the 3d of September in every third year, any twelve or more of the Peers ſhould be empowered to exert this authority; in default of the peers, that the ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. ſhould ſummon the voters; and in their default, that the voters themſelves ſhould meet and proceed to the election of members, in the ſame manner as if writs had been regularly iſſued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was aſſembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own conſent, during the ſpace of fifty days. Charles, finding nothing elſe would ſatisfy his parliament and people, at laſt gave his aſſent to this bill.

The king thought conceſſions made to the public were of little conſequence, if no gratifications were beſtowed on individuals; a change of miniſters, as well as of meaſures, was reſolved on. The earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol, and Warwick, the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton, all noblemen of the popular party, were admitted privy counſellors. It was intended that Bedford ſhould have ſucceeded Juxon, who had reſigned the treaſurer's ſtaff; but that nobleman, unfortunately both for king and people, died about this very time. By ſome promotions place was made for St. John, who was created ſolicitor-general. Hollis was to be made ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Windebank, who had fled; Pym chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had reſigned; lord Say, maſter of the wards, in the room of the ſame nobleman; the earl of Eſſex governor; and Hampden tutor to the prince. But the perſons whom Charles intended to diſtinguiſh by his favour, were unwilling to undergo the reproach of having ſacrificed to their ambition the cauſe of the nation. On all occaſions, they had no other advice to give the king, than to allow himſelf to be directed by his parliament.

A committee of thirteen was choſen by the Houſe of Commons, and entruſted with the office of preparing the charge againſt Strafford. Theſe, joined to a ſmall committee of Lords, were veſted with authority to examine all witneſſes, to call for every paper, to uſe any means of ſcrutiny, with regard to any part of the earl's behaviour and conduct, and to examine privy counſellors concerning opinions delivered at the board.

When intelligence arrived in Ireland of the progreſs made in the impeachment of Strafford, the Iriſh Houſe of Commons ſent over a committee to London, to aſſiſt in his proſecution. The biſhops being forbidden, by the ancient canons, to aſſiſt in trials for life, thought proper, of themſelves, to withdraw.

A. D. 1641.] On the 30th of January, twenty-eight articles were given in to the Peers againſt Strafford. Theſe charge him with having exerciſed illegal power and oppreſſions in many inſtances, both as preſident of the council of York, or the North, as it was indifferently called, and as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; with having been the cauſe of the war with the Scots, (whom the Commons had lately ordered to be ſtyled, on all occaſions, "our brethren of Scotland,") againſt whom he had unjuſtly irritated his majeſty; with having levied an army of papiſts, to enſlave the kingdom; and with having adviſed the king to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government, on the ruin of the conſtitution. Weſtminſter-hall was fitted up for the trial, which began on the 22d of March, and laſted eighteen days. The Commons ſat as his accuſers, the Peers as his judges. The king and queen were preſent in a cloſe gallery.

It was proved that he had acted in an arbitrary and illegal manner as lord preſident of the court and council of the North. Mr. Guthrie obſerves, (Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 916.) that, had Strafford "been guilty of no other demerit, he deſerved to loſe

loſe his head for accepting what no king of England can give, and no free-born ſubject ought to execute. I mean a commiſſion that in effect ſet aſide the laws of the land, and left no other viſible tenure of juſtice, than the wills of men, always fallible, and often corrupted; influenced by ſentiments of gratitude, fear, or expectancy towards the crown; reſentments of hatred, envy, or malevolence towards the ſubject."

As lord lieutenant of Ireland he acted ſtill more deſpotic. The earl of Corke depoſed, that having commenced a ſuit at law, the earl of Strafford forbad his proſecuting it in the moſt arbitrary manner, ſaying to him, "Call in your writs, or, if you will not, I will clap you in the caſtle; for I tell you, I will not have my orders diſputed by law nor lawyers." Lord Corke farther depoſed, that being proſecuted in the Star-chamber for having made a leaſe of a parſonage contrary to an act of ſtate made in king James's reign, and intimating that he thought he could not legally be proſecuted for violating an obſolete act of ſtate, lord Strafford anſwered, "I tell you, my lord, great as you are, I will make you and all the ſubjects of Ireland know, that any act of ſtate, made, or to be made, ſhall be as binding to you and the ſubjects of Ireland, during my government, as an act of parliament."

Sir Pierce Croſby depoſed, that the earl of Strafford, ſoon after he came to Ireland, ſaid, that "if he lived, he would make an act of ſtate to be of equal power with an act of parliament;" and added, "that Ireland was a conquered nation, and the conqueror ſhould give the law."

Mr. Lotts depoſed, that the Commons having rejected ſome bills, particularly one which made it felony for a private perſon to have gunpowder without a licence, and being ſent for up to the lords, Strafford told them, that "notwithſtanding they had voted againſt it, yet he would make that, and ſome other bills they had voted againſt, acts of ſtate, that ſhould be as good."

It was alſo proved, that lord Mountnorris, for a very innocent expreſſion, which Strafford diſliked, and which it was pretended had a mutinous meaning, being an officer, was tried by a court martial, and ſentenced to be ſhot, but this was never executed. Strafford, in his defence, ſaid, "this was only intended to diſcipline lord Mountnorris, and to teach him to govern his ſpeech with more modeſty." It appears alſo, that lord Mountnorris was for a conſiderable time impriſoned, and deprived of an eſtate, though on other pretences.

The earl of Briſtol depoſed, that diſcourſing with lord Strafford of the diſtractions of the times, after the breaking up of the laſt parliament, and propoſing the ſummoning a new one, lord Strafford did not diſlike the propoſal, but ſaid it was not adviſeable at that time; that the dangers of the kingdom were ſo preſſing, they could not "admit of ſo *ſlow* and *uncertain* a remedy as a parliament was." That they had refuſed to ſupply the king in the ordinary and uſual way of ſubſidies, "and therefore the king muſt provide for the ſafety of his kingdom by ſuch ways as he ſhould think fit in his wiſdom." And farther, "that the king was not to ſuffer himſelf to be maſtered by the frowardneſs and undutifulneſs of his people."

Thomas Wiſeman depoſed, that the lord mayor and aldermen of London being called before the council for not levying the ſhip-money, Strafford ſaid, "they would never do their duties well till they were put to fine and ranſom;" and that he alſo ſaid, "You will have no good of this man," (meaning the lord mayor,) "till he is laid by the heels." Sir Henry Garraway, the lord mayor, depoſed, that having ſet forth the difficulties of levying ſhip-money before his majeſty and council, it was ill taken; and lord Stafford ſaid to the king, "Sir, you will never do good on this man till you have made him an example; he is too diffident: unleſs you commit him, you ſhall do no good upon him." That being alſo ſummoned with the aldermen about a loan, and being deſired to give liſts of thoſe who were able to lend in their ſeveral wards, they refuſed; whereupon Strafford burſt forth into

theſe

theſe words: "Sir, you will never do good to theſe citizens of London till you have made examples of ſome of the aldermen; unleſs you hang up ſome of them, you will do no good upon them."

Strafford was alſo accuſed with having cited jurymen to appear in the Iriſh Star-chamber, where pains and penalties were inflicted upon them for their verdicts. He admitted the charge, and contented himſelf with vindicating or extenuating what he had done. It was likewiſe proved, that in Ireland he had fined and impriſoned men by the authority of himſelf and the council only; that he had levied taxes on goods without any parliamentary authority; that he arbitrarily cauſed the goods of perſons to be ſeized, who had refuſed to obey his commands, though thoſe commands were unwarrantable, and unſupported by any law; and that he cauſed ſoldiers to be quartered on private perſons, if they did not obey his orders.

The neceſſity of making a miniſter reſponſible for the advice he may give the king is ſo obvious, that it cannot be diſputed; for this reaſon it was particularly provided at the Revolution, thate very member of the privy-council ſhould ſign the advice which he may give his majeſty, though this is ſhamefully evaded.

Sir Henry Vane, ſecretary, had taken ſome notes of a debate in council, after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament; and being at a diſtance, he had ſent the keys of his cabinet to his ſon, Sir Henry, in order to ſearch for ſome papers, which were neceſſary for completing a marriage ſettlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, deemed the matter of the utmoſt importance, and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper. The queſtion before the council was, *Offenſive or defenſive war with the Scots.* The king propoſes this difficulty, "But how can I undertake offenſive war, if I have no more money?" The anſwer aſcribed to Strafford was in theſe words: "Borrow of the city an hundred thouſand pounds: go on vigorouſly to levy ſhip-money. Your majeſty having tried the affections of your people, you are abſolved and looſe from all rules of government, and may do what power will admit. Your majeſty, having tried all ways, ſhall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce THIS kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." There followed ſome counſels of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the king's being abſolved from all rules of government. This paper was deemed equivalent to two witneſſes. Strafford replied, that Vane was his declared enemy; and that nothing could be more iniquitous than to extract an accuſation for high treaſon againſt him for opinions delivered at the council board. However, his judges thought otherwiſe.

We have preſented our readers with a ſmall portion of the evidence given on this trial, that they may be able to form a judgment of the nature of Strafford's guilt. He made a very eloquent defence, and appealed ſtrongly to the paſſions of his auditors. Though he acknowledged that many of his meaſures were harſh, he ſaid he was unwillingly driven into them from neceſſity; contended that, according to the ſtatute of Edward III. he had not been guilty of treaſon; and thus concluded, maintaining his innocence: "And ſo, my lords, even ſo, with the utmoſt tranquillity, I ſubmit myſelf to your judgment, whether that judgment be life or death. Not my will, but thine, O God, be done!" The king himſelf went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſpoke for ſome time in his defence, but without effect; his death alone could ſatisfy an injured people. He was found guilty by both houſes of parliament, and nothing remained but for the king to give his aſſent to the bill of attainder. Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, heſitated, and tried every expedient to put off ſo dreadful a duty as that of ſigning the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his perplexity was at laſt removed by an

an heroic act of bravery in the condemned lord; who wrote him a letter, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people. He consented, and signed the warrant by commission. Strafford certainly indulged the hope that his life would be spared; for when he was informed of this transaction, he started with astonishment, and exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." An interval only of three days was allowed the prisoner to prepare for his doom. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, sent by the hands of the young prince a letter addressed to the Peers, in which he intreated them to confer with the Commons about the mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, but was denied in both requests. Strafford was therefore beheaded on the 12th of May, on Tower-hill; behaving with all that composed dignity which was expected from his character.

We shall conclude our account of Strafford with the remark of the intelligent author of "Remarks on Mr. Hume's History of England," to whom we acknowledge ourselves under considerable obligations. "Whether all the proceedings against Strafford, and his final sentence, were strictly legal in every respect, I shall not take upon me to determine. The law, perhaps, may not have made the same provision for bringing iniquitous ministers of state to justice, that it has for inferior criminals: but, however this be, it is certain that Strafford did not fall undeservedly; and that there is very little reason for those pathetic lamentations that are thrown out upon this subject by Mr. Hume. If Strafford had not been guilty of treason against the person of Charles, he had been guilty of treason against the rights of the people; and if this be a species of treason not yet to be found in our statute-books, it is high time it should find a place there. Of all public crimes, attempts to subvert the rights of the people, and to overturn a free constitution, are the greatest, and ought to be the most severely punished. The idea that the personal security of the king is of more consequence than the preservation of the rights and privileges of a whole nation, can arise only from the most contemptible servility."

The parliament having punished the earl of Strafford in his own person for his crimes, had too much magnanimity to involve his innocent children in the consequences of their father's guilt, and therefore afterwards remitted that part of the sentence by which they were affected.

The fate of Strafford was precipitated by the discovery of a conspiracy that Goring and some officers had entered into for engaging the English army into the king's service; and a petition was drawn up, to be subscribed by the officers and soldiers, representing the dangerous consequences of the late innovations. The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on to countersign it himself, as a mark of his approbation. But Goring, imagining it could not long remain a secret, betrayed the project to the popular leaders. The alarm may easily be conceived which this intelligence conveyed; new rumours of conspiracies were every day circulated. In Lancashire, great numbers of papists were assembling; secret meetings were held by them in caves, and under ground, in Surry; provisions of arms were making beyond sea. The Commons voted that a protestation should be signed by the members to maintain the protestant religion against popery, to defend the king's person, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject. This protestation was sent up to the Lords, and signed by all of them, except Southampton and Roberts. The Commons then issued orders that it should be signed by all the nation.

The Commons now proceeded with their plan for reforming the state; and passed a bill for abolishing the courts of High Commission and Star-chamber: they also prevailed on the king to give the judges patents during their good behaviour, instead of patents during pleasure; a reform which was

intended to prevent the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of juſtice. The marſhal's court, which took cognizance of offenſive words, and was not ſufficiently limited by law, was alſo, for that reaſon, aboliſhed. The ſtannary courts, which exerciſed juriſdiction over the miners, being liable to a like objection, underwent a like fate. The abolition of the council of the North and the council of Wales followed from the ſame principles.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a concluſion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to aſſemble, and declared his intention of aſſiſting at it in perſon. The Commons, ſuſpecting that he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of his army in the north, on pretence of his viſiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the Lords, and propoſed that both armies ſhould be diſbanded before his departure, which the king, at their requeſt, poſtponed till the 10th of Auguſt. Both were accordingly diſbanded at the ſame time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well ſatisfied with their expedition.

A ſmall commitee of both Houſes, conſiſting of the earl of Bedford, lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Armyne, Fienne, and Hampden, was appointed to attend the king to Scotland.

The parliament continued to ſit for the further redreſs of grievances; but at length they reſolved to adjourn from the 9th of September to the 20th of October. The Commons, however, appointed a committee of forty-three members to manage all affairs of importance during the adjournment; and the Lords eſtabliſhed another for their Houſe.

That the thread of our narration might not be interrupted, we reſerved for the preſent opportunity to mention the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the prince of Orange. On this occaſion the king communicated his intentions to the parliament, who received the propoſal with ſatisfaction.

As former parliaments had either been prorogued or diſſolved haſtily, when they had under conſideration any ſubject that diſpleaſed the king, this parliament determined to provide ſome conſtitutional check againſt ſuch an evil. A bill was therefore paſſed for continuing the parliament, which ſhould not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without the conſent of both Houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed. This received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, with the bill of attainder againſt Strafford.

Charles ſet out for Scotland in Auguſt, attended by the duke of Lenox, lately created duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby; and was received at Edinburgh with great demonſtrations of affection by the people. In return for this reception, he confirmed the articles of treaty between the two kingdoms by act of parliament, all the conceſſions he had formerly made, and all the acts of their general aſſembly. To gain more effectually their eſteem, he conferred places of truſt and power on ſome, and dignities on others; among theſe, Hamilton was created a duke, and general Leſley earl of Leven.

The Lords of Articles were an ancient inſtitution in the Scottiſh parliament. They conſiſted of eight biſhops, eight temporal lords, and ſixteen commoners; and without their previous conſent no motion could be made in parliament. The bench of biſhops being now aboliſhed, the parliament laid hold of the opportunity, and totally ſet aſide the Lords of Articles; and till this important point was obtained, the nation could not be ſaid to enjoy any regular freedom.

The Peers and Commons formed only one houſe in the Scottiſh parliament; and as it had been the practice of James, and continued by Charles, to grace Engliſh gentlemen with Scottiſh titles, all the determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of theſe votes of foreigners, who had no intereſt or property in the nation. It was therefore a law deſerving approbation, that no man ſhould be created a Scotch peer who poſſeſſed not ten thouſand marks (above five hundred

hundred pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom.

A law for triennial parliaments was likewiſe paſſed; and it was ordained, that the laſt act of every parliament ſhould be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next enſuing. But the moſt fatal blow to the royal authority was the article that no member of the privy council, in whoſe hands, during the king's abſence, the whole adminiſtration lay, no officer of ſtate, none of the judges, ſhould be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive of their ſeats four judges who had adhered to his intereſts; and their place was ſupplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the covenanters were alſo ſworn of the privy council; and all the miniſters of ſtate, counſellors, and judges, were, by law, to hold their places during life or good behaviour.

An event, the moſt lamentable by which the page of hiſtory is blackened, took place at this time. The papiſts of Ireland imagined, from the diſtracted ſtate of affairs in England, they had now the moſt favourable opportunity of throwing off the Engliſh yoke. A gentleman, named Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was deſcended from a very ancient family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity, formed the project for expelling the Engliſh, and aſſerting the independence of his native country. He ſecretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and rouzed up every latent principle of diſcontent. He maintained a cloſe correſpondence with lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the moſt powerful of the old Iriſh. He repreſented to all that the occaſion was favourable; the Engliſh, warmly engaged in domeſtic animoſity, were unable to attend to a diſtant inſurrection; and thoſe of that nation, who reſided among them, were too feeble to reſiſt.

By theſe conſiderations, More engaged all the heads of the native Iriſh into the conſpiracy. The Engliſh of the Pale, as they were called, or the old Engliſh planters, being all catholics, it was hoped would ſoon afterwards join the party, which reſtored their religion to it's ancient ſplendour. The intention was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conſpirators, ſhould all begin an inſurrection on one day throughout the provinces, and deſtroy all the Engliſh; while lord Maguire and Roger More ſhould ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin. The time fixed for the revolt was the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in tranſporting forces from England; and before the commencement of the inſurrection, they expected ſuccours and ſupplies of arms from France.

The day before the intended ſeizure of the caſtle of Dublin, the plot was diſcovered by one O'Connolly, an Iriſhman, but a proteſtant, to the lords juſtices, Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlaſe; the earl of Leiceſter, who was lord-lieutenant, being in London. The juſtices fled immediately to the caſtle, and ordered the proteſtant inhabitants to prepare for their defence. Maguire was taken, but More eſcaped.

Though the citizens of Dublin had juſt time enough to elude the danger, the proteſtants diſperſed over the country were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulſter. The Iriſh, every where intermingled with the Engliſh, needed but a hint from their leaders and prieſts to begin the deſtruction of a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and proſperity. The conſpirators commenced their operations with ſeizing the houſes, cattle, and goods of the Engliſh. Thoſe who were alarmed by the commotions in their neighbourhood, inſtead of deſerting their habitations, and aſſembling for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property; and thus fell ſeparately into the hands of their enemies. To rapaciouſneſs ſucceeded cruelty, the moſt barbarous that occurs in the annals of human kind. An univerſal maſſacre enſued of the Engliſh, unprepared for defence, and therefore paſſively reſigned to their inhuman foes.

foes. No age, no ſex, no condition, was ſpared. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault; deſtruction was every where let looſe, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourſe had to relations, to companions, to former friends: all connections were diſſolved; and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. The moſt wanton cruelties were inflicted on thoſe innocent ſufferers. The very avarice of the revolters could not reſtrain their thirſt of blood; and they burned the inhabitants in their own houſes, to increaſe their puniſhment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge, and forced by theſe barbarians to leap thence into the water, where they were drowned. The weaker ſex emulated their more robuſt companions in the practice of every cruelty; and even children were prompted to eſſay their feeble blows on the carcaſes or defenceleſs children of the Engliſh. Amidſt all theſe enormities, the ſacred name of religion reſounded on every ſide; and the bigotted aſſaſſins, with joy and exultation, ſtill echoed in the ears of the expiring victims, that theſe agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal. The Engliſh colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulſter; but in the other provinces, the rebels pretended to act with greater humanity. In theſe the proteſtants were driven from their houſes, to meet the ſeverity of the weather, without food or rayment. The roads were covered with crowds of naked Engliſh, haſtening towards Dublin, and the other cities which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. Many ſuffered by hunger, and many by the cold, which happened at that time to be particularly ſevere. It is computed that the number of thoſe who periſhed by all theſe cruelties, amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand.

The Engliſh of the Pale, conſiſting of the old Engliſh catholics, now joining with the native Iriſh, an army was formed, amounting to above twenty thouſand men, and Dublin was threatened with an immediate ſiege. Sir Phelim O'Neale, who was at the head of the inſurgents, publiſhed a proclamation in the name of the "King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, for many great and urgent cauſes him thereunto moving, and repoſing confidence in our fidelity, has ſignified to us, by commiſſion under the great ſeal of Scotland, bearing date the firſt of this inſtant *October*." Then follows the commiſſion, "To arreſt and ſeize the goods, eſtates, and perſons, of all the Engliſh proteſtants." It is ſaid that Sir Phelim found a royal patent in the houſe of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered; he tore off the ſeal, and fixed it to the commiſſion which he had forged for himſelf.

We have given the account of this memorable inſurrection as moſt hiſtorians have related it; but as it may afford ſome ſatisfaction to the critical reader to hear what others have ſaid, we ſhall preſent it, without giving any opinion of our own. There is, however, a contradiction in the foregoing account which deſerves notice. If the inſurgents had really intended to withdraw themſelves from the Engliſh government, it was abſurd to ſuppoſe they would forge a commiſſion from the king, whoſe authority they muſt deny; whereas they called themſelves the queen's army, and ſaid they were fighting for her religion, and the king's prerogative. Notwithſtanding Sir Phelim O'Neale denied, on his trial, that the king had any ſhare in the conſpiracy, aſſerted the commiſſion to be a forgery, and refuſed to accept his life, which was offered if he would acknowledge that he acted by the king's authority.

Dr. Calamy, in his Life of Richard Baxter, p. 43, ſays, "The Iriſh declared they had the king's commiſſion for what they did; and many, even at that time, weighing all circumſtances, believed as much; while others repreſented it as an unjuſt and ſcandalous aſperſion on his majeſty. But, as providence ordered it, a certain memorable particularity helped to ſet this matter in a juſt light. The marquis of Antrim, who was a noted man amongſt the Iriſh rebels, having

having had his eſtate ſequeſtered, thought fit, upon the reſtoration of king Charles II. to ſue for the reſtitution of it. The duke of Ormond and the council judged againſt him, as being one of the rebels; whereupon he brought his cauſe over to the king, and affirmed, that what he did was by his father's conſent and authority; and the king referred it to ſome worthy members of the privy council, to examine what he had to ſhew; and, upon examination, they reported, *That they found he had the king's conſent, or letter of inſtruction, for what he did*; which amazed many. Hereupon king Charles wrote a letter to the duke of Ormond, and the council, to reſtore his eſtates; becauſe it appeared to thoſe appointed to examine it, that what he did was by his father's order and conſent. The lord Mazarine, and others in Ireland, not fully ſatisfied with this, thought fit ſo far to proſecute the matter, as that the marquis of Antrim was forced to produce in the Houſe of Commons a letter of king Charles I. by which he gave him an order for the taking up arms; which being read in the Houſe, produced a long ſilence. The whole account of it was publiſhed in a pamphlet entitled, "*Murder will Out.*" This pamphlet has been aſcribed to general Ludlow.

Dr. Burnet, in the Hiſtory of His Own Time, p. 58, ſays, "I will relate ſome particulars concerning the earl of Antrim. I had in my hands ſeveral of his letters to the king, written in a very confident ſtyle. Upon the Reſtoration, in the year 1660, lord Antrim was thought guilty of ſo much bloodſhed, that it was taken for granted he could not be included in the act of indemnity that was to paſs in Ireland; upon which he came over to London, and was lodged at Somerſet Houſe. He petitioned the king to order a committee of council to examine the warrant he had acted by. As it ſeemed but juſt to examine what he had to ſay for himſelf, ſo a committee was named, of which the earl of Northumberland was chief. He produced to them ſome of the king's letters, but they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the king wrote, *he had not then leiſure, but referred himſelf to the queen's letter*; and ſaid, *that was all one as if he wrote himſelf.* Upon this foundation, Antrim produced a ſeries of letters written by himſelf to the queen; in which he gave her an account of every one of thoſe particulars that were laid to his charge, and ſhewed the grounds he went on, and deſired her directions; to every one of theſe he had anſwers, ordering him to do as he did. So a report was prepared, to be ſigned by the committee, ſetting forth, That he had fully juſtified himſelf in every thing that had been objected to him, and that he ought not to be excepted out of the indemnity. This was brought firſt to the earl of Northumberland, to be ſigned by him; but he refuſed it, and ſaid, he was ſorry Antrim had produced ſuch warrants, but he did not think they could ſerve his turn; for he did not believe any warrant from a king or queen could juſtify ſo much bloodſhed, in ſo many black inſtances as were laid againſt him. Upon his refuſal, the reſt of the committee did not think fit to ſign the report, ſo it was let fall; and the king was prevailed on to write to the duke of Ormond, telling him, that Antrim had ſo vindicated himſelf, that he muſt endeavour to get him included in the indemnity. This was done, and was no ſmall reproach to the king." It ought to be obſerved, that Dr. Burnet was chaplain to Charles II. a biſhop, and a courtier; and therefore had the beſt poſſible opportunity of being acquainted with the ſubject, without any apparent inducement to miſrepreſentation on that ſide.

It is ſaid, in reply, that the letter which Antrim produced was one that he had received from the king in 1643, near two years after the Iriſh maſſacre, directing him to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice, to be ſent to Scotland, under the command of the marquis of Montroſs. There is no doubt of his having received ſuch a letter; but the queſtion is, whether he had received any from the king and queen relative to the maſſacre; for the former cannot be of that horrid deſcription given by the earl of North-

umberland. If what Calamy and Burnet have ſaid be true, we cannot entertain a very high opinion of our royal martyr.

The king was in Scotland when he received the firſt accounts of this inſurrection. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottiſh parliament, and ſolicited aſſiſtance to reduce the Iriſh to obedience: but they obſerved that Ireland depended upon England, and therefore referred him to the Engliſh parliament, who would undoubtedly provide for it's ſecurity. Charles haſtened to London, and preſſed the parliament to ſend immediate relief to Ireland. "To your care and wiſdom," ſaid he, "I commit the conduct and proſecution of the war." The people, who had always been accuſtomed to join the high church, or prelatical party, with the papiſts, immediately ſuppoſed this inſurrection to be the reſult of their united counſels. The attempts of the king to eſtabliſh the hierarchy, the conſtant protection he had given to popiſh recuſants, and the public manner in which the Iriſh inſurgents avowed they had the royal authority for their actions, confirmed the ſuſpicion that he was concerned in the rebellion. The Commons, therefore, knowing that the nation was threatened with an equal danger at home, where all their reſources might be wanted, ſent but ſlender ſupplies of men and money to Ireland.

A remonſtrance of the Commons was preſented to the king on the ſtate of the nation. Every grievance is there recapitulated, the bad counſels which he followed are there complained of, his concurrence in the Iriſh rebellion plainly inſinuated, the ſcheme laid for the introduction of popery and ſuperſtition inveighed againſt, and, as a remedy for all theſe evils, he is deſired to intruſt every office and command to perſons in whom his parliament ſhall have cauſe to confide. The remonſtrance was publiſhed; and the king diſperſed an anſwer, in which he profeſſed his ſincere attachment to the reformed religion, mentioned his conceſſions to national liberty, and, with regard to ill counſels, aſſerted that he had protected no miniſter from parliamentary juſtice, nor retained in his ſervice any one who was not high in the public eſtimation.

The Commons, however, thought it neceſſary for public ſecurity to impoſe farther checks on the royal prerogative. The firſt of theſe was the bill for preſſing ſoldiers to the ſervice of Ireland. In the preamble of it, the king's power of preſſing was declared illegal; and of courſe the prerogative which the crown had aſſumed of obliging men to accept any branch of public ſervice was annihilated. In order to elude this, the king offered to raiſe ten thouſand volunteers for the Iriſh ſervice; and when that propoſal was rejected, to paſs the law without the preamble, by which the queſtion with regard to the prerogative would for the preſent be avoided. Both Houſes took fire at this meaſure. The Lords, as well as Commons, paſſed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill which was in agitation in either of the Houſes, or to expreſs his ſentiments with regard to it, before it be preſented to him for his aſſent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compoſe this difference by an apology.

The interpoſition of peers in the election of commoners was likewiſe about this time declared a breach of privilege; and continues ever ſince to be condemned by votes of the Commons, notwithſtanding it is univerſally practiſed.

Every meaſure purſued by the Commons diſcovered their antipathy againſt the hierarchy; an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment which they were determined to ſubvert. While the king was in Scotland, the Commons deſired the Lords would concur with them in a declaration for ſuppreſſing the late innovations in the church, and Sunday ſports. The Lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the Commons in publiſhing an order of their Houſe, prohibiting all change in public worſhip, as eſtabliſhed by law. This propoſal was rejected by the lower Houſe, who publiſhed their own declaration: and as it met with the wiſhes of the people, it

it was readily obeyed. The Commons, ſenſible that the impediments to an eccleſiaſtical reform aroſe from the influence of the biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, had paſſed a bill, the laſt winter, to deprive them of their votes, but it was rejected by the Lords. They now introduced the ſame bill, and it met with the ſame fate. The Lords ſeemed determined to oppoſe the paſſing of any law which tended any way to the farther limitation of the royal authority. The Commons lamented that the work of ſaving the nation devolved wholly to them; and began, for the firſt time, to inſinuate that the buſineſs of the ſtate could be carried on without an upper Houſe.

The people, who approved of every meaſure that tended to reduce or aboliſh the hierarchy, were exceedingly diſſatisfied at the protection the biſhops received from the Peers, whom they frequently inſulted. The Lords ſent a declaration againſt theſe tumults to the other Houſe, but no attention was paid to it; and ſome young men, chiefly apprentices, being ſeized and committed to priſon, the Houſe of Commons immediately ordered them to be ſet free. The multitude alſo crowded about Whitehall, and threw out menaces againſt the king himſelf. It was at this time that ſeveral reduced officers, and ſtudents of the inns of court, offered their ſervices to the king, to ſuppreſs the diſorder; and many frays enſued, not without bloodſhed. The populace, by way of reproach, were called Roundheads, from the manner of wearing their hair, and the ſtudents Cavaliers; names which afterwards ſerved to diſtinguiſh the partizans of either ſide, and ſtill more to divide the nation.

The tumult ſtill continued, and even increaſed, about Weſtminſter and Whitehall; where the cry inceſſantly reſounded againſt biſhops and rotten-hearted lords. The former eſpecially, being diſtinguiſhable by their habits, and being the object of violent hatred to all the ſectaries, were expoſed to the moſt dangerous inſults. The archbiſhop of York, having been abuſed by the populace, called a meeting of his brethren, and, by his advice, a proteſtation was drawn, and addreſſed to the King and the Houſe of Lords. In this they ſet forth, that being hindered by the populace from attending in the Houſe of Lords, they reſolved to go thither no more, until all commotions ſhould be appeaſed; proteſting, in the mean time, againſt all ſuch laws as ſhould be enacted in their abſence. As ſoon as this proteſtation was preſented to the Lords, that Houſe deſired a conference with the Commons, whom they informed of the event. This opportunity was ſeized with triumph. An impeachment of high treaſon was immediately ſent up againſt the biſhops, as endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legiſlature. They were, on the firſt demand, ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody.

This imprudent ſtep of the biſhops was a fatal blow to the royal intereſt; but it ſoon felt a greater from the king's own indiſcretion; an indiſcretion to which all the enſuing diſorders ought immediately to be aſcribed. This was the impeachment of lord Kimbolton and the five members.

Charles, now become enraged to find that all his projects for maintaining the hierarchy, and his new eſtabliſhments, were likely to be aboliſhed, and that no conceſſion ſhort of that would ſatisfy the Commons, began to aſcribe their oppoſition, in a great meaſure, to the gentleneſs of his own behaviour. Being encouraged in theſe ſentiments by the queen and ſeveral courtiers, he gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, to enter an accuſation of high treaſon, in the Houſe of Peers, againſt lord Kimbolton, one of the moſt popular men of his party, and againſt five commoners, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impoſe on his ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aſperſions on his majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people;

people; that they had attempted to draw his late army to diſobedience of his royal commands; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at ſubverting the rights, and even the exiſtence of parliament; and had actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king.

The precipitancy and imprudence of this meaſure excited univerſal amazement, which was ſoon increaſed by another, ſtill more raſh and unſupported. A ſerjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the Houſe the five members, and was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. Meſſengers were employed to ſearch for them, and arreſt them. Their trunks, chambers, and ſtudies, were ſealed and locked. The Houſe voted all theſe acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this oppoſition, reſolved to come to the Houſe next day himſelf, with intention to ſeize in their preſence the perſons whom he had accuſed. This reſolution being diſcovered to the counteſs of Carliſle, ſhe privately ſent intelligence to the five members, and they had time to withdraw before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above two hundred, armed as uſual, ſome with halberts, and ſome with ſwords. The king, leaving them at the door, advanced alone through the hall; while all the members roſe to receive him. The ſpeaker withdrew from the chair, and the king took poſſeſſion of it. Having ſeated himſelf, and looked round him for ſome time, he told the Houſe that he was ſorry for the occaſion that forced him thither; that he was come in perſon to ſeize the members whom he had accuſed of high treaſon, ſeeing they would not deliver them up to his ſerjeant at arms. Addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, he deſired to know whether any of them were in the Houſe; but the ſpeaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak, in that place, but as the Houſe was pleaſed to direct him; and he aſked pardon for not being able to give any other anſwer. The Commons were in the utmoſt diſorder; and when the king was departing, ſome members cried out, ſo as he might hear them, "Privilege! privilege!" And the Houſe immediately adjourned until next day.

The accuſed members removed into the city that evening, where they might expect protection; and accordingly the inhabitants were in arms the whole night. Next morning Charles ſent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common council immediately. About ten o'clock, himſelf, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall. He told the common council, that he was ſorry to hear of the apprehenſions entertained of him; that he was come to them without a guard, in order to ſhew how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accuſed certain men of high treaſon, againſt whom he could proceed in a legal way, and therefore preſumed that they would not meet with protection in the city; and told one of the ſheriffs, who of the two was thought the leaſt inclined to his ſervice, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applauſe which he expected. In paſſing through the ſtreets he heard the cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" reſounding from all quarters. On his return, one of the populace, who was near his coach, called out with a loud voice, "To your tents, O Iſrael!" words employed by the Jews, when they revolted againſt the tyrant Rehoboam.

When the Commons met next day, they paſſed an unanimous vote, that, the king having violated their privileges, they could not aſſemble again in the ſame place, until they ſhould obtain ſatisfaction, with a guard for their ſecurity. They therefore adjourned themſelves for ſome days, and appointed a committee to ſit in Merchant-taylors Hall, in the city.

A. D. 1642.] The king, afraid of expoſing himſelf to any freſh inſult, retired to Hampton Court, overwhelmed with grief, ſhame, and remorſe. There he began to reflect on the raſhneſs of his former proceed-

ings,

ings, and reſolved, but now too late, to make ſome atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them, that he deſiſted from all proceedings againſt the accuſed members; and aſſured them, that, upon all occaſions, he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown; a ſubmiſſion which, in his preſent circumſtances, ſerved only to render him contemptible.

After the Houſe had reſumed it's ſittings, it was thought proper the accuſed members ſhould, with a triumphant and military proceſſion, take their ſeats. The river was covered with boats and other veſſels, laden with ſmall pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight. Skippon, whom the parliament had appointed major-general of the city militia, conducted the members, at the head of this army, to Weſtminſter Hall; and when the populace, by land and by water, paſſed Whitehall, they triumphantly aſked, "What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?"

Petitions and addreſſes now came in from ſeveral counties, and all deſcriptions of men. Even the women diſcovered the ſame zeal. A brewer's wife, followed by many thouſands of her ſex, brought a petition to the Houſe, in which the petitioners expreſſed their terror of the papiſts and prelates, and their dread of like maſſacres, rapes, and outrages, with thoſe which had been committed upon their ſex in Ireland. Pym came to the door of the Houſe; and having told them that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was preſented in a ſeaſonable time, he begged that their prayers for the ſucceſs of the Commons might follow their petition.

A majority of the Lords had hitherto adhered to the king; they now yielded to the torrent; and the bills which had ſtopped with the Peers now paſſed that Houſe, and were preſented for the royal aſſent. Theſe were, the preſſing bill with it's preamble, and the bill againſt the votes of the biſhops in parliament. The king's authority was at that time reduced to the loweſt ebb. The queen, dreading the approaching troubles, and finding no reſource in her huſband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. Deſirous of facilitating her eſcape, ſhe prevailed with the king to paſs theſe bills, in hopes of appeaſing the popular reſentment till ſhe ſhould eſcape.

The Commons opened ſome intercepted letters which had been written to the queen by lord Digby. They carried up an impeachment againſt Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his maſter's commands in accuſing their members; and as they were ſenſible the meaſures they purſued expoſed them to the king's indignation, their only ſecurity remained in getting command of the militia, and ſome places of ſtrength. This point, therefore, became their chief object; they diſpatched Sir John Hotham to ſecure Hull, where there was a large magazine of arms. They ſent orders to Goring, governor of Portſmouth, to obey no orders but ſuch as he ſhould receive from the parliament. They prevailed on the king to beſtow the command of the Tower on Sir John Conyers, in whom they placed implicit confidence.

The ſevere votes paſſed in the beginning of this parliament, againſt lieutenants and their deputies, for exerciſing powers aſſumed by all their predeceſſors, while it diſarmed the crown, had not left in any magiſtrate military authority ſufficient for the defence and ſecurity of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared neceſſary. A bill was introduced, and paſſed the two Houſes, which reſtored to lieutenants and deputies the ſame powers of which the votes of the Commons had deprived them; but at the ſame time the names of all the lieutenants were inſerted in the bill; and theſe conſiſted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct they were accountable, by the expreſs terms of the bill, to the parliament. The king was at this time at Dover, attending the queen and princeſs of Orange, on their embarkation. He replied to the meſſage of the Commons, that he had not then leiſure

to conſider a matter of ſo great importance; and therefore would defer an anſwer until his return.

The Iriſh rebellion raged all this time with uncommon violence, and affairs were quite diſtracted at home. The parliament, therefore, preſented a petition to the king at Greenwich by the earls of Pembroke and Holland, in which they mentioned the cauſes of the preſent diſtractions, and their remedies. They alledged that the dangers of the nation were ſuch as could admit no farther delay; and unleſs the king ſpeedily complied with their demands, they ſhould be obliged, both for his ſafety and that of the kingdom, to diſpoſe of the militia by the authority of both Houſes, and were reſolved to do it accordingly. In their remonſtrances to the king, they deſired permiſſion to command the army even for a limited time; which ſo exaſperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour!" This peremptory refuſal produced in the Commons the following reſolutions. "That the kingdom ſhould be forthwith put in a poſture of defence, in the way already agreed on by both Houſes; and that a committee ſhould be appointed to prepare a declaration to free the Houſe from ſuſpicions, and to lay down the juſt cauſes of the fears and jealouſies on which they proceeded."

The king endeavoured to perſuade the people, that, to give the parliament ſatisfaction, he had granted every thing he ought; while the parliament ſtrove to convince the nation, that at the very time, when they in a manner forced his aſſent to their neceſſary demands, he had been, and was now, contriving the means to invalidate thoſe conceſſions.

Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of parliament, the king perſiſted in refuſing them the command of the militia; and they proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of parliament, without the king's conſent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, and of all the guards, garriſons, and forts of the kingdom.

Charles retired to York, with the prince of Wales and duke of York; where he was in hopes of finding the people more attached to his intereſt than in the capital; but they were at firſt very cautious in offering their ſervices. This induced him to inform the parliament, that he was reſolved to go in perſon to ſuppreſs the rebellion in Ireland; and intended to raiſe near Cheſter a guard of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, to be armed from the magazine at Hull. Both Houſes were of opinion it would be dangerous for him to go to Ireland; as he might place himſelf at the head of the contending armies, that of the duke of Ormond, and the rebels, who pretended to act by his commiſſion. They therefore drew up a petition againſt it; and declared thoſe enemies to the ſtate who ſhould raiſe forces for Ireland without conſent of parliament. The near vicinity of the king to Hull excited the jealouſy of parliament; they petitioned the king to permit the removal of the ſtores to the Tower; and as he refuſed, they ſent orders to prepare ſhips, and bring them away. But Charles hoped, before this order could be executed, to make himſelf maſter of Hull; he ſent the duke of York, and ſome nobles who had followed his fortune, into the town, where they were received with great cordiality. The next day he advanced himſelf, with three hundred horſe; and ſent a meſſenger to Sir John Hotham, to inform him that he intended to viſit the town and magazine, and ordered him to provide for himſelf and train. Hotham immediately called the magiſtrates of the town, and officers of the garriſon to a council, in which it was reſolved not to admit the king; and on his nearer approach, the bridge was drawn up, and the garriſon ſtood to arms. Charles, with a loud voice, demanded entrance; but Hotham very reſpectfully refuſed, alledging that he had received his truſt from parliament; he, however, permitted the king's ſon and his friends to leave the town.

Charles,

Charles, enraged at this disappointment, declared Hotham a traitor, and returned to Beverly.

The county of York raised six hundred men, as a guard for the king; who issued commissions of array all over the country. The parliament voted that the king, seduced by wicked counsels, intended to make war against the parliament; and that whoever should assist him in such a war were traitors, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The king, on the other hand, proclaimed the parliamentary commissions to be treasonable. The forces which had been raised for Ireland were now to be employed against the king; and so eager were the people to support the parliament, that in London no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day. The command of the army was given to the earl of Essex, and the earl of Bedford was chosen general of the horse; but these and the other officers were to be under the inspection of a committee of both Houses, who were to fill up all commissions: and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, *that they would live and die with their general.*

Orders were issued by parliament, for bringing in loans of money and plate, to maintain the forces; and within ten days such vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasuries, that there were hardly men enough to receive, or room sufficient to stow it; and many were obliged, with regret, to take back their offerings, till the treasurers could find time to receive them. The women were not behind in their zeal to support the public cause; they gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, even their silver thimbles and bodkins.

It may afford a proper clue to the transactions of this reign, to review the prevailing politics at that time. Strafford, in one of his letters, says, "I shall endeavour the lower House shall be so composed, as that neither the recusants, nor yet the protestants, shall appear considerably more the one than the other, holding them, as much as may be, upon an equal balance; for they will prove thus much easier to govern, than if either party were absolute."---"I will labour to make as many captains and officers burgesses as possible I can, who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, may almost sway the business betwixt the two parties which way they please."---"In the higher House, your majesty will have, I trust, the bishops wholly for you." But, with all his address, the minister had not learned sufficiently the method of managing the parliament; they still retained their independence; and the House of Commons was considered in no other light than as the representatives of the people, whose interest was the same with that of the public, who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive could ever engage but the necessary defence of the nation, in an opposition to the crown. Hence the torrent of general affection ran to the parliament, who, actuated by a generous love of freedom, and incited by the fear of again falling into that slavery from which they had gloriously redeemed themselves and their country, were now excited by every consideration of public and private interest, to defend themselves against a prince, who, for the space of so many years, had levelled the boundaries of law, and thrown down the bulwarks of civil and religious liberty: that such a prince, in his adverse state, should find a party to espouse his broken fortunes; that he should be able to persuade men to lift their impious hands against the authors of freedom, and drench their country in blood, to support a power he had abused, are circumstances which exhibit a melancholy proof of the extreme weakness and depravity of the human mind. The injuries which the English had suffered under the family of the Stuarts, had in appearance roused an universal spirit of opposition; yet, when the indefeasible power of the people was opposed to the claims of monarchy, the king found among men of fortune and family a numerous party, who, priding themselves on their descent from opulent ancestors, fancied they had a right to tyrannize over their fellow-citizens; and growing sick of

of the new-broached doctrines, which aſſerted that all men had a right to equal liberty, deſerted the cauſe which oppreſſion had engaged them to abet, and ranged themſelves on the ſide of the crown. Thus the greater weight of the landed intereſt fell on the ſide of the king, who had alſo all the catholics, and thoſe who were ſuperſtitiouſly attached to the hierarchy. But theſe advantages were more than balanced by the popularity of the parliament, and by the love of liberty, which was diffuſed among the active, the induſtrious, and the commercial part of the nation. The king had a particular diſadvantage ariſing from the duplicity of his conduct: he had frequently violated his engagements with his people; and now, notwithſtanding all his aſſertions to the contrary, they in general believed that he had an averſion to the free government of the country; that he had conſented to all the laws in favour of liberty with reluctance; that neither his oaths nor promiſes could be depended on; and that he would reſume all his former arbitrary meaſures as ſoon as he had obtained ſufficient power and a proper opportunity.

The parliament were eclipſed by the ſplendid appearance of the nobility, who flocked to Charles at York; but they had ſtill the advantage of him, for the will and ſtrength of the people was unqueſtionably with them. Above forty peers of the firſt rank attended the king; whilſt the Houſe of Lords ſeldom conſiſted of more than ſixteen members. Many of the lower Houſe alſo abſented themſelves. The Commons ſent up an impeachment againſt nine peers, for deſerting their duty in parliament; they likewiſe paſſed a vote, not to admit any of their own members, who ſhould return to them, until ſatisfied concerning the reaſon of their abſence.

Charles made a declaration to the peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land; and this declaration the peers anſwered by a proteſt, in which they declared their reſolution to obey no commands but ſuch as were warranted by that authority. Every tyrant makes uſe of this language, when he is trampling on the *rights of the people*.

The queen, by diſpoſing of the crown jewels in Holland, was enabled to purchaſe a cargo of arms and ammunition for the king. His nephews, the princes Rupert and Maurice, ſons of the elector palatine, and other officers, came over from the continent to aſſiſt him. He had collected a body of militia, and ſome regular troops; but his preparations were not near ſo forward as thoſe of the parliament.

Hoſtilities were not commenced; and, to prevent the effuſion of kindred blood, the parliament thought proper to ſend him propoſitions, on which a reconciliation might yet take place. They conſiſted of nineteen articles, and are in ſubſtance as follows. It was required, that no man ſhould remain in the council who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king ſhould have validity, unleſs it paſſed the council, and was atteſted under their hands; that all the officers of ſtate, and principal judges, ſhould be choſen with conſent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family ſhould marry without conſent of parliament or council; that the laws ſhould be executed againſt catholics; that the votes of popiſh lords ſhould be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church government ſhould have place, according to the advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be ſubmitted to; that the juſtice of parliament paſs upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with ſuch exceptions as ſhould be adviſed by parliament; that the forts and caſtles be diſpoſed of by conſent of parliament; and that no peer be made but with conſent of both Houſes.

Had theſe terms been complied with, the king would have been deprived of every prerogative inimical to the intereſt of the kingdom; but enough would remain for every purpoſe of good government. However Charles, unfortunately, was not in a ſtate of mind to think ſo. "Should I grant theſe demands,"

demands," said he, "I may be waited on bareheaded; the title of majesty may be continued to me; but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." War on any terms was esteemed, by the king and all his counsellors, preferable to such a peace. Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms.

An attempt was made, by some of the king's troops, to seize a magazine of arms in Leicestershire, guarded by the earl of Stamford, but they were defeated. The king put a garrison into Newcastle, and erected fortifications on the Tyne. He made an attack on Hull, with about two thousand five hundred horse and foot, under the earl of Lindsey; but they were repulsed This defeat was compensated by the conduct of Goring, governor of Portsmouth, who declared for the king. Charles was so elated with the acquisition of this sea-port, that he immediately published a declaration, in which he recapitulated all those actions, which he termed insolent and rebellious in the two Houses; and at the same time published a proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to his standard, which was to be erected at Nottingham, on the 25th of August following. The royal standard was erected at Nottingham on the day appointed; but, to the surprise and mortification of the king, the people did not at first resort to it, in obedience to his proclamation. His artillery, far from numerous, had been left at York for want of horses; and, besides the militia of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which did not exceed eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms, was commanded by prince Rupert, and lay at Leicester. In his way to Nottingham, he proposed to enter Coventry; but the citizens shut the gates, fired at his men, and obliged him to retire. The forces of the parliament were greatly superior, and better provided; they amounted to six thousand, and lay at Northampton, but had not received orders to march immediately against the king. Charles was told by Sir Jacob Astley, his major-general, that he could give him no assurance of his safety; and while he was ruminating on the danger of his situation, he received intelligence that Portsmouth was besieged both by sea and land, and must surrender in a few days.

In this state of affairs, the king, by the advice of lord Southampton, and with the unanimous concurrence of the counsellors, was prevailed upon, after some reluctance, to make overtures of treaty to the parliament. That nobleman, therefore, with Sir John Colepepper and Sir William Uvedale, was dispatched to London for that purpose. The manner in which they were received gave little hopes of success. Southampton was not allowed by the Peers to take his seat, but was ordered to deliver his message to the usher, and immediately to depart the city. The Commons shewed little better disposition towards Colepepper and Uvedale. Both Houses replied, that they could admit of no treaty with the king, until he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. This determination so alarmed the royalists, that they advised the king to lay aside all thoughts of conquest, to haste to London, and appear in parliament before they had any item of his intention. This seasonable advice was rejected with disdain: it was thought necessary to amuse the parliament with another message, in which the king promised to recall his proclamations, provided they would recall their's, in which they declared his adherents traitors. The parliament, perceiving the king's aim, immediately dispatched the messenger with an answer, in which they charged the king with duplicity of conduct, in sending hostile instructions to his commissioners of array, since his pacific professions; and intreated him to disband his forces, and return to his parliament, where, they said, he would find such expressions of their fidelity and duty, as should assure him that his safety, honour, and greatness, could only be

found in the affections of his people, and in their ſincere councils. But Charles, inſtead of complying, augmented his levies and warlike preparations.

All the detachments of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the earl of Eſſex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to fifteen thouſand men. The king, though his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was ſenſible that he could not cope with ſo formidable a force; he therefore thought it prudent to retire, by ſlow marches, to Derby, thence to Shrewſbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in thoſe parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewſbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces. He there made a declaration of his reſolution to maintain the true reformed religion, and to conſider the laws as the future meaſure of his government.

While the king's army lay at Shrewſbury, and he was employing himſelf in collecting money, which he received, though in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the univerſities, which was ſent him, the news arrived of an action, the firſt which had happened in theſe wars, and where his troops were ſucceſsful.

Prince Rupert commanded a body of horſe, which had been ſent to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was marching towards that city. No ſooner had the prince arrived, than he ſaw ſome cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. While they were defiling from a lane, and forming themſelves, he attacked them, and routed the whole party, which was purſued above a mile; but hearing of the approach of Eſſex, he returned to the main body.

The king, on leaving Shrewſbury, found his army amounted to ten thouſand men; and with this force he reſolved to give battle to the army of the parliament, which was continually increaſing by ſupplies from London. He therefore directed his march towards the capital, which he knew the enemy would not abandon to him.

When the royal army had advanced to the neighbourhood of Banbury, that of the parliament lay at Keinton, in the county of Warwick. Though the day was far advanced, the king reſolved upon the attack; and accordingly Eſſex drew up his men to receive him. In the beginning of this engagement, Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who had levied a troop for the Iriſh war, but had been obliged to ſerve in the parliamentary army, deſerted to the royaliſts; which ſo intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry was ſoon routed, and fled. The right wing of their army was as unſucceſsful, and followed the example; but the victors too eagerly purſuing, Eſſex's body of reſerve wheeled upon the rear of the purſuers, mortally wounded lord Lindeſey, the general, and made great havoc among them. After the royaliſts had a little recovered from their ſurpriſe, they made a reſolute ſtand, and both ſides for a time ſtood gazing at each other, without ſufficient courage to renew the attack. They lay all night under arms, and next morning found themſelves in ſight of each other, neither party ſhewing any inclination to renew the fight. Eſſex firſt drew off, and retired to Warwick; and the king returned to his former quarters. Five thouſand men are ſaid to have been found dead on the field of battle; and the loſs of the two armies, as far as may be judged from the oppoſite accounts, was nearly equal.

In a ſhort time after this action, the king advanced with his whole army to Reading. The parliament, rather alarmed at his approach, while their own forces lay at a diſtance, and having before them the proſpect of a civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event, voted an addreſs for a treaty. When the king reached Colnbroke, Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, preſented the addreſs of both Houſes; in which they beſought his majeſty to appoint ſome convenient place where he might reſide, till committees

committees could attend him with propoſals. The king named Windſor, and deſired that their garriſon might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that caſtle.

Eſſex, in the mean time, had arrived at London by haſty marches; but neither the preſence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. The parliament wrote a letter to him, intimating a ceſſation of hoſtilities on their part, and requeſting the like on his; but he afterwards attacked two regiments that were quartered at Brentford, and took about five hundred priſoners; the reſt were either cut to pieces, or drowned in the river. Loud complaints were raiſed againſt this attack, as an inſtance of the utmoſt perfidy, and a violation of the treaty then negociating. Inflamed with reſentment, as well as anxious for it's own ſafety, the city marched it's trained bands, and joined the army under Eſſex, at Turnham Green; which, with this reinforcement, amounted to above twenty-four thouſand men, and was much ſuperior to that of the king. After both armies had faced each other for ſome time, Charles drew off to Reading, and thence to Oxford.

The earls of Cumberland and Newcaſtle, who commanded for the king in the north, had joined their armies, which amounted to eight thouſand; theſe were augmented by colonel Goring, who brought two hundred men, and a quantity of ammunition, from Holland. Lord Fairfax, not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to contend with them, applied to the parliament, who found means to engage the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, Hertford, Cambridge, Lincoln Huntingdon, and the city of Norwich, in an aſſociation to ſupport them with their lives and fortunes; and the lord Grey of Werk was authoriſed to raiſe forces, and appointed commander in chief, in thoſe parts. The marquis of Hertford was appointed by Charles commander in chief in the weſt, where his intereſt principally lay. He aſſembled ſome forces in Somerſetſhire; but, on the approach of the earl of Bedford, who had been ſent againſt him by the parliament, he retired into Wales, and ſent Hopton, Berkeley, and Digby, with an hundred and twenty horſe, into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that country better prepared for his reception.

A. D. 1643.] Conferences for a peace were continued during winter, but without a ceſſation of hoſtilities; and at length they were broke off. The queen, having procured a conſiderable ſupply of artillery, arms, and ammunition, landed at Burlington Bay, from Holland, in February; and ſoon after ſet out again, in queſt of new ſuccours.

The earl of Eſſex, with eighteen thouſand men, was ordered to lay ſiege to Reading, a place of conſiderable ſtrength. The king approached, with an intention of obliging Eſſex to raiſe the ſiege; but the diſpoſition of the parliamentary army was ſo ſtrong, as rendered the deſign impracticable. Fielding, the governor, was therefore contented to yield the town, on condition that he ſhould bring off all the garriſon with the honours of war, and deliver up deſerters. This laſt article was thought ſo ignominious, and ſo prejudicial to the king's intereſts, that the governor was tried by a council of war, and condemned to loſe his life, for conſenting to it; but the king remitted his ſentence.

The earl of Newcaſtle united in a league for the king the northern counties; and finding that Fairfax, aſſiſted by Hotham, and the garriſon of Hull, was making progreſs in the ſouthern parts of Yorkſhire, he advanced with a body of four thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of York. At Tadcaſter he attacked the forces of the parliament, and diſlodged them; but his victory was not deciſive. In other rencounters he obtained ſome inconſiderable advantages. But the chief benefit which reſulted from his enterpriſes was the eſtabliſhing of the king's authority in the north.

About this time Sir William Waller began to diſtinguiſh himſelf among the generals of the parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterpriſing, he was fitted by his genius to the nature of the war.

After

After taking Winchester and Chichester, he defeated lord Herbert, who, with a considerable number of Welch troops, had laid siege to Gloucester. He then took Hereford and Tewksbury, and made an unsuccessful attempt on Worcester.

In Cornwall, Sir Bevil Granville, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, raised, at their charge, an army for the king. They successively defeated, at Bradoc Down and Stratton, the parliamentary generals Ruthven and lord Stamford.

The west being now the greatest scene of action, drew the attention both of Charles and the parliament. The marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice joined the Cornish army; while, on the other hand, Waller advanced with a considerable force to check their progress. After some skirmishes, the two armies met at Lansdown, near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of some powder, was dangerously hurt. The royalists next attempted to march eastward, and to join their forces to the king's at Oxford; but Waller hung on their rear, and infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was resolved that Hertford and prince Maurice should proceed with the cavalry; and having procured a reinforcement from the king, should hasten back to the relief of their friends. Waller was so confident of taking this body of infantry, now abandoned by the horse, that he wrote to the parliament that their work was done, and that by the next post he would inform them of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his western army was reduced, had prepared a considerable body of cavalry, which he immediately dispatched to their succour, under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway Down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, and prevent his conjunction with the Cornish infantry, a smart action ensued, in which he was totally routed, and flying with a few horse, escaped to Bristol. Wilmot, seizing the enemy's cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry, and routed and dispersed the whole army.

Prince Rupert had fallen suddenly upon the dispersed bodies of Essex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters, at Thame. The alarm being given, a detachment of horse was ordered to pursue the prince, to recover the prisoners, and to repair the disgrace which the army had sustained. Hampden, who had a regiment of infantry that lay at a distance, joined the horse as a volunteer, and overtaking the royalists at Chalgrave Field, entered into the thickest of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the king's troops were brought off, and a great booty, together with two hundred prisoners, was conveyed to Oxford. But what most pleased the royalists was, the expectation that some disaster had happened to Hampden, their capital and much-dreaded enemy. One of the prisoners, taken in the action, said, that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day the news arrived that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Some days after he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound; nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been thrown into greater consternation. The king himself so highly valued him, that, either from generosity or policy, he intended to have sent him his own surgeon, to assist at his cure.

Many

Many were the virtues and talents of this eminent perſonage; and his valour, during the war, had ſhone out with a luſtre equal to that of the other accompliſhments by which he had ever been diſtinguiſhed. Affability in converſation; temper and eloquence in debate; penetration and diſcernment in counſel; induſtry, vigilance, and enterpriſe in action; all theſe praiſes are unanimouſly aſcribed to him by hiſtorians of the moſt oppoſite parties. His virtue too and integrity, in all the duties of private life, are allowed to have been beyond exception.

Eſſex now returned towards London; while the royal army moved weſtward, and laid ſiege to Briſtol; they carried the ſuburbs, though with conſiderable loſs; and the city itſelf ſoon after ſurrendered. This acquiſition was of the greateſt importance; and ſuch was the general alarm ſpread, that ſeveral of the royaliſts propoſed to march to the capital. This deſign was laid aſide on account of the force of the militia: and after detaching prince Maurice into Devonſhire, the King determined to lay ſiege to Glouceſter. The governor of Glouceſter was one Maſſey, a ſoldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the parliament, had offered his ſervice to the king; and it was preſumed he would lend an ear to propoſals for accommodation: but Maſſey was reſolute to preſerve an entire fidelity to his maſters. The ſummons to ſurrender allowed two hours for an anſwer; but before that time expired, two citizens of a very groteſque appearance, came to the king, and without any circumſtances of reſpect, in ſhrill, undiſmayed accent, ſaid, that they brought an anſwer from the godly city of Glouceſter. That anſwer expreſſed their determination to keep the city for the parliament: the ſiege was immediately commenced; and both parties, conſcious how much depended on the event, diſplayed the greateſt vigour and obſtinacy. Though Maſſey had diſputed every inch of ground, his garriſon was reduced to extreme neceſſity from the want of proviſions and ammunition. The parliament voted, that an army ſhould be levied under Sir William Waller, whom, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary careſſes. They gave the earl of Mancheſter a commiſſion to be general of the aſſociated counties, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But, above all, they were intent that Eſſex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, ſhould be put in a condition of marching againſt the king. And they engaged the city to ſend four regiments of its militia to the relief of Glouceſter. All ſhops, meanwhile, were ordered to be ſhut, that the ſhopkeepers and apprentices, might be at greater liberty to attend to the defence of the kingdom.

Eſſex marched towards Glouceſter with a well-appointed army of 14,000 men: at his appearance, the king was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when the garriſon had only one barrel of powder left, and proviſions were equally ſcarce with ammunition. But though Eſſex had relieved Glouceſter, another difficulty remained: he had his retreat to accompliſh in face of an army much ſuperior to himſelf in cavalry. When he reached Newbury, he found the King poſted in his front; and as an action was unavoidable, he prepared for it with great preſence of mind. Though his horſe was ſeveral times broken, his infantry maintained themſelves in firm array. The militia of London, on this occaſion, equalled what could be expected from veteran forces: night put an end to the engagement, and left the victory undecided. Eſſex proceeded on his march to London; and the king, who cloſely followed him, obtained no other advantage than the re-capture of Reading.

The king ſuffered a ſevere loſs in the death of Lucius Cary, viſcount Falkland, his ſecretary of ſtate, who had fallen in the battle of Newbury, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. This nobleman had early devoted himſelf to the purſuits of learning, and the ſociety of the elegant and polite; when called into public life, his maſculine eloquence was diſplayed in all attacks on the high prerogative of the crown: when civil convulſions proceeded to extremities, he joined the king: he ſeems ſtill however to have dreaded the

too prosperous success of his own party as much as of the enemy: and, among his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would, with a sad accent, reiterate the word *Peace*. From the commencement of the war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and even his usual attention to dress, gave way to a negligence which was easily observable. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had shown some care in adorning his person; and gave for a reason, that the enemy should not find his body in any slovenly, indecent situation. "I am weary," subjoined he, "of "the times, and foresee much misery to my "country; but believe, that I shall be out "of it ere night!"

Great hopes were entertained this summer from the earl, now created marquis of Newcastle, who had raised a considerable army for the king. There appeared, however, in opposition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the Lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield over a detachment of royalists, and took General Goring prisoner: the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborow over a party commanded by Cavendish, who perished in the action. But both these defeats of the royalists were more than compensated by the total rout of Lord Fairfax, at Atherton moor, and the dispersion of his army. After this victory, Newcastle, with an army of fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull. Hotham, the late governor, and his son, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, to deliver that fortress into his hands. But their conspiracy being detected, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where they were executed for their treachery.

Newcastle, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was beat off by a sally of the garrison, and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester, who advanced from the eastern associated counties, having joined Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horncastle; where the two officers last mentioned, gained renown by their conduct and gallantry. And though fortune had thus balanced her favours, the king's party still remained much superior in those parts of England; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which kept Yorkshire in awe, a conjunction of the northern forces with the army in the south might have been made, and perhaps enabled the king to march to London, instead of Gloucester, and terminate the war.

Many, who were very apprehensive as to the event of the war, were very solicitous to obtain a peace. A great number of women surrounded the parliament house, and were exceedingly clamorous; the guards dispersed them with great difficulty, and one or two lost their lives in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deserted the parliament, and retired to Oxford; Clare and Lovelace followed them; Northumberland retired to his country-seat; Essex himself, shewed extreme dissatisfaction, and exhorted the parliament to make peace. The upper house accordingly sent down terms of accommodation more moderate than had hitherto been insisted on. It even passed by a majority among the commons, that these proposals should be transmitted to the King. The zealots were now alarmed: a petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented by Pennington, the mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed all their menaces against the moderate party. The majority was again turned for war. This resolution was adopted in August, and (as we have seen) continued with various success to the end of the campaign.

The event became now more doubtful, both parties sought assistance from the neighbouring kingdoms; the parliament had recourse to Scotland, and Charles to Ireland. As the king had refused to summon a Scottish parliament, the presbyterian leaders assembled a convention in his name, but by their own authority. The English parliament sent com-

commiſſioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy between the two nations: when they entered into a SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which effaced all former proteſtations and vows taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the ſubſcribers, beſides engaging mutually to defend each other againſt all opponents, bound themſelves to endeavour, without reſpect of perſons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to diſcover and bring to juſtice all incendiaries and malignants. The ſubſcribers of the covenant vowed to preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland; but no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that theſe kingdoms ſhould be reformed according to the word of God, and the example of the pureſt churches. The covenant itſelf was read in St. Margaret's church at Weſtminſter, in preſence of both houſes, by whom it was ſubſcribed, and the commons ordered it ſhould be acknowledged by all perſons living under their jurisdiction. An hundred thouſand pounds were borrowed of the city, and ſent to Edinburgh, according to an agreement made with the Scots, who after the firſt three months ſervice were alſo to be allowed thirty thouſand pounds per month, while they were aſſiſting the parliament. Accordingly they ſent twenty thouſand men, under their old general the earl of Leven, to England.

While the parliament were induced by their diſtreſſes to apply to Scotland, Charles had recourſe to Ireland. where the rebellion ſtill continued. In many rencounters the Engliſh, under lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, had routed the Iriſh, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels raiſed the ſiege of Drogheda, after the garriſon had made an obſtinate defence. Ormond had obtained two complete victories at Kilruſh and Roſs, and had brought relief to all the forts that were beſieged in different parts of the kingdom. Yet the moſt common neceſſaries of life were wanted by the victorious army; for the Iriſh, in their rage againſt the Britiſh planters, had laid waſte, the whole kingdom; and even moſt of the inhabitants of Dublin had come to England, to eſcape ſtarving there. By the intereſt and authority of Ormond, the juſtices and council of Ireland were fallen into an entire dependence on the king. Parſons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who appeared to be of the oppoſite party, had been removed, and Charles had ſupplied their places by others better affected to his ſervice. In obedience to orders tranſmitted from the king, a committee of the Engliſh houſe of Commons, which had been ſent over to Ireland, to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council. This, with the great difficulty under which the parliament themſelves laboured, rendered them unwilling to ſend ſupplies to an army, which, though engaged in a cauſe much favoured by them, was commanded by their declared enemies. Charles, in order to obtain ſupplies of men from that kingdom, ſent orders to Ormond and the juſtices, to conclude, for a year, a ceſſation of hoſtilities with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Iriſh papiſts were governed, and to leave both ſides in poſſeſſion of their preſent advantages. Thus the Iriſh rebels, who, on all ſides, had retreated before the Engliſh troops, obtained free liberty to enjoy, with impunity, the habitations and ſpoils of the exiled proteſtants, to ſtrengthen themſelves by confederacies abroad, and to increaſe their forces at home, while the proteſtant inhabitants were at full leiſure to repine at their fruitleſs victories. After the ceſſation of hoſtilities, there being little occaſion for the army in Ireland, the king ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to ſend over conſiderable bodies of troops to England; but ſome of them having imbibed, while in Ireland, a reſentment againſt the catholics, ſoon after deſerted to the parliament. At the ſame time many Iriſh papiſts being alſo brought over, joined the royal army in England, where they continued

tinued to commit the ſame cruelties and diſorders to which they had been accuſtomed. This, ſome time after, induced the parliament to paſs a vote, that no quarter ſhould be given them in battle. But prince Rupert, by making ſome repriſals, ſoon put a ſtop to this.

A. D. 1644.] To preſerve the appearance of a parliament, Charles had ſummoned to Oxford the members who adhered to his intereſts. The peers who attended him doubled in number thoſe at Weſtminſter; but the commons amounted ſcarce to half of thoſe who had eſpouſed the popular ſide. The name of exciſe was at this period firſt introduced in England. The parliament at Weſtminſter having voted an exciſe on beer, wine and other commodities; thoſe at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the ſubject. The king circulated privy ſeals, counter ſigned by the ſpeakers of both houſes, requiring the loan of particular ſums from ſuch perſons as lived within his quarters. The Weſtminſter parliament paſſed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week; and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe. The famous Pym died this winter; a man as much hated by one party, as reſpected by the other. At London he was conſidered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by inceſſant labours for the intereſts of his country: at Oxford he was reported to have been ſtruck with an uncommon diſeaſe, and to have been conſumed with vermin, as a mark of divine vengeance for his multiplied crimes and treaſons. He had been ſo little ſtudious of improving his private fortune in civil wars, that the parliament thought themſelves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted.

Though Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury had been impriſoned in the Tower with Strafford; the parliament had been ſo occupied with concerns of greater importance, that they had not leiſure to finiſh his impeachment. This winter he was brought to trial, charged by the commons, with "having traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert "the religion, laws, rights and liberties of "this kingdom: and that he had uſurped "an arbitrary and tyrannical power." The trial laſted twenty days, and upwards of one hundred and fifty witneſſes were examined. He made a long and able defence. The commons voted a bill of attainder againſt him, which alſo paſſed the Lords. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been ſent him from Oxford: but it was declared null by both houſes. Being ſentenced to ſuffer death as a traitor, he requeſted, that as he was a peer, he might be beheaded, which was granted; and he was executed on Tower-hill, the tenth of January, in the ſeventy-third year of his age.

His death was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The liturgy was immediately aboliſhed by act of parliament; and the church of England was in all reſpects brought to a conformity with the preſbyterian eſtabliſhment.

The earl of Eſſex received a letter, ſubſcribed by the prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and forty-three noblemen; intreating him to uſe his beſt endeavours for reſtoring peace to the kingdom, and to promote that happy end with thoſe by whom he was employed. To which he replied, that as the letter was neither addreſſed to the parliament, nor acknowledged their authority, he could not lay it before them. Like propoſals were made by the king, but he met with the ſame denial from Eſſex. In order to make another attempt towards a treaty, the king ſent a letter to the lords and commons of parliament, convened at Weſtminſter; but as he alſo mentioned the lords and commons convened at Oxford, and expreſſed a deſire, that all the members of both houſes might ſafely meet in a free and full aſſembly; the parliament, perceiving the concluſion he intended to draw from the diſtinction, refuſed to treat upon ſuch

ſuch terms. While the king, who deſpaired of all hopes of accommodation, would not acknowledge them a free parliament.

Hoſtilities hardly ceaſed during the winter; but the war was now renewed with vigour. The troops which had been brought over from Ireland, were commanded by lord Biron; after obtaining ſome advantages in Cheſhire, while engaged in the ſiege of Nantwich, they were ſurpriſed and defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax. At Durham, the marquis of Newcaſtle faced the Scots who had been repulſed from the walls of Newcaſtle; but he was ſoon alarmed by the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, on his return from Cheſhire, had defeated a conſiderable body of the royaliſts near Selby. Afraid of being incloſed between two armies, Newcaſtle retired to York, where he was blockaded by the joint forces of Leven and Fairfax. In the eaſtern aſſociation the parliament levied fourteen thouſand men under the earl of Manchester, ſeconded by Cromwell; and an army of ten thouſand men under Eſſex, and another of nearly the ſame force under Waller, were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of London. and ſuch were the apprehenſions entertained by the court, that the queen thought it prudent to retire from Oxford to Exeter, where in caſe of danger, ſhe could eaſily eſcape into France.

The earl of Manchester having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York, though defended vigorouſly by Newcaſtle, was reduced to the laſt extremity. Prince Rupert having joined Newcaſtle with twenty thouſand men; determined to raiſe the ſiege. The Scottiſh and parliamentary leaders drew up on Marſton Moor, to give battle to the royaliſts. The action was obſtinately diſputed; Rupert, who commanded the right wing, was oppoſed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. After a ſhort combat, the cavalry of the royaliſt gave way; and ſuch of the infantry as ſtood next them were likewiſe borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, kept their ground. In the other wing, ſir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with ſome troops, broke through the royaliſts; and, tranſported by the ardour of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends engaged alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But Lucas, who commanded the royaliſts in this wing, reſtoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into diſorder, puſhed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to ſeize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from purſuit of the other wing. Both ſides were not a little ſurpriſed to find that they muſt again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged; and each army occupied the ground which had been poſſeſſed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This ſecond battle was equally furious and deſperate with the firſt: but after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the ſide of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army routed.

This defeat was fatal to the king's affairs; the battle was fought contrary to the advice of Newcaſtle, and he now left the kingdom in diſguſt. Prince Rupert retired with the remains of his army into Lancaſhire: York ſurrendered to Fairfax; Newcaſtle was ſtormed by the Scots; and the earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly aſcribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eaſtern aſſociation, in order to recruit his army.

The king was more fortunate in the ſouth, where Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created earl of Brentford, acted as general. The parliament ſoon completed their two armies commanded by Eſſex and Waller, who had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the king retired into that city, to lay ſiege to it,

and by one enterprise put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garrison in Oxford, passed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon, and had inclosed him on both sides. He marched towards Worcester; and Waller received orders from Essex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himself marched into the west in quest of prince Maurice. The king returned to Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, now in his turn marched out in quest of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge, near Banbury; but the Charwell ran between them. Next day the King decamped, and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to pass the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss. Discouraged by defeat, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, and having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced still in his conquests, and met with no equal opposition. The king followed him, and having reinforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army superior to the enemy. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the parliament of his danger, and desired them to send an army, which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed them on one side; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horse, passed the king's outposts, in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrison of his own party. The foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition: and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were set at liberty.

To oppose Charles, the parliament collected their forces under Manchester, Cromwell, and Waller. The two armies met a second time at Newbury. Essex was detained from the field by illness, and Manchester commanded; the king's troops were overpowered by numbers; night only saved them from a total defeat, and enabled them to retire to Oxford. They left their artillery and baggage in Dennington-castle, which was immediately invested by Manchester; but Charles having been reinforced by prince Rupert, advanced to the relief of that place; Manchester raised the siege, though strongly pressed by Cromwell to give battle, and seize so favourable an opportunity of terminating the war.

London was at this time divided into several factions; and many complaints were made, that the capital was burthened with the whole expence of the war, while the interest of the city was neglected. These circumstances occasioned warm debates in the house of commons. Sir Henry Vane observed, that the reigning divisions might be ascribed to the members possessing all considerable commands in the army, and lucrative offices in the civil department, he accused himself as one who held a profitable employment, that of treasurer to the navy; but declared he was ready to resign it, as he was every other consideration to the welfare of his country. He was seconded by Cromwell, who exposed with great freedom, the licentiousness and ill government of the army, the officers of which, he said, could not easily be called to an account, as they were members of parliament; and added, that nothing could prosper till there was a perfect reformation. Accordingly a bill was passed, called *The Self-denying Ordinance*, which excluded the members of both houses from all employments, civil and military, except a few, who were specified in the bill. The lords at first made some difficulty, but at length complied. In consequence of this act, Essex, Manchester, Warwick, Denbigh, lord Fairfax, Waller, and several

ſeveral others reſigned their commands; and received the thanks of parliament for their ſervices: Eſſex had a penſion of ten thouſand pounds a year ſettled on him.

The independents had hitherto been confounded with the Preſbyterians, but now they appeared a diſtinct ſect. They maintained, that each church, or congregation, has ſufficient power to act or perform every thing relating to religious government within itſelf, and is no way ſubject or accountable to other churches or preſbyteries. They therefore diſallowed all parochial and provincial ſubordination. They gave liberty to every man to teach and preach, as he might be aſſiſted by the holy ſpirit, without ordination. They would admit of no interpoſition of the civil magiſtrate in religious concerns; and their political principles tended ſtrongly towards a democracy. Cromwell, Vane, Haſlerig, Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, were leaders in the independent party.

A. D. 1445.] Both ſides having ſuffered ſeverely by the war, negociations were renewed for peace. The parliament required as a preliminary, that the king ſhould addreſs them as *the two houſes of parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter*. He aſſented; but entered a ſecret proteſt in his council-book, importing, that though he had called them a parliament, he did not acknowledge them as ſuch; thereby reſerving to himſelf the power of revoking any conceſſion he might make at this time. Here again Charles diſplayed that duplicity which had ever marked his conduct. The conferences were opened the thirtieth of January, and to continue twenty days. The commiſſioners met at Uxbridge, and reduced the terms to three articles---*religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*. The parliamentary commiſſioners demanded the total abolition of epiſcopacy: Charles's deputies would only agree to abridge the power and juriſdiction of biſhops. It was expected that the whole power of the militia ſhould be veſted in the parliament: inſtead of this, it was propoſed, that the militia ſhould be put into the hands of twenty commiſſioners; ten to be choſen by the king, and ten by parliament. But theſe propoſitions were diſapproved both by the king and parliament; and the time allotted for the conference being expired, the meeting was diſſolved, very little having been ſaid about Ireland.

The army being modelled according to the plan of the independants, Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed commander in chief. He ſuggeſted the advantage he ſhould derive from the advice and aſſiſtance of Cromwell, and obtained permiſſion for him to ſerve the enſuing campaign. The vacant commiſſions were ſupplied by Fairfax, or rather by Cromwell, who had the aſcendancy over his general, and never was a more ſingular army aſſembled than that which now drew the ſword in the parliamentary cauſe. The officers exerciſed the part of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, inſtructed their troops by ſermons, prayers, and exhortations. The private ſoldiers, ſeized with the ſame fervour, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the holy ſcriptures, and in religious conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation were mixed with the notes of the drum and trumpet.

The king, with an army of fifteen thouſand men, had advanced from Oxford to relieve Cheſter, which was beſieged by the parliamentary forces, who at his approach raiſed the ſiege, and in his return he ſtormed and ſacked the city of Leiceſter; but he had ſcarce atchieved this enterprize before he was informed, that Fairfax and Cromwell, with their new-modelled army, were advancing to give him battle. In the council of war which Charles called, he was adviſed to avoid action until Gerard, who lay in Wales with three thouſand men, and Goring, who, with near twelve thouſand, was occupied in the ſiege of Taunton, could join him; but he was puſhed on to battle by the ardour of prince Rupert, who excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry to hazard all on a general engagement.

On the fourteenth of June, the armies came in ſight of each other at Naſeby, a village in Northamptonſhire, with forces nearly equal.

equal. The main body of the royaliſts was commanded by the king; the right wing by Prince Rupert; the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, ſeconded by Skippon, placed himſelf in the main body of the oppoſite army; Cromwell in the right wing; Ireton, Cromwell's ſon-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun by prince Rupert with his uſual celerity and ſucceſs. The left wing of the enemy was broken, and purſued as far as the village; but the prince loſt time in attempting to make himſelf maſter of their artillery. The king led on his main body; and was encountered by Fairfax and Skippon, who well ſupported that reputation which they had acquired. The infantry of the parliament was broken and preſſed upon by the king; till Fairfax brought up the reſerve, and renewed the combat. Meanwhile Cromwell, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royaliſts. Having purſued this body about a quarter of a mile, and detached ſome troops to prevent their rallying, he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. One regiment alone preſerved its order unbroken, though twice deſperately aſſailed by Fairfax; who ordered Doiley, the Captain of his guard, to charge it in the front, while himſelf attacked it in the rear. By this third encounter the regiment was broken. Prince Rupert, having left the fruitleſs attack upon the enemy's artillery, joined the king, whoſe infantry was now totally diſcomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to deſpair, and cried aloud to them, "One "charge more, and we recover the day;" but the diſadvantages under which they laboured were too great, and they could not be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy, who took all his cannon, baggage, and about five thouſand priſoners. The ſlain on the ſide of the parliament exceeded thoſe on the ſide of the king: they loſt a thouſand men; he not above eight hundred. Among the ſpoils taken on this occaſion, was the king's cabinet, containing copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament ordered afterwards to be publiſhed. Charles fled into Wales; while Fairfax and Cromwell followed up their victories, and all the ſtrong cities in the weſt fell into their hands.

The earl of Montroſe, who had eſpouſed the king's cauſe in Scotland, procured from the earl of Antrim, a chief of the Iriſh rebels, about eleven hundred men to deſolate his native country as they had done their own. No ſooner were theſe barbarians landed, than he erected his ſtandard, and was joined by about eight hundred men of Athole. Five hundred more, who had been raiſed by the covenanters, were perſuaded to embrace the royal cauſe: and with this combined force he haſtened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth, with an army of ſix thouſand men, aſſembled on the firſt news of the Iriſh invaſion. From the furious manner in which the Iriſh fought, Elcho was defeated, and two thouſand of the covenanters killed. Though the people were in general attached to the covenant, the enterprizes of Montroſe were every where ſucceſsful. The celerity of his marches eluded the vigilence of his enemies; and when they leaſt expected, the rage of war was let looſe among them. At Aberdeen he defeated lord Burley: he ravaged the county of Argyle; and broke with great ſlaughter the power of the Campbells. The army of Seaforth diſperſed at the very terror of his name; yet ſuch was his ſituation, that good or ill-fortune equally diminiſhed his army. After every victory, his ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, but deeming the ſmalleſt acquiſition to be unexhauſted riches, deſerted in great numbers, and went home to ſecure the treaſures which they had acquired. Tired too, and ſpent with haſty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through ſnowy mountains, unprovided with every neceſſary, they fell off, and left their general almoſt alone with the Iriſh, who having no place to which they could retire, ſtill adhered to him in every fortune. While Montroſe lay at Alderne, with two thouſand royaliſts, he was attacked by double the number of covenanters,

covenanters, commanded by Urrey. Montroſe having placed his right wing in ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by ſhowing a few men through the trees and buſhes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his left wing to the charge; and, making a furious impreſſion upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and gained a complete victory. General Baillie advanced to revenge Urrey's diſcomfiture, and not with the ſame fate. Montroſe having prevailed in ſo many battles, ſummoned his friends and partizans together, and prepared to march into the ſouthern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and diſſipate the parliament which they had ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone's.

Several noblemen, who were ſecretly attached to the royal cauſe, joined him; and being ſufficiently reinforced he marched ſouth. The covenanters having collected all their force, gave him battle at Kilſyth, where they were defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand men. Nothing remained now to oppoſe his progreſs, and Edinburgh opened its gates to him. Fortune however, ceaſed to continue her favours, he was to ſuffer a defeat in his turn, the covenanters alarmed at his progreſs, ſent to England for that experienced officer, general Leſley, who coming upon Montroſe by ſurpriſe at Philip-haugh, totally defeated him; and he was obliged to fly to the mountains.

A. D. 1646.] The king's affairs now went faſt to ruin in all quarters, he himſelf had ſuffered a defeat in attempting to raiſe the ſiege of Cheſter, and had eſcaped to Oxford, where he ſhut himſelf up, with the broken remains of his army. He there learnt of the defeat of Hopton at Torrington, and the complete ſubjection of the weſt by Fairfax and Cromwell. After the capture of Exeter, the prince of Wales, who had been ſent by Charles into that part of the kingdom, retired into France, where he joined the queen his mother. The Scottiſh army under the earl of Leven had taken Carliſle, and laid ſiege to Hereford, and the defeat of Montroſe, compleated Charles's misfortunes. After all theſe repeated diſaſters, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exerciſe her rigour. Lord Aſtley, with a ſmall army of three thouſand men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated, himſelf being taken priſoner. "You have done your "work," ſaid Aſtley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, unleſs "you chuſe to fall out among yourſelves."

Montreuille was ſent over from France, apparently to mediate a peace between Charles and the parliament; but the real object of his miſſion was to effect, if practicable, a ſecret accommodation between the king and the Scottiſh army. He met the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London, who ſeemed inclined to treat; but they inſiſted upon the abolition of epiſcopacy as an indiſpenſible condition, with which Charles would not comply. Montreuille then proceeded to the Scottiſh army, where he uſed his good offices in behalf of the king.

While Charles was at Oxford, he ſent to the parliament, offering new terms. After reproaching him with the blood ſpilt during the war, they informed him, that they were preparing ſome bills, to which if he would conſent, they ſhould then be able to judge of his pacific diſpoſition. Fairfax in the meantime was advancing towards Oxford, which muſt inevitably ſurrender to him. In this deſperate extremity, he embraced the advice of Montreuille to quit Oxford and go to the Scottiſh army, which then lay before Newark. Charles hoped from their general profeſſions of reſpect to his perſon and authority, and from their implacable enmity to the Independents, they would exert themſelves in ſecuring his perſonal ſafety.

The better to conceal his intentions, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three perſons to paſs; and in the night

the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudſon and Mr. Aſhburnham, went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himſelf Aſhburnham's ſervant. He paſſed through Henley, St. Albans, and came ſo near to London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering the capital, and throwing himſelf on the mercy of the parliament. But at laſt, after paſſing through many croſs roads, he arrived at the Scottiſh camp before Newark. The parliament, hearing of his eſcape from Oxford, iſſued a proclamation, and threatened thoſe who ſhould harbour or conceal him, with death.

The ſudden and unexpected appearance of the king, gave great ſurprize to the Scottiſh generals and commiſſioners; and though they paid him all the exterior reſpect due to his dignity, they inſtantly ſet a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a priſoner. They informed the Engliſh parliament of this unexpected incident, and aſſured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king. They applied to him for orders to Bellaſis, governor of Newark, to ſurrender that town, now reduced to extremity: and the orders were inſtantly obeyed. And hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire diſpoſal of the king's perſon, and that the Engliſh army was making ſome motions towards them, they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcaſtle. This meaſure was very grateful to the king, and he began to entertain hopes of protection; but he ſoon diſcovered that the Scottiſh generals would enter into no conference with him on the means of reſtoring him to power. They required him to iſſue orders to Oxford, and all his other garriſons to ſurrender to the parliament; the king, ſenſible that reſiſtance was to little purpoſe, willingly complied. He even extended theſe orders to Ormond in Ireland, and Montroſe in Scotland, the latter of whom left that kingdom.

Propoſals were laid before the king, by the parliament and the Scots. The command of the militia was demanded for twenty years, together with the right to levy whatever money the parliament ſhould think proper for the ſupport of their armies. The other conditions were much the ſame as thoſe offered at Uxbridge. Charles would only agree to give up the power of the ſword for ten years; and ſaid, that propoſals which introduced ſuch important innovations in the conſtitution, demanded time for deliberation: the commiſſioners replied, that he muſt give his anſwer in ten days. He deſired to reaſon about the meaning and import of ſome terms: they informed him that they had no power of debate; and peremptorily required his conſent or refuſal. He requeſted a perſonal treaty with the parliament: they told him, that if he delayed compliance, the parliament would be under the neceſſity of ſettling the affairs of the nation by their own authority.

The ſervice of the Scots being no longer neceſſary, commiſſioners were appointed to inſpect the accounts of the Scottiſh deputies, who propoſed to withdraw their armies from England, on condition of paying their arrears. After many debates, they agreed to take four hundred thouſand pounds, half to be paid immediately, and the reſt by two inſtalments. The diſpoſal of the king's perſon had likewiſe been a ſubject of debate; but he was now given up to commiſſioners appointed by parliament to receive him, and conveyed to Holmby-caſtle, in Northamptonſhire.

The ſituation of Charles's family was as unfortunate as his own. His queen, and eldeſt ſon, were exiles in France; his ſecond and third ſons, the dukes of York and Glouceſter, with the princeſs Elizabeth were priſoners in London; his nephews, the princes Rupert and Maurice, took the benefit of the capitulation at Oxford, and retired to the continent.

A. D. 1647.] The civil war was now at end; and the parliament enjoyed, uncontrolled, the dominion of the nation. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminiſhed, the diviſions between the independents and the preſbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the houſe of commons was

of

of the presbyterian sect; of which, likewise, were esteemed all the peers, lord Say alone excepted. The independents, however, at the head of which was Oliver Cromwell, predominated in the army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, after allowing them six weeks pay; and of sending the rest to Ireland. The troops were little inclined to be led over into a country uncivilized, uncultivated, and laid waste by civil commotions. They were yet less inclined to disband, and to renounce that pay which they now proposed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. Instead, therefore, of preparing to disband, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war; with satisfaction in arrears, (which amounted to upwards of three hundred and thirty thousand pounds,) freedom from pressing, and relief of widows and maimed soldiers. The commons, alarmed at these demands, immediately voted that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace.

This impolitic and unjust declaration, was productive of fatal effects. The army complained, that, while they had been the instruments of securing the public freedom, they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. They now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and, therefore, in opposition to the parliament at Westminster, formed a military parliament, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council, representing the body of peers; while, as a substitution for the house of commons, the soldiers chose from each troop or company, two men, called Agitators of the army.

During these altercations, the king continued a prisoner at Holmby-castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, though he affected to exclaim against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby-castle, under the command of Joyce, who had once been a taylor; but who was now advanced to the rank of cornet. Armed with pistols, he without any opposition, entered the king's apartments, whom he desired to prepare and go with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joyce pointed to three soldiers whom he had brought into the room, tall, handsome, and well accoutred. "Your warrant," replied Charles, "is written "in fair characters, legible without spelling." The king then went into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath, near Cambridge. Next day Cromwell arrived among them, and, after being received with acclamations of joy, was unanimously invested with the supreme command.

The commons now first perceived a settled design in the army to assert an authority over the Parliament; and this alarm they immediately communicated to the city. But it was too late to contend with a body of men, who were prepared, as well as resolved, to effect their purpose. The army, headed by Cromwell, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; so that the commons thought it prudent to conciliate, if possible, whom they had not power to overawe. The declaration, by which they had voted the military enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journals. Submission, however, was become vain; in proportion as the parliament was actuated by timidity, the army rose in their demands, until at last they claimed a right of new-modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

The self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Essex, Manchester

cheſter, Waller, and the other officers of that party had reſigned their commiſſions; it was immediately after laid aſide by tacit conſent, and the members ſhared among them, all offices of power and profit, without reſponſibility, and to the great injury of the nation. But the unlimited tyranny of the county committees, excited the moſt general complaints; the diſcretionary power of theſe courts was excuſed during the war, on the plea of neceſſity; but this reaſon no longer ſubſiſting, the people univerſally murmured at an inſtitution that ſet no bounds to its authority. They could ſequeſter, fine, impriſon, and corporally puniſh, without law or remedy. They even interpoſed in queſtions of private property; and under colour of "malignants," they exerciſed vengeance againſt private enemies.

As the parliament had become ſo unpopular, the encroachment of the military on the civil power, was likely to give leſs alarm to the nation. But, leſt too precipitate an aſſumption of authority ſhould appear invidious, Cromwell began by accuſing eleven members of the houſe of commons as guilty of high treaſon, and enemies to the army, and evil counſellors to the parliament. The members accuſed were the leaders of the preſbyterian party, Hollis, Sir Phillip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Maſſey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nicholas. The commons were willing to protect them; but the army inſiſting on their diſmiſſion, the obnoxious members quitted the houſe. The army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this mark of ſubmiſſion; but pretending that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, they required that all new levies ſhould be ſtopped: the parliament complied with this demand, and at their deſire, the army removed to a diſtance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading, whither they carried with them the king. This prince, though a captive, now found himſelf in a better ſituation than at Holmby, and had not only attained a greater degree of freedom, but of conſideration with both parties. The parliament, afraid of his forming ſome accommodation with the army, addreſſed him in a more reſpectful ſtyle than formerly; and invited him to reſide at Richmond, and contribute his aſſiſtance towards the ſettlement of the nation. The chief officers treated him with regard, and ſpake on all occaſions of reſtoring him to his juſt powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the ſettlement of his revenue and authority was inſiſted on; and the royaliſts every where entertained hopes of the reſtoration of monarchy.

To gratify the army, the parliament inveſted Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and intruſted the whole military authority to a perſon entirely under the influence of Cromwell, who by this means enjoyed an opportunity of purſuing his ambitious projects, without the hazard of immediately incurring the ſuſpicion of the parliament. That no reſource might be left to this aſſembly, it was demanded by the agitators, that the militia of London ſhould be changed, the preſbyterian commiſſioners diſplaced, and the command reſtored to thoſe who had exerciſed it during the war. The parliament complied even with this demand, and paſſed a vote in obedience to the army.

While they were thus obliged to gratify the army in every requiſition, they hoped to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence; but the impatience of the city loſt them all the advantage of their policy. A petition againſt the alteration of the militia was carried to Weſtminſter, attended by the apprentices and many other perſons, who beſieged the door of the houſe of commons, where by clamour and violence they extorted a reverſal of that vote which had been ſo lately paſſed. No ſooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading than the army was put in motion, and marched towards London, under the pretence of vindicating the invaded privileges of parliament, and reſtoring to that aſſembly its freedom of debate and counſel. In their way they were drawn upon Hounſlow-Heath;

heath; a formidable body, twenty thouſand ſtrong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to procure whatever meaſures their generals ſhould dictate to them. The ſpeakers of the two houſes, Mancheſter and Lenthal, attended by eight peers, and about ſixty commoners, having ſecretly retired from the city, preſented themſelves with their maces, and all the enſigns of their dignity, and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. Reſpect was paid to them as the parliament of England; and the army, having now the pretext of public authority, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious citizens, and to re-inſtate the violated parliaments.

The parliament finding themſelves obliged to reſign at once, or contend for their liberty and power, they prepared with vigour for defence, and determined to reſiſt the violence of the army. The two houſes immediately choſe new ſpeakers, lord Hunſdon and Henry Pelham; they renewed their former orders for enliſting troops: they appointed Maſſey to be commander; they ordered the trained bands to man the lines; and the whole city reſounded with military preparations. But this apparent reſolution abated as the army advanced; and when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and ſubmiſſion: the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two ſpeakers and the reſt of the members peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed as authors of the tumult, were expelled, and moſt of them retired to the continent. The mayor, ſheriff, and three aldermen, were ſent to the Tower; ſeveral citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to the tower; the lines about the city were levelled with the ground; and the command of the Tower was given to Fairfax.

The leaders of the army, having eſtabliſhed their dominion over the parliament and city, brought the king to Hampton-court, where he lived for ſome time with an appearance of dignity and freedom. The parliament renewed their applications to him, and preſented him with the ſame conditions which they had offered him at Newcaſtle; but he declined accepting them, and deſired the parliament would take into conſideration the propoſals of the army, and make them the foundation of the public ſettlement. He had at once hopes, that in the ſtruggles for power between the army and the parliament, he might be choſen mediator in the diſpute; and he expected that the kingdom, at laſt ſenſible of the miſeries of anarchy, would return to its former conſtitution. At firſt he was treated with ſome marks of diſtinction. He was permitted to converſe with his old ſervants; his chaplains were admitted to him, and celebrated divine ſervice according to the rites of the church of England. But the greateſt pleaſure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had frequent interviews, and he was allowed to correſpond with the queen.

The army having gained a complete victory over the houſe of commons, the independents began to abate of their expreſſions of duty and reſpect towards the king. He was now, therefore, more ſtrictly guarded: they would hardly permit his domeſtics to converſe with him in private; ſpies were employed to mark all his words and actions; and from the fear which he entertained for his perſonal ſafety, he at length formed the reſolution of withdrawing himſelf from the army, though without any concerted ſcheme for the future diſpoſal of his perſon.

Early in the evening, the king retired to his chamber, under pretence of being indiſpoſed; and about an hour after midnight he went down the back-ſtairs, attended only by Aſhburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horſes, which they inſtantly mounted, and travelling through the foreſt all night, arrived next day at Tichfield, the ſeat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the ſea-coaſt, and expreſſed great anxiety that a ſhip which Aſhburnham had undertaken to have in readineſs was not to be ſeen. At Tichfield he deliberated with his friends upon his next excurſion, and it was propoſed

that he ſhould croſs over for the Iſle of Wight, the governor of which was Hammond, who though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of one Dr. Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauſpicious protector, no other expedient appearing preferable, it was reſolved to have recourſe. Aſhburnham and Berkeley were diſpatched before, to exact from this officer a promiſe, that if he would not protect the king, he would at leaſt not detain him. Hammond, though he alledged his duty to the parliament, under which he held his commiſſion, expreſſed a ſtrong inclination to ſerve his majeſty; and, upon the credit of this empty aſſurance, Aſhburnham imprudently, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond with a guard of ſoldiers, to Tichfield, where he waited in a lower apartment, while the former went up to the king's chamber. Charles no ſooner underſtood that Hammond was in the houſe with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack, thou haſt undone me!" Without further delay, however, he put himſelf into the governor's hands, and departed for Cariſbroke caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, where, though received with great demonſtrations of reſpect and duty, he was in reality a priſoner.

Cromwell, being entirely maſter of the parliament, and free from all anxiety with regard to the cuſtody of the king's perſon, applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell the diſorders of the army which he had ſo artfully raiſed. He iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the meetings of the agitators, and affected to pay an implicit obedience to the parliament, which being now fully reduced to ſubjection, he purpoſed to make for the future the inſtrument of his authority. Among the independents, who in general oppoſed eccleſiaſtical ſubordination, aroſe a ſet of men called levellers, who diſallowed all ſubordination whatever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Jeſus Chriſt. They maintained that all men were equal; that all degrees and ranks of ſociety ought to be levelled, and an exact partition of property eſtabliſhed in the nation. This ferment, originally the work of Cromwell himſelf, now operated with ſo much violence as to threaten the total extinction of his authority, and he therefore determined by one reſolute blow, to annihilate the faction, or periſh in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the aſſembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what they meant by thoſe ſeditious meetings; he expoſtulated with them upon the dangerous conſequences of ſuch chimerical doctrines as thoſe which they maintained, and he deſired them immediately to depart. But inſtead of obeying, they returned an inſolent anſwer; wherefore ruſhing furiouſly on them, he laid with his own hands two of them dead at his feet; his guards diſperſing the reſt. He cauſed ſeveral of them to be hanged on the ſpot, by ſentence of a court-martial which was inſtantly called, and others he ſent priſoners to London. By this vigorous conduct, the army was reduced to its former diſcipline and obedience.

While Charles was at Cariſbroke, he was treated with great reſpect and humanity by Hammond. In this ſituation he was not without reſources, but unfortunately they were not of the moſt honourable kind. He carried on two oppoſite treaties, one with the Scots, the other with the Engliſh army. By his treaty with the Scots, he approved of their ſolemn league and covenant, confirmed all they had done againſt epiſcopacy in Scotland, and made ſome other conceſſions which he really abhorred; but it deſerves notice, that he agreed with the Scottiſh commiſſioners to obſerve this treaty no further than as it ſerved the preſent turn, by which he rendered it altogether nugatory; however, in conſideration of his conceſſions, they engaged to pour an army into England for his ſupport. Sir John Berkeley was ſent by the king with letters to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton; Hammond accompanied theſe diſpatches with ſome of his own, in which he entreated them to agree ſpeedily with the king. When he delivered the letters to Fairfax, in a full aſſembly of officers, the general told him, that the

the army was the parliament's, and therefore they muſt refer the king's motion for peace to their principals, to whom they would ſend the letters. Berkeley met Watſon, the ſcout-maſter-general, in a ſecret place, who informed him, that the army had reſolved to bring the king to trial; that the officers were obliged to ſubmit; and that Cromwell, finding this was the reſolution of the majority, had laid aſide his former oppoſition. Berkeley loſt no time in acquainting the king of his danger, and adviſed him to make his eſcape; but Charles, thinking it not ſo great as he repreſented, renewed his offers to both houſes for a perſonal treaty, and accompanied them with propoſals for a peace. Notwithſtanding the king's former denial, the parliament, before his removal from the army, had voted to addreſs him once more on this ſubject; and it was now reſolved to addreſs the king for a perſonal treaty, on condition of his giving his aſſent to four preliminary articles. Firſt, to inveſt the parliament with the power of the militia for twenty years together, with an authority to levy whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for exerciſing it; and after the twenty years ſhould be elapſed, they reſerved the right of reſuming the ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom required it: by the ſecond, he was to recal all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament, and acknowledge they had taken arms for their juſt and neceſſary defence: the third, that he ſhould annul all the acts and patents of peerage which had paſſed the great ſeal ſince it had been carried from London by lord keeper Littleton; and at the ſame time, renounce for the future the power of making peers without conſent of parliament: the fourth required, that he ſhould give the two houſes power to adjourn when they thought proper. The Scotch commiſſioners proteſted againſt theſe articles, and were ſo ſucceſsful by their private inſinuations, that the unfortunate king refuſed the offers of parliament, and thus rejected the laſt opportunity of providing for his ſafety. Charles had been told by Berkeley, that his ſending an abſolute negative would occaſion his being ſo ſtrictly confined, as to render an eſcape impracticable. To evade this, he depended on the ſucceſs of delivering his anſwer to the parliament's commiſſioners ſealed: but on receiving it, they refuſed to take it ſealed; and when they opened it, and found its contents, they departed abruptly. Hammond, who till now had indulged the king with riding about the iſland at his pleaſure, and by his expoſtulations with the parliament, procured him the attendance of his own ſervants, with the company of his friends, now perceiving that he had cloſed with the Scots, in oppoſition to the intereſts of England, ſent his ſervants out of the iſland, doubled the guards round the caſtle, and ſecured the gates; by which all poſſibility of eſcape was prevented.

A. D. 1648.] When the king's anſwer was brought to parliament, both houſes were agitated with the warmeſt indignation; and the republicans now advanced thoſe opinions which had hitherto only tranſpired in their private councils. Sir Thomas Wroth propoſed, that articles of impeachment ſhould be drawn up againſt him; that he ſhould be ſet aſide, and the kingdom ſettled without him. Commiſſary Ireton aſſerted, that the king, by rejecting the four bills, had denied ſafety and protection to his people. Subjection to a ſovereign, he obſerved, was but a return for protection; and that being denied by the king, ſubjection ought to be with-held. Cromwell, who ſpoke laſt in the debate, after declaiming ſome time on the valour, good affections and godlineſs of the army, ſaid, it was now expected, that the parliament ſhould govern and defend the kingdom by their own power, and not teach the people to expect ſafety and protection from a man whoſe heart God had hardened; obſerving, that thoſe who had defended them from ſo many dangers, at the expence of their blood, would defend them in this, with fidelity and courage, againſt all oppoſition. On calling the queſtion, that the lords and commons declare, that they will make no farther application to the king, the vote paſſed in the affirmative, by a hundred and forty-one voices againſt ninety-two: and the

the parliament to refreſh the memory of the public, with reſpect to the provocations and reaſons which had excited them to make uſe of theſe ſeverities, publiſhed a long declaration, in which all the errors of the king's adminiſtration were enumerated.

At this time there were three political parties in Scotland. One was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the royaliſts; and theſe contended for a full re-eſtabliſhment of the king's authority, without regard to the opinions entertained by the different religious ſects; though he was abſent, Montroſe was conſidered as the head of this party. The rigid preſbyterians were reſolved to introduce an exact uniformity in religious worſhip, and were averſe to affording the king any kind of aſſiſtance till he ſhould ſubſcribe the covenant: and Argyle was the chief of this faction. The third party, under the direction of the two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric, was compoſed of the moderate preſbyterians, and their view was to reconcile the contending intereſts of religion and the crown; and, with the followers of preſbyterianiſm in England, to obtain an aſcendancy over the independent army, and re-eſtabliſh both the king and parliament in their conſtitutional authority, privileges and freedom. Upon an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, the committee appointed to conduct that buſineſs declared, that there was a neceſſity for levying an army of forty thouſand men, for the public defence. The duke of Hamilton was appointed general, but he was not able to raiſe fourteen thouſand recruits; and theſe, being wholly ignorant of military diſcipline, were not in a condition to march for England till the beginning of July.

While theſe preparations were making in Scotland, Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, officers who had ſerved in the parliamentary army, revolted to the royaliſts, ſecured the caſtle of Pembroke, and influenced a majority of the inhabitants of South Wales to declare in favour of the king. In the mean time young Hales, and the earl of Norwich, excited commotions in the county of Kent; Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, Sir Bernard Gaſcoyne, in conjunction with Colonel Farr, who had been in the ſervice of parliament, collected an army of three thouſand men, and made themſelves maſters of Colcheſter; where they intended to remain till they ſhould have an opportunity of joining the Scottiſh army. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainſborow, their admiral, aſhore, ſailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them.

Cromwell and the military counſel prepared themſelves with vigour and conduct for defence. The eſtabliſhment of the army was at this time twenty-ſix thouſand men; but by enliſting ſupernumeraries the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly conſiſted of more than double their ſtated complement. Colonel Horton firſt attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a conſiderable defeat. The remnants of the vanquiſhed threw themſelves into Pembroke, and were there cloſely beſieged, and ſoon after taken by Cromwell. Lambert was oppoſed to Langdale and Muſgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Lineſey defeated the earl of Holland at Kingſton, and, purſuing his victory, took him priſoner at St. Neots. Fairfax, having routed the Kentiſh royaliſts at Maidſtone, followed the broken army: and when they joined the royaliſts of Eſſex, and threw themſelves into Colcheſter, he laid ſiege to that place, which defended itſelf to the laſt extremity. A new fleet was manned, and ſent out under the command of Warwick, to oppoſe the revolted ſhips, of which the prince had taken the command; but they never came to an engagement.

While the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty; the members who had withdrawn returned; the vote of non-addreſſes was repealed; and commiſſioners, five peers, and ten commoners, were ſent to Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, in order to treat with Charles. When the king preſented himſelf to this company, a great and ſenſible alteration was remarked in his aſpect, from what it appeared the year before, when he reſided at Hampton Court. The

The moment his ſervants had been removed, he had laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected; and his countenance was ſtrongly expreſſive of adverſity and deſpair. Without any apparent reluctance, he now offered to recal all his proclamations, and to acknowledge the parliament had taken arms in their own defence. He agreed that parliament ſhould maintain, during the term of twenty years, the power over the militia and army, and of levying what money they pleaſed for their ſupport; that during the ſame term they ſhould fill all the great offices; he alſo abandoned the power of creating peers without their conſent. Though he was willing to temper epiſcopacy, he was reſolute not to aboliſh it; neither would he agree to the ſale of the church lands. On theſe accounts his conceſſions were rejected by parliament as inſufficient.

An incurſion into England being now made by Hamilton, at the head of a numerous but irregular body of forces, a junction was intended to be formed with the troops under the command of Langdale; but the duke was fearful to effect this, becauſe the Engliſh royaliſts declined a ſubſcription to the covenant, and the Scottiſh preſbyterians could not be prevailed on to incorporate with them on any other conditions. The two armies, amounting together to about twenty thouſand men, began their march at the ſame time, but they kept regularly a little ſpace apart. Cromwell's army amounted only to eight thouſand; but notwithſtanding this advantage, he boldly advanced to give them battle. He attacked Langdale by ſurprize, near Preſton, in Lancaſhire, and put him to the rout with great ſlaughter, though the royaliſts fought with ſingular bravery. He then attacked Hamilton, and having defeated the troops under his command, and chaced them to Utoxeter, he directed his march to Scotland, and being reinforced by Argyle, he ſubdued Laneric and Munro, and then returned to England. At the ſame time, after maintaining a vigorous defence, the garriſon of Colcheſter was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating; and Fairfax, yielding to the perſuaſions of Ireton, reſolved to ſacrifice Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, whom he had made priſoners, to the reſentment of the army.

The treaty with the king at Newport had been protracted, till the army, every where victorious, had returned, and fixed their head-quarters at Windſor. In a general council of officers, a remonſtrance was drawn up, which was preſented to parliament by colonel Ewers, and ſeven other officers, on the twentieth of November. It began with a demand to drop the treaty with the king, and to bring him to juſtice; to declare the prince of Wales and the duke of York to be incapable of government; that the army be ſatisfied out of the eſtates of delinquents; that juſtice be done to the capital cauſes of war; that a period be put to that parliament; that the frequent returns of annual, or triennial parliaments be ſecured; that there be a more equal repreſentation of the people in the houſe of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king ſhould be diſabled from electing, or being elected; that the ſupreme power of government ſhould be inveſted in the repreſentatives of the people, among whom there ſhould be liberty of entering diſſents; that all future kings ſhould be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; and that all matters of general ſettlement ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the general contract of the people; but that none ſhould have a ſhare in it who ſhould oppoſe the matters contained in that remonſtrance.

To this the parliament made no reply; and on the thirtieth of the ſame month, colonel Ewers was ſent by Fairfax to demand the king's perſon of Hammond, and he removed him to Hurſt-caſtle, oppoſite the Iſle of Wight. The preſbyterians exerted themſelves again upon this occaſion; and on the fourth of December they voted, "that the removal "of the king out of the Iſle of Wight was "without the knowledge and conſent of the "houſe." Next day it was voted by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine againſt eighty-three, "that the anſwers of the king "to the propoſitions of both houſes (during

" the treaty at Newport) are a ground for the " houſe to proceed upon for the ſettlement " of the kingdom."

This vote brought things to a criſis, the army were marched to London, and the next day colonel Pride ſurrounded the parliament houſe with two regiments, by whom forty-one members of the preſbyterian party were ſeized as they were coming to the houſe, and ſent into a low room, called *Hell*; they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. About one hundred and ſixty more were excluded, and none were permitted to enter but the moſt determined independents. This invaſion of the freedom of parliament was called *Pride's Purge*. The remaining members, who did not exceed ſixty, received the appellation of the *Rump Parliament*. They inſtantly reverſed the former vote; declared the king's conceſſions unſatisfactory; and determined that no member abſent at this laſt vote, ſhould be received until he ſubſcribed to it, as agreeable to his judgment. They alſo renewed their former votes of non-addreſſes; and they committed to priſon, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and other leaders of the preſbyterians. The ſecluded members having publiſhed a paper, containing a narrative of the violence which had been exerciſed upon them, and a proteſtation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been tranſacted in the houſe of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, in which they pronounced it falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and tending to the ſubverſion of government.

The commons having received petitions from the army and fleet, to bring the king to trial, in which the common council of London concurred, they appointed a committee to draw up a formal accuſation or impeachment againſt him. When the committee made their report an ordinance was paſſed for trying the king. This was founded on a vote, which made it " high treaſon in a king of " England, for the time being, to levy war " againſt the parliament and the kingdom of " England."

A. D. 1649.] During the whole courſe of the civil wars, the houſe of peers had been very thinly attended, and poſſeſſed very little influence; but ſince the king's impriſonment it had become wholly inſignificant, moſt of the members having withdrawn through diſguſt. When the ordinance from the commons was preſented to them, there happened to be a fuller attendance than uſual; ſixteen were preſent; they unanimouſly rejected the ordinance, and adjourned for ten days; hoping by this means to divert the commons from their purpoſe. But this was ineffectual, the lower houſe voted to proceed in trying the king, and eſtabliſhing all other meaſures without the concurrence of the lords, and accordingly paſſed the following votes:

" Reſolved, that the commons of England in parliament aſſembled, declare, that the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power.

Alſo, " That the commons of England, in parliament aſſembled, being choſen by, and repreſenting the people, have the ſupreme power in this nation.

Alſo, " That whatever is enacted or declared for them, by the commons in parliament aſſembled, has the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the conſent or concurrence of the houſe of peers be not had thereunto.

Alſo, " That all members, and others, appointed to act in any ordinance with the peers, were empowered and enjoined to ſit, act, and execute, notwithſtanding the peers joined not therein."

They now changed the ordinance for the king's trial into an act of the commons, which was ordered to be engroſſed. Two days after, proclamation was made in Weſtminſter-hall, Cheapſide, and the Old Exchange, for the witneſſes to come in againſt him: at the ſame time commiſſioners were appointed for trying him. Colonel Harriſon was ſent to bring the king from Hurſt-caſtle to Windſor, and thence to London, where he arrived on the nineteenth of January. While he was at Windſor, an order was iſſued from the council of war, that he ſhould no longer be conſidered in the character of a ſovereign; in conſe-

quence

ſequence of which he was diveſted of the ſymbols of royalty, and treated with leſs ceremony. One hundred and thirty-three perſons, as named by the commons, formed the High Court of Justice, as it was termed, for the trial of Charles; but there never met above ſeventy. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and a few more of the principal officers of the army, with ſome of the lower houſe, and a few citizens of London, were the members. The twelve judges were among the parties inrolled to form the court; but upon their declaring the king could not, according to the laws and conſtitution of England, be tried for treaſon, as all proſecutions for offences of that nature muſt be conducted under the ſanction of the royal authority, their names were expunged. The court aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall; Bradſhaw, a lawyer, being elected preſident; Coke acting in the capacity of ſolicitor-general, and Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke attending as aſſiſtants in the proſecution. When, among the names of the perſons who were to compoſe the court, the criers pronounced that of lord Fairfax, a female voice was heard to exclaim from the gallery, "He has more wit than to be here." And upon theſe words of the impeachment being read, "In the name of all the good "people of England," the ſame voice ſaid, "No, nor the twentieth part of them; where "are all the people, or their repreſentatives? "Oliver Cromwell is a villain and a traitor." One of the officers ordered a file of muſqueteers to fire towards that part from whence the voice proceeded; but it was preſently diſcovered that the ſpeaker was the wife of Fairfax, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that ſhe was prevailed upon to withdraw. This ſtory is commonly related, but we cannot give it credit: that any man ſhould give ſuch an order, or that he would have been ſuffered to execute it, in a crouded aſſembly, where many muſt periſh, can only be told to try our credulity.

The king was brought before this high court of juſtice on the twentieth of January, 1649, having been guarded from St. James's thither by colonel Hacket, with thirty officers armed. Though he long endured impriſonment, his deportment before the court was dignified. He looked undauntedly on the array of troops that attended him, and the pageantry of the court; and without moving his hat, or ſhewing the ſmalleſt mark of reverence, he ſeated himſelf in a chair of crimſon velvet prepared for him within the bar. The ſolicitor-general, in the name of the commons, opened the proſecution, repreſenting that Charles Stuart, admitted king of England, and intruſted with limitted powers of ſovereignty, from the wicked deſign of introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government, had traitorouſly and maliciouſly levied war upon the parliament and the people: and that he was therefore accuſed as a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and an enemy to the commonwealth.

The clerk of the court having finiſhed the impeachment, the preſident informed the king, that it was expected he would then declare what he had to offer in his juſtification. Charles diſavowed the authority of the court, declaring that he would not ſubmit to their uſurped juriſdiction. The preſident aſſerted, that the dignity of the court was ſuperior to that of the priſoner, as it derived its authority from that community of which even kings were no more than the ſervants; and therefore he inſiſted, that the priſoner was not juſtifiable in refuſing to acknowledge the authority of his judges. Charles objected, that both the king and houſe of lords were neceſceſſary to conſtitute a parliament: that he had a truſt committed to him by God, by old and lawful deſcent; and that there was no juriſdiction on earth could try a king, obedience to kings being clearly and ſtrictly commanded in the Old and New Teſtament; this, if denied, he was ready inſtantly to prove---"Where the word of a king is, there is "power, and who may ſay unto him, What "doſt thou?" He owned, that a ſacred truſt had been committed to him by God, the liberty of his people, which he would not betray, by acknowledging a power founded on violence and uſurpation. He had taken arms, and frequently expoſed his life, in defence of public

public liberty, of the conſtitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and was now willing to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights for which he had ſo long in vain contended. To this the preſident anſwered, "How great a friend, Sir, you have been to "the laws and liberties of the people, let all "England and the world judge; your actions "have ſufficiently declared it, and your mean-"ing has been written in bloody characters "throughout the kingdom." Charles returned, that the laws of England determine, that "The king can do no wrong;" he was however able, he added, to juſtify his conduct by the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons; but that he muſt forego, leſt he ſhould ratify an authority no better founded than that of pirates and robbers. Three different days was the king thus produced before the court, and as often declined its juriſdiction: four days after he was produced a fourth time, when he ſeemed very anxious to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes, and it was ſuppoſed that he intended to reſign the crown to his ſon; but the court refuſed compliance, and conſidered his requeſt as an artifice to ſuſpend their proceedings. Having examined ſome witneſſes, who proved that the king appeared in arms againſt the forces commiſſioned by parliament, the preſident pronounced the following ſentence:

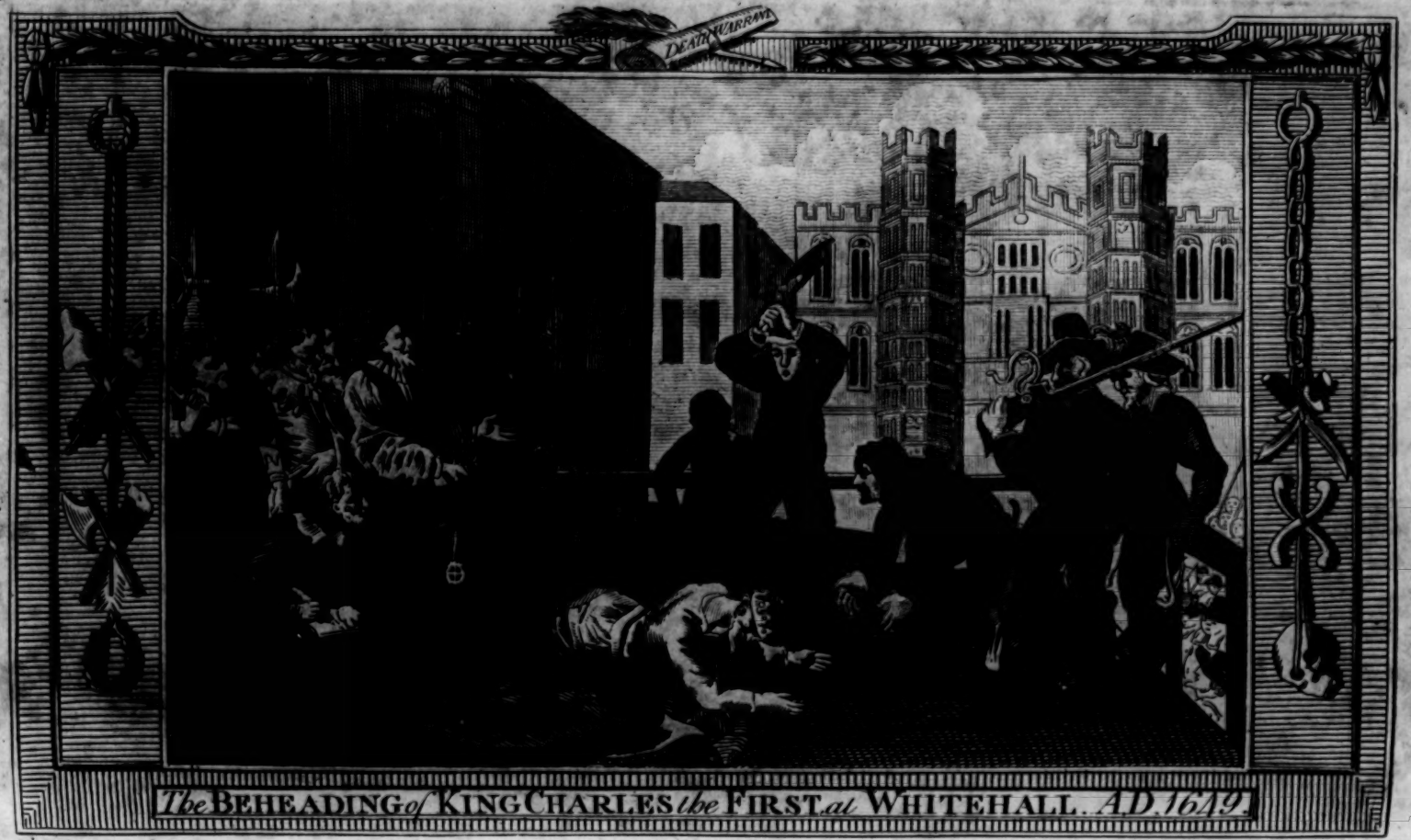
"That he, Charles Stuart, king of Eng-"land, having been convicted and attainted "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public "enemy, ſhould be put to death, by ſevering "his head from his body." This ſentence was ſigned by the whole court, nine members excepted.

As the king went through the hall from the tribunal, many perſons cried out, "To juſtice "and execution;" and reviled him with the moſt bitter reproaches. Upon his return to Whitehall, he deſired that his children might be permitted to viſit him, and that he might be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxon, the late biſhop of London; theſe requeſts were complied with.

As ſoon as it was known abroad that it was intended to bring the king to trial, the French and Dutch ambaſſadors received orders from their reſpective courts to interpoſe in his behalf with the parliament; the queen and prince of Wales wrote pathetic letters; the Scots exclaimed and proteſted againſt it; but without effect. Four of the king's friends, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindeſey, adopted a meaſure which does them credit, however wrong their conduct might have been in other reſpects: they applied to the commons, and repreſented that they were the king's counſellors; that they had concurred by their advice in all thoſe meaſures which were now imputed to him as crimes; that they only were guilty, and in juſtice ought alone to be puniſhed for any blameable actions committed by the prince; and that they now preſented themſelves to ſave his life by their own puniſhment. But the commons rejected their offer; perhaps they thought, that as the king had the choice of his miniſters, and was under no compulſion to ſubmit to bad advice, his actions were all his own, and for them he ought to be reſponſible.

Three days were allowed the king between his ſentence and execution. This interval paſſed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England, were allowed acceſs to him. It conſiſted only of the princeſs Elizabeth and the duke of Glouceſter, the duke of York having eſcaped. Glouceſter was little more than an infant. The princeſs, notwithſtanding her tender years, felt all the calamities of her family, which had made a deep impreſſion upon her. After many ſeaſonable exhortations to his daughter, he took his little ſon in his arms, and, embracing him, "My child," ſaid he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king. But mark what I ſay, thou muſt not be a king as long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them; and thy head, too, they will cut off at laſt. Therefore I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." The child, burſting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces firſt!"

The



The BEHEADING *of* KING CHARLES *the* FIRST *at* WHITEHALL. *A.D.* 1649.

The warrant for the king's execution was ſigned by the preſident and members of the court which tried him, and is as follows:

"At the high court of juſtice for the tryinge "and judginge of Charles Steuart, king of "England, on January 29, Anno Dom. "1648-9.

"Whereas Charles Stuart, king of Eng- "land, is, and ſtandeth convicted, attaynted, "and condemned of high treaſon, and other "high crimes; and ſentence, upon Saturday "laſt, was pronounced againſt him by this "court, to be put to death, by the ſevering "of his head from his body, of which ſen- "tence execution remaineth yet to be done: "Theſe are therefore to will and require you "to ſee the ſaid ſentence executed in the open "ſtreets, before Whitehall, upon the mor- "row, being the thirtieth day of this inſtante "month of January, between the hours of "tenn in the morninge, and five in the af- "ternoone of the ſame day, with full effect: "and for ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient "warrant. And theſe are to require all offi- "cers, and other the good people of this "nation of England, to be aſſiſtynge unto "you in the ſervice. Given under our hands "and ſeals.

"Directed to colonel Francis Hacket, &c."

Charles ſlept at St. James's, and therefore could not hear the workmen erecting the ſcaffold, as ſome have amuſed themſelves with relating. On the morning of the execution, he walked from St. James's acroſs the park, and was then carried in a coach to Whitehall. Having finiſhed his devotions, he was led through the banqueting-houſe to the ſcaffold, which adjoined to that edifice; attended by biſhop Juxon. The ſcaffold which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of ſoldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinſon; and on it were to be ſeen the block, the ax, and two executioners who wore maſks. The people in great crowds ſtood at ſome diſtance. The king ſurveyed all theſe ſolemn preparations with compoſure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a diſtance, he addreſſed himſelf to thoſe who ſtood round him. He endeavoured to juſtify his conduct in the late fatal wars, and obſerved, that he had not taken arms until after the parliament had inliſted forces; nor had he any other object in his military operations, than to preſerve entire that authority, which his predeceſſors had tranſmitted to him. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker, and obſerved, that an unjuſt ſentence, which he had ſuffered to take effect, (alluding to the execution of Strafford) was now puniſhed by an unjuſt ſentence upon himſelf. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to obedience, and acknowledge his ſon as his ſucceſſor; declaring, at the ſame time, his attachment to the Proteſtant religion, as profeſſed in the church of England. While he was preparing himſelf for the block, biſhop Juxon ſaid to him, "There is, Sir, but one ſtage more, which "though turbulent and troubleſome, is yet a "very ſhort one. Conſider, it will ſoon carry "you a great way, from earth to heaven; and "there ſhall you find, to your great joy, the "prize to which you haſten, a crown of "glory." "I go," replied the king, "from "a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; "where no diſturbance can have place." "You exchange," rejoined the biſhop, "a "temporal for an eternal crown; a good ex- "change." The king, having taken off his cloak, delivered to the prelate his George, accompanied with the word, "Remember." He then laid his neck on the block; and ſtretching out his hand as a ſignal, his head was ſevered from his body at a blow, by one of the executioners; and the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

Thus fell Charles Stuart, January the thirtieth, 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. After the execution, the body was put in a black velvet coffin, and removed to Whitehall, where it was embalmed, and then expoſed for ſeveral days at St. James's. By the appointment of parliament it was decently interred at Windſor, but without pomp, and colonel Witch-

cot refuſed to allow the funeral ſervice according to the rites of the church of England. He had nine children by his queen Henrietta; of theſe ſix ſurvived him. Charles, prince of Wales, born 1630; James, duke of York, born 1633; both of whom aſcended the throne; Henry, duke of Glouceſter, born 1641, who died after the reſtoration; Princeſs Mary, born 1631, who married William of Naſſau, prince of Orange; Elizabeth, born 1635, who died in Cariſbrook-caſtle; Henrietta Maria, who was carried in her infancy, by the counteſs of Dalkieth, into France, where ſhe married Phillip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV.

Charles was of middle ſtature, robuſt, and well-proportioned; his features were regular; but his countenance was naturally of a melancholy caſt: he had a taſte for learning, and the liberal arts; but only encouraged thoſe writers who ſupported the divine right of kings and biſhops. He wrote a book during the heighth of his troubles, entitled *Eikon Baſiliké*, which is a collection of prayers and meditations, and is allowed to be one of the beſt proſe compoſitions of that age. This book has been aſcribed by ſome to Dr. Gauden; but the ſtyle is unlike his, and the proofs incline to the royal ſide.

That Charles poſſeſſed many virtues which might adorn private life, we are ready to allow; but we think no man who is acquainted with his hiſtory, and will ſpeak honeſtly his ſentiments, can deny that he was a very bad king. Paſſion for power, and a ſtrong attachment to the royal prerogative, were his governing principles. The prelates paid him the groſſeſt flattery, inculcating a ſlaviſh dependance upon his authority; and for this reaſon he was ſtrongly attached to the epiſcopacy. From an exceſs of conjugal affection, he paid too much deference to the queen, who was ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the Roman church; and ſubmitted to the guidance of counſellors who were proud, partial, and obſtinate. His ſuffering the cruel rigours of the ſtar-chamber, ſhew that neither clemency, humanity, nor juſtice, made any part of his public character. Dr. Burnet (Hiſt. own Times) ſays that "by his illegal adminiſtration, he had brought himſelf into great "diſtreſs, but had not the dexterity to help "himſelf out of it; and that he loved high "and rough methods, but had neither ſkill "or genius to conduct them: he hated all "that offered prudent and moderate councils, and in his outward deportment never "took any pains to oblige any one." Lilly, ſpeaking of his veracity, obſerves, "He had "ſo much ſelf-end in all he did, it was a moſt "difficult thing to hold him cloſe to his word "or promiſe; ſo that ſome foreign princes "beſtowed on him the character of a moſt "falſe prince, and one that never kept his "word, except for his own advantage." Again, "Though in time of parliament he "often promiſed to redreſs grievances, yet "the beſt friend he hath cannot produce any "act of good he ever did his ſubjects in the "vacancy of parliament." Strafford, writing to the king from Ireland, ſays, "Conditions "are not to be admitted with *any* ſubjects;" and on this principle Charles conducted himſelf during the whole of his reign. Though he had ſworn to preſerve the laws and liberties of the nation, he conſtantly violated them when they interfered with his notions of prerogative: and though, at a time when the people were violently agitated, through his arbitrary and illegal proceedings, he had given his aſſent to the petition of right, ſo regardleſs was he of his own engagement, and the peace and happineſs of the nation, that he never afterwards paid the ſmalleſt attention to it. From the time that he diſſolved the parliament in 1629, he ſet up an arbitrary and deſpotic power, diſpenſing with all the forms of the conſtitution, and making his will the only rule of government. Mr. Locke juſtly obſerves, that "Whereſoever law ends, ty-"ranny begins." "That in a ſtate of na-"ture, every man has a right to defend him-"ſelf; and when ſociety is diſſolved, the "ſame right returns again. *Man can never* "*be deprived of public ſafety and private de-*"*fence.*" The doctrine of reſiſtance to oppreſſion is ſo ſtrongly founded in nature, that no abſtract arguments can overturn it. It is

alſo provided for by the great charter of England. On this principle Charles was oppoſed by his laſt parliament, and not from mere motives of faction, as ſome have repreſented. Dr. Wells, ſpeaking of them, ſays, "No age "ever produced greater men than thoſe who "ſat in that parliament. They had ſufficient "abilities and inclinations to render the king "and their country happy." But unfortunately, his obſtinacy defeated all their good intentions; and ſo juſtifiable did their oppoſition appear to the very convention which brought in Charles the Second, though ready to run mad with loyalty, that when Mr. Lenthall, who had been ſpeaker to the long parliament, and was a member of the reſtoring one, happened to drop this expreſſion in the debate about the general pardon, "He who "firſt drew his ſword againſt the late king, "committed as great an offence as he who "cut off his head," the commons immediately committed him to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, and directed the ſpeaker to reprimand him in the following manner: "Sir, "the houſe hath taken great offence at ſome "words you have let fall in this debate, which "in their judgment contain as high a reflection "on the juſtice and proceedings of the lords "and commons of the late parliament, in "their actings before 1648, as could be ex-"preſſed. They apprehend there is much "poiſon in the ſaid words, and that they were "ſpoken out of a deſire to inflame, and to "render thoſe who drew the ſword to bring "delinquents to puniſhment, and to aſſert "their juſt liberties, equally culpable with "thoſe who cut off the king's head."

The great queſtion on which the guilt of Charles's conduct depends, is concerning the right which the parliament aſſumed of interfering in all affairs both of the church and ſtate. Former kings have frequently had no other view in calling together the repreſentatives of the people, but to obtain grants of money, and were greatly mortified when they meddled with any other matter; but as the commons became more enlightened and powerful, they ſaw the neceſſity of endeavouring to check the folly and wickedneſs of them and their miniſters. Every reign produces numerous inſtances where they ought to have done it; and although former parliaments manifeſted a ſhameful want of ſpirit and attention to the public intereſts, ſurely this parliament was not to blame for being more vigilant and courageous. The wickedneſs of the duke of Buckingham, and the king's obſtinate determination to continue him in the moſt important offices after his incapacity and villainy, as was manifeſt to all the nation, was ſo ſtrong a proof of the weakneſs of Charles himſelf, that it gave abundant cauſe for that jealouſy which produced all the ſubſequent troubles.

If Charles had ſubmitted to the wiſdom of parliament, his prerogative would not have been queſtioned; but his conceſſions were not made till after all confidence in him was loſt. Although former kings had conſidered the people as their ſlaves, Charles, who lived in a more enlightened age, ſhould have known better; for even his father, James, acknowledged himſelf the ſervant of the people. The pretence which he ſet up, that he was obliged by his coronation-oath to maintain the eſtabliſhed church in all her powers, was moſt abſurd; for what body of men ſhall preſume to ſay they have eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem as perfect that it never can be mended? It is the buſineſs of the king, and the meaning of his oath, to preſerve the eſtabliſhed ſyſtems from the incroachments of individuals; but when the parliament, and a great majority of the people, unite in deſiring a change, ſurely it does not become their ſervant to oppoſe their will. If Charles had drawn the ſword, as he pretended, in defence of the people's rights, he might have been juſtified; but he deluged the kingdom with blood, in ſupport of ſome imaginary rights of his own, and his friends, the biſhops, which were oppoſite both to the people's will and their intereſts; and therefore many are of opinion that he deſerved an exemplary puniſhment. However, his fate may ſerve as a warning to his ſucceſſors on a throne not to oppoſe their own will to that of the people, nor to act as if the people were ſubſervient to their caprice; for they may be aſſured, when the cord of tyranny is ſtretched

too

too far, the oppreſſed will reſiſt. When a king acts in oppoſition to the juſt ends for which government was inſtituted, the tie of allegiance is diſſolved; and the law being rendered incapable of affording the ſubjects protection, the right of ſelf-preſervation juſtifies them in taking every probable means of ſecuring themſelves from the lawleſs power of a tyrant. On theſe principles, the parliament are to be defended in their proceedings againſt Charles; till in the end conſtitutional forms were laid aſide, and he fell a ſacrifice to his own miſconduct.

CHAP. VI.

Monarchy and the legiſlative power of the lords aboliſhed---Common-wealth eſtabliſhed---The prince's ſituation---State of affairs in Ireland---Montroſe defeated, taken priſoner, and executed---Charles ſigns the terms preſented to him by the Scottiſh Committee---Battle of Dunbar---Charles takes the covenant, and is crowned king of Scotland---Enters England with an army---The battle of Worceſter---Charles is compelled to fly, and eſcapes into France---Scotland reduced---A Dutch War---Cromwell declared Lord Protector by the parliament, which diſſolves itſelf---A new Parliament---A war with Spain---The crown offered to Cromwell---His death and character.

A. D. 1649. AFTER the death of Charles, the commons proceeded to ſettle the government; and, under the title of the parliament, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of high treaſon, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, to be king of England. They afterwards decreed, that the nation ſhould be governed by the repreſentatives of the people ſitting in the houſe of commons, under the form of a republic. In conſequence of their proceedings, the royal titles were eraſed out of the public writings; the royal arms were taken down from all public offices and courts of juſtice; the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were aboliſhed; and a new great ſeal was made, bearing this inſcription, The Great Seal of England. On one ſide were engraven the arms of England, and on the reverſe the houſe of commons, with theſe words, In the firſt Year of Freedom, by God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648. The impreſſion of the national coin had, on one ſide, the Engliſh arms, with the inſcription, The Common-wealth of England; and on the reverſe, the croſs and harp, with this motto, God with us. That there might remain no objects to excite ambition, not only the crown and fee-farm rents were put up to ſale, but alſo the regalia, the rich furniture of the royal palaces, the jewels and paintings belonging to the late king, with all the expenſive magnificence of royalty. The houſe of peers was declared, "dangerous "and uſeleſs; and therefore to be laid aſide:" and the commons taking both the legiſlative and the executive powers of government into their own hands, altered their ſtile from that of the houſe of commons, to the parliament of the common-wealth of England. They conferred the whole executive power of government on a council of ſtate, who were to act and proceed according to the inſtructions they ſhould from time to time give them. This council was compoſed of thirty-nine perſons; and the commons, who at firſt poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority of the nation, amounted only to ninety; but their number was ſoon after increaſed. Another high court of juſtice was now erected, to try ſome noblemen who remained in cuſtody, and Bradſhaw was again choſen preſident. The perſons whoſe fate was to be decided by this tribunal, were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, lately created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; all of them accuſed of having carried arms againſt the parliament. After a ſhort trial, they were all convicted, and condemned to the block. The

duke

duke of Hamilton, on his trial, complained bitterly of the ſentence by which he ſuffered death, alledging that he acted by virtue of a commiſſion from the parliament of his own country; but he was tried as earl of Cambridge, in England. The earl of Holland, being oppreſſed with age and infirmities, made little or no defence. Sir John Owen, on hearing the ſentence, thanked the court for adjudging him to ſo honourable a death; and ſwore he was afraid they would have cauſed him to be hanged as a felon. This gentleman, however, and the earl of Norwich, were reprieved; the other three were immediately executed. Lord Capel, in his laſt moments, behaved with great reſolution, extolling the virtues of the late king, and exhorting the people to acknowledge his ſon as ſovereign.

The prince of Wales, now in the eighteenth year of his age, reſided at the Hague, where he received the news of his father's death. He immediately aſſumed the title of king; and all thoſe who attended him, and had been members of his father's council, were continued as counſellors. He ſubſiſted entirely on the friendſhip and bounty of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange; but he ſoon ſaw himſelf in danger of being cut off from that reſource. The ſtates of Holland, foreſeeing that the parliament would inſiſt upon their obliging him to quit their dominions, were inclined to anticipate the requiſition; and Charles, being informed of their deſign, reſolved to prevent the diſgrace of a formal diſmiſſion. He found himſelf, however, at a loſs to fix upon a retreat. In his father's life-time, he had met with an unhoſpitable reception in France; and he was too well acquainted with the policy of the queen-regent and the cardinal, to believe that they would now prefer his friendſhip to that of the new republic. In this emergency, therefore, he fixed his eye upon Ireland. The marquis of Ormond, having concluded a ſecond treaty with the council of Kilkenny, took the command of their forces, with which he wreſted ſeveral towns from the hands of the parliament of England, and reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Dublin. Prince Rupert, who now commanded the late king's fleet, had been chaced by a ſuperior navy under the earl of Warwick, and retired to the harbour of Kinſale, where he lay in ſafety, and was able to favour the operations of the marquis. Thither Charles reſolved to retire, when, in conſequence of intelligence received from Scotland, his deſign was ſuſpended.

The parliament of that kingdom iſſued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary ſovereign, on the following conditions: that he ſhould give proper ſatisfaction to the kingdom touching the ſecurity of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and ſolemn league of the covenant. For this purpoſe, deputies were ſent to the Hague, to ſignify their intentions to the young prince, who in a few days after their arrival was viſited by the marquis of Montroſe, and the earls of Lanerk, now duke of Hamilton, and Lauderdale. Montroſe having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had engaged in the ſervice of the emperor; but hearing of his maſter's death, repaired to the Hague, and received from the prince a renewal of his commiſſion, as captain-general of Scotland. But Charles, inſtead of ſubſcribing to the conditions offered by the Scots, perſiſted in his reſolution of viſiting Ireland, at the ſame time ordering Montroſe to make a deſcent upon Scotland; and the royaliſts in that kingdom, underſtanding that he was averſe to the conditions propoſed by the parliament, determined to excite an inſurrection, and if they ſucceeded, to receive him upon his own terms.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in Ireland, that Charles could not go thither without expoſing himſelf to eminent danger; as the Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the union between the catholics and the royaliſts, had voted a ſtrong army for that ſervice, and appointed Cromwell lord lieutenant of that kingdom. Cromwell having defeated Ormond, and entirely ſubdued the ſpirit of the Iriſh, Charles had no hopes of reſource from that country; and was therefore under a neceſſity of liſtening to the Scottiſh treaty. Accordingly the parliament and general aſſembly of the kirk,

who were influenced by the marquis of Argyle, in order to open the conferences at Breda, prepared propoſitions, and appointed deputies.

A. D. 1650.] The deputies met Charles at the time and place appointed, and preſented him with four articles of peace, which he did not approve; but not being in condition to ſhew his reſentment, he carefully diſſembled, offering to confirm the Preſbyterian diſcipline in Scotland, by act of Parliament: but thought it unreaſonable to expect that he ſhould renounce the form of religion in which he had been educated. He aſked them if they had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the aſſiſtance he might expect from the Scots towards reſtoring him to the crown of England; they anſwered him in the negative. Charles, though highly diſpleaſed, found it neceſſary to temporize and protract the negociation, until he ſhould receive ſome intelligence from Montroſe, on whoſe ſucceſs all his hopes were founded. That intrepid nobleman, having reinforced his handful of men with a few recruits which he raiſed in the Orkneys, paſſed over to Caithneſs, hoping the general affection to the royal cauſe and the fame of his former atchievements would allure the people to his ſtandard. But he was diſappointed, the people were not willing to receive a king without terms, and no hopes of ſucceſs remained againſt ſo great a force as was now deſtined to oppoſe him, Leſley and Holborne being ordered to advance againſt him with an army of four thouſand men. Strachan was ſent before with a body of cavalry, in order to check his progreſs. This general ſuddenly attacked Montroſe; the royaliſts were defeated; all of them either ſlain or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf being ſoon after ſeized, was conducted to Edinburgh, where he was condemned to death. Charles, being deprived by this event of all hopes of prevailing by force, was under a neceſſity to ſign the terms which the Scotch committee had preſented to him. In conſequence of this agreement, he immediately ſet ſail for Scotland, and arrived in the Firth of Cromarty.

The Engliſh parliament recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almoſt reduced. That general having conſtituted Ireton, his ſon-in-law, deputy-lieutenant, returned to England, took his ſeat in the houſe, and received their thanks for the ſignal ſervices he had done the common-wealth. They then deſired to know whether Fairfax would undertake the command of the troops deſtined for Scotland; and on his refuſal beſtowed it on Cromwell. Without delay he put his troops in motion, and entered Scotland with an army of ſixteen thouſand men. The command of the Scottiſh army was conferred on Leſley, who ſecured himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith; and whatever could tend to the ſupport of the Engliſh army was carefully removed from the ſouthern countries.

Cromwell approached the Scottiſh camp, and attempted, by every expedient to provoke Leſley to battle; but that general knew that the Engliſh army as much excelled the Scotch in diſcipline and experience, as it fell ſhort in point of numbers; and therefore prudently kept within his intrenchments. After the two armies had remained ſeveral weeks in ſight of each other, Cromwell found himſelf obliged to retire, being quite deſtitute of proviſions. He therefore withdrew to Dunbar: Leſley followed him, and encamped on a hill oppoſite the town, aſſured himſelf of putting an end to the war, by the deſtruction of the whole Engliſh army. Cromwell was almoſt deprived of every reſource. He had even once entertained the thoughts of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of forcing his way at the head of his cavalry; but the folly of the Scottiſh clergy effectually ſaved him from that diſhonour. Theſe men inceſſantly importuned their unfortunate general to attack the Engliſh, aſſuring him that they had received from heaven the cleareſt revelation, that the Lord had delivered their enemies into their hands. In vain did the general remonſtrate againſt the imprudence of ſuch a meaſure, the private men being entirely guided by the clergy; Leſley, therefore, after taking every precaution, though ſtrongly apprehenſive of the fatal conſequence, was at length obliged

obliged to deſcend into the plain, and come to an engagement with the Engliſh army. Cromwell, too, in his turn declared, that he had received from heaven a revelation, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hands; and indeed it ſoon appeared that his revelation, though as ill-founded as that of the Scots, was attended with much better ſucceſs. The latter, being raw and undiſciplined, were not able to ſtand the ſhock of ſuch hardy and experienced veterans as the Engliſh; though double in number to the enemy, they were inſtantly routed with great ſlaughter, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance. Three thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and about nine thouſand taken priſoners. The Engliſh general then took poſſeſſion of Leith and Edinburgh; but the caſtle did not ſurrender till the latter end of December.

The Scottiſh parliament, humbled by their late defeat, began to relax in their rigour towards Charles, and he was crowned at Scone; but he ſtill found his ſituation unpleaſant, as he could not reconcile himſelf to the rigid auſterities of the preſbyterians, neither could he brook the authority and influence of Argyle: he therefore reſolved to join general Middleton, who being proſcribed by the covenanters, had retired to the mountains with a party of royaliſts: but he was purſued by colonel Montgomery with a troop of horſe, who overtook him, and brought him back. This incident, however, procured him more authority; and Charles, finding Argyle was an inſtrument indiſpenſibly requiſite for the attainment of his deſires, pretended to repoſe in him great confidence: he even went ſo far, as to drop hints of his intention to mary that nobleman's daughter; but Argyle was too wiſe to be deceived by ſuch an artifice.

A. D. 1651.] Early in the ſpring, the Scottiſh army was aſſembled under Hamilton and David Leſley, and encamped at Torwood, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Charles was preſent in the army, and his generals determined to act with prudence and caution. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the northern counties ſupplied him with proviſions. His front was ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments, and it was in vain that Cromwell uſed every expedient to tempt him to an engagement. After conſuming much time, the Engliſh general ſent Lambert over the Frith into Fife, in order to intercept the proviſions of the army. He was oppoſed by Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots; but theſe were defeated with great ſlaughter. Cromwell alſo paſſed over with his whole army, and placing himſelf in the rear of Charles, rendered it impoſſible for him to remain any longer in his preſent ſituation; and the way to England being perfectly clear, he determined immediately to repair thither, where he hoped that all his friends, and all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the preſent form of adminiſtration, would flock to his ſtandard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his propoſal, and with one conſent, the army, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, quitted their camp, and proceeded by long marches towards England.

This unexpected motion of the enemy alarmed Cromwell, who detached Lambert, with a body of cavalry, to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and having left Monk, with ſeven thouſand men, to finiſh the reduction of Scotland, purſued Charles with the utmoſt expedition. Charles ſoon found himſelf diſappointed in his expectation of increaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterprize, deſerted in great numbers; the Engliſh, terrified at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him. The earl of Derby proceeded to levy forces in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed by a party of the parliamentary troops. Charles, on his arriving at Worceſter, had the mortification to be informed, that Cromwell was marching with haſty ſtrides from Scotland, with an army increaſed to thirty thouſand men. The news ſcarce arrived when that active general appeared, and attacking the town on all ſides, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts; the ſtreets of the city were ſtrewed with dead, the whole Scottiſh army was either killed or made priſoners, and Charles obliged to fly. By the earl of Derby's advice, he repaired to Boſcobel, a lone ſeat on the borders

ders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Panderell, a farmer. This man, having furniſhed him with a peaſant's habit, led him into a neighbouring wood, put an axe into his hand, and they pretended to employ themſelves in cutting wood. One day, on the approach of a party of ſoldiers, he climbed up into an oak-tree, where he ſheltered himſelf for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. This tree was afterwards called the Royal Oak, and for many years held by the royaliſts in great veneration. During this fugitive life, he was frequently expoſed to dangers, and had recourſe to various methods of concealment; at laſt he embarked at Shoreham, in Suſſex, and arrived ſafely at Feſcamp, in Normandy, having aſſumed many diſguiſes, and paſſed through ſeveral difficulties.

After the battle of Worceſter, Cromwell returned in triumph to London, and was met at Acton by the ſpeaker of the houſe, accompanied by the mayor and aldermen of the city in their formalities. At what particular period he began to entertain thoughts of taking the reins of government into his hands is uncertain; only it is known, that he now diſcovered to his friends theſe aſpiring views. He could not brook ſubjection to a republic depending on his influence, and ſupported by his victories. Such was his reputation and intereſt, that all the reſolutions of the lower houſe were directed by him as well as the army; and he was in effect chief of the republic. At this time the Engliſh parliament paſſed an act aboliſhing the royalty of Scotland, empowering it however, to ſend a certain number of repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament; and including it in the common-wealth, which was not unacceptable to the Scots, as they were more attached to the parliament than to Charles. All cauſes in both kingdoms were determined by a mixture of Engliſh and Scottiſh judges; juſtice was adminiſtered impartially, and peace and order were maintained by the prudence of general Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. The people being ſecured in their property, applied themſelves to the manual arts; and they enjoyed more plenty and ſatisfaction than was ever known to their anceſtors. Blake, a man of undaunted courage, was appointed admiral; and though he had hitherto been accuſtomed only to land ſervice, he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than it had ever before attained. Prince Rupert being obliged to quit Kinſale with his fleet, ſteered to Portugal, thither he was purſued by Blake, who could hardly be prevented by the remonſtrances of his Portugueſe majeſty, from attacking him even in ſight of Liſbon. The prince eſcaping through favour of that monarch, directed his courſe to the Weſt Indies, where his brother, prince Maurice was ſhipwrecked in a ſtorm. Rupert, after undergoing many hardſhips, and finding it impoſſible to do any effectual ſervice to the royal cauſe, returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the few ſhips which remained, together with all the prizes. All the ſettlements in America and the Weſt Indies, which had declared for the royal cauſe, were ſoon reduced to ſubjection by Sir George Ayſcue, who was ſent with a ſquadron for that purpoſe. Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man, were with equal eaſe brought under obedience. Nor were the arms of the republic leſs ſucceſsful in Ireland and Scotland. Ireton, deputy-lieutenant of the former kingdom, perſevered with great induſtry in ſubduing the revolted Iriſh, and defeated them in many engagements. All perſons who had any concern in the popiſh maſſacres were puniſhed without mercy; among whom was Sir Phelim O'Neal, who juſtly ſuffered on the gallows, for the many barbarities he had committed. After the reduction of Limeric Ireton died in that city, of the plague; whoſe death was much lamented by Cromwell, and the reſt of the republicans. He was ſucceeded by general Ludlow, who finiſhed the reduction of Ireland.

A. D. 1652.] The parliament now having leiſure to attend to their concerns in foreign countries, they were determined to chaſtiſe the Dutch. Accordingly they paſſed an act of navigation, prohibiting all nations to import any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ſhips belonged. The States General alarmed at theſe meaſures

measures, sent ambassadors to London, to solicit a repeal of the act of navigation; but the parliament, far from complying with their request, demanded satisfaction for the massacre at Amboyna; the murder of Dorislaus, an agent of parliament at the Hague, who was assassinated by some Scotch royalists in the suit of young Charles; and the correspondence which, during the civil war, the Dutch ambassadors had maintained with the late king: claiming also two millions of money for the losses they had sustained by the Hollanders in the East Indies. The states foreseeing the storm, commissioned Van Tromp with a fleet for the protection of their trade. He was opposed by the English admiral, Blake. Many were their engagements, and various was their success, but in general the Dutch were worsted. After one action, in which they had the advantage, Van Tromp hoisted a broom at his main-top-mast head, as if he would sweep the channel clear of the enemy. However, the English were determined to avenge the insult, and recover their honour. Accordingly the ensuing year, Blake, with eighty ships, met the Dutch admiral off Portland, with seventy-six men of war, and a convoy of three hundred merchant-men. The two fleets came to an engagement, which was continued with the most invincible obstinacy for three days; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Van Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch Admiral made an excellent retreat, and saved all the merchant-men except thirty; but he lost eleven ships of war, which were either taken or destroyed; two thousand men were killed, and fifteen hundred made prisoners. Though many of the English ships were greatly damaged, they had but one sunk; but the number of killed were nearly equal. The Dutch, who felt many disadvantages from the loss of their trade, and the total suspension of their fisheries, applied to the English parliament to appoint a place where they might treat of a pacification, but before that could be negociated, a strange revolution happened in England.

A. D. 1653.] It was generally expected, that as soon as the government was settled the parliament would dissolve themselves, and their continuing to sit without a new election could not fail to give offence to a people jealous of their liberty. There were mutual jealousies also subsisting between Cromwell and the parliament, they saw his growing power and ambition, and endeavoured to check it; but he perceiving they were resolved to bring him into subordination, determined to prevent them. Secure in the confidence of the army, he meditated a daring effort for establishing his own dominion, and with this view persuaded the officers to present a petition for the payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was accordingly soon drawn up and presented. In it the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years it had sat, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis. They alledged, that it was now full time for the representatives to give place to others; and that however meritorious their actions might have been, it was an injury to the rest of the nation to be excluded from any part in the service of their country.

The parliament was highly offended at this presumption of the army, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. They appointed a committee to prepare an act ordaining that all persons who presented any such remonstrances for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. The officers insisted on the privilege which they had exercised; and by these altercations the breach became still wider between the army and the common-wealth. Cromwell, now finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to a public settlement. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell, that the parliament had come to a resolution not to dissolve itself, but to fill up the house by new elections, and was at that very moment deliberating upon this expedient. Cromwell immediately rose up, apparently in a great rage, and, turning to ma-

jor Vernon, ſaid, "I am compelled to do a "thing which makes the very hair of my "head ſtand on end." Then haſtening with three hundred ſoldiers, ſome of whom he placed on the ſtairs, ſome in the lobby, and ſome at the door, he entered the houſe, with marks of violent indignation on his countenance; and, having taken his ſeat, attended to the debates for ſome time. He beckoned Harriſon, and told him, that he now judged the parliament ripe for diſſolution. "Sir, (ſaid "Harriſon) the work is very great and dan-"gerous; I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider "before you engage in it." "You ſay well," replied the general, and ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is "the time, I muſt do it," and ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the parliament with reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, and robbery of the public. Then, ſtamping with his foot, which was a ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For ſhame, (ſaid he to the parliament), "get you gone: give place to honeſter men; "to thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge "their truſt. You are no longer a parlia-"ment: I tell you, you are no longer a par-"ment. The Lord has done with you: he "has choſen other inſtruments for carrying "on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! "the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou "art a whoremaſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou "art a drunkard and a glutton:" and, to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. "What, "(ſaid he), ſhall we do with this bauble? "Here, take it away. It is you, (addreſſing "himſelf to the houſe) that have forced me "upon this. I have ſought the Lord, night "and day, that he would rather ſlay me than "put me upon this work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, he put the key in his pocket, and departed to his lodgings in Whitehall. Thus by a ſingle effort of daring reſolution, was the whole power, civil and military, veſted in Cromwell, who now received congratulations from the fleet, the army, and from different bodies of people: but this politic man was too cautious either to be driven on by their exhortations, or ſeduced by their praiſe.

Though Cromwell, in diſſolving the parliament, had aſſumed the ſupreme authority, he thought proper to amuſe the people with the appearance of a common-wealth; but was reſolved to give them a parliament which would be entirely ſubſervient to his commands. For this purpoſe, conſulting with ſome of the principal officers, it was decreed, that the ſovereign power ſhould be veſted in one hundred and forty-four perſons, under the denomination of a parliament; and himſelf undertook to make the choice. The perſons pitched upon for exerciſing this ſeeming important truſt, were the moſt ignorant of the people, as he thought they were the moſt likely to ſubmit to his will. From one of them, a leather-ſeller in Fleet-ſtreet, whoſe name was Praiſe God Barebone, it derived the appellation of Barebone's parliament. On theſe he pretended, by his ſole act and deed, to devolve the whole authority of the ſtate. This legiſlative power they were to exerciſe during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to chuſe the ſame number of perſons as their ſucceſſors. Being chiefly compoſed of Antimonians, a ſect which, after receiving the ſpirit, ſuppoſe themſelves incapable of error, and of fifth monarchy men, who every hour expected Chriſt's coming on earth, they began with deliberating upon the ſuppreſſion of the clergy, the univerſities, the court of chancery, and the common law; inſtead of which it was their deſign to ſubſtitute the law of Moſes. After ſitting about five months, during which time they became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, they came to a reſolution, "that the "ſitting of this parliament any longer, as now "conſtituted, will not be for the good of the "common-wealth, and therefore it was re-"quiſite to deliver up unto the lord general, "Oliver Cromwell, the power which they re-"ceived from him." Accordingly the ſpeaker, attended

attended by ſeveral members, went to him and reſigned into his hands the authority with which he had inveſted them. Cromwell accepted their reſignation with pleaſure; but being told that ſome of their number were refractory, and continued ſitting in the houſe, he ſent thither colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers, to diſmiſs them. On entering the aſſembly, this officer aſked them, what they did there? "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you may go elſewhere; (replied he) for to my certain knowledge he has not been here theſe many years."

The diſſolution of this aſſembly left the country again without any legiſlative authority. Cromwell, therefore, called a council of officers, and adviſed with them how the government was to be carried on; when Lambert propoſed a ſcheme for tempering the liberty of the common-wealth with the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be ſtiled protector, and at the ſame time preſented a paper, called the inſtrument of government, upon that plan. Theſe propoſitions were adopted, and Cromwell was unanimouſly choſen protector. On the ſixteenth of December he was inſtalled into that office, by the title of his Highneſs, the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with great pomp and ceremony, before the Judges at Weſtminſter-hall; when he took an oath to preſerve inviolate the articles contained in the inſtrument, and in all other reſpects to govern the nation according to their laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms.

The principal articles contained in the inſtrument by which the nation was now to be governed were the following: A council was to be formed which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their offices during life or good behaviour; and, in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the common-wealth, with all the powers which belonged to the crown. That of the ſword was veſted in him jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills which they paſſed were to be preſented to the protector for his aſſent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A ſtanding army was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, and funds were eſtabliſhed for their ſupport; theſe were not to be diminiſhed without conſent of the protector, and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid until the next meeting of parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life, and on his death the place was to be immediately ſupplied by the council. The council of ſtate named by the inſtrument was compoſed of fifteen, and to each of whom he aſſigned a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whoſe fidelity he depended for ſupport, paid a month in advance; the magazines were alſo well-provided, and the public treaſure managed with care; while his vigilance, activity, and reſolution were ſuch, that he diſcovered every conſpiracy againſt his perſon, and every plot for an inſurrection, before they took effect.

A. D. 1654.] Several deſperate engagements took place between the Dutch and Engliſh fleets in the courſe of the laſt year, in one of which Van Tromp was ſhot through the heart; but the treaty with Holland was now brought to a concluſion, and articles of peace were ſigned on the fifth of Auguſt. The Dutch conſented to pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag; they abandoned the intereſt of Charles; they engaged to pay eighty-five thouſand pounds, as an indemnification for loſſes; and reſtore the iſland of Polerone to the Engliſh Eaſt India company. The Dutch war being ſucceſsful, and the peace reaſonable, brought credit to Cromwell's adminiſtration, which alſo derived advantage from an incident that diſplayed the vigour of his character.

Don

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in commiſſion, fancying himſelf to be inſulted, came upon the Exchange, armed, and attended by ſeveral ſervants. By miſtake he attacked a gentleman whom he took for the perſon who had given him offence, and having by many wounds diſpatched him, he and his attendants took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had connived at this criminal enterprize. The populace ſurrounded the houſe, and threatened to ſet fire to it: Cromwell ſent a guard, which ſeized all the criminals. They were brought to trial, and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The ſituation of Portugal obliged them to acquieſce in that act of public juſtice, and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce.

The parliament met on the third of September, according to writs iſſued by Cromwell for that purpoſe. He went in great ſtate, and opened it with a ſpeech, in which he informed them of the ſteps he had taken for modelling the new government, aſſuring them of his upright intention, recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them he had convoked a free parliament, and that he did not pretend to be their maſter, but their fellow labourer. The parliament having with great attention liſtened to his ſpeech, which laſted near three hours, and, by Cromwell's recommendation, chuſing Lenthall for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of the inſtrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, under the title of protector, had aſſumed over the nation. They arraigned his new dignity with the greateſt freedom; even his perſonal character and conduct did not eſcape without cenſure. The protector, enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, ſent for them to the painted chamber, and, with an air of great authority, inveighed at their proceedings; telling them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title, ſince the ſame inſtrument of government which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were the government of the nation by one perſon and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that with regard to theſe particulars there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which in the other circumſtances of government he confeſſed himſelf in no wiſe entitled. When the members returned to the houſe, they found a guard at the door, which would not ſuffer any one to enter till he had ſigned a recognition, by which he promiſed to be faithful to the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that he would never conſent to a change in the government eſtabliſhed under a protector and parliament. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition, but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government was examined, one article after another, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy. Very free arguments were advanced with the general approbation of the houſe; and during the whole courſe of their tranſactions, they neither ſent up one law to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome of the malcontent officers, he haſtened to the diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly. By the inſtrument of government to which he had ſworn, no parliament could be diſſolved before it had ſat five months; but Cromwell pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapſed, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confuſed, angry harangue, and diſmiſſed them.

A. D. 1655.] A plan was now concluded by the cavaliers (a name at this time given to the

the royaliſts) for a general inſurrection in favour of Charles; but the protector's ſpies informing him what was in agitation, he cauſed ſome of the conſpirators to be thrown into priſon; the conſequence of which was, that moſt of the reſt remained quiet; but in the weſt of England, Penruddock, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen raiſed two hundred horſe, and entering Saliſbury during the aſſizes, took poſſeſſion of the gates and market-place, and proclaimed Charles king; but their friends not joining them, they left the city, and wandered through the country, till their numbers were ſo leſſened that they were ſuppreſſed by one troop of horſe. The leaders of the conſpiracy were condemned and executed, and others tranſported.

During theſe tranſactions the queen of England and her ſon Charles, paſſed moſt of their time at Paris; and, notwithſtanding their near connection of blood, received but few civilities, and ſtill leſs ſupport, from the French court. The Engliſh parliament, however, reſented the countenance, cold as it was, with which the French court treated the prince. On pretence of injuries, of which the Engliſh merchants complained, they iſſued letters of repriſal on the French; and Blake went ſo far as to attack and ſeize a whole ſquadron of ſhips which were carrying ſupplies to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards. That town, diſappointed of thoſe ſupplies, fell into the hands of the enemy; and the French miniſtry ſoon found it neceſſary to change their meaſures. They treated Charles with ſuch indifference, that, to prevent the indignity of being deſired to leave the kingdom, he judged it proper to anticipate the requiſition. He firſt went to Spa, and afterwards to Cologne, where he lived two years on a penſion of about ſix thouſand pounds, allowed him by the court of France, and on ſome contributions ſent him by his friends in England. Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidents.

Cardinal Mazarine, the French miniſter, had thought it prudent to bend under the Engliſh parliament, and deemed it ſtill more neceſſary to pay deference to the protector, when he aſſumed the reins of government. To negociate a peace with England, Bourdeaux was ſent over as miniſter. The court of Spain, though no leſs aſſiduous to gain his friendſhip, was not equally ſucceſsful. He lent the court of France a body of ſix thouſand men to attack the Spaniſh dominions in the Netherlands. The French, upon obtaining by his aſſiſtance, a ſignal victory at Dunes, put Dunkirk, which they had juſt taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his friendſhip. He humbled the pride of Spain with ſtill more important ſucceſs by ſea. Blake, whoſe fame was now ſpread over Europe, ſailed with a fleet of thirty capital ſhips into the Mediterranean, whither, ſince the time of the cruſades, no Engliſh fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that had the temerity to oppoſe him. Caſting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained ſatisfaction for ſome injuries which the Engliſh commerce had ſuffered from the duke of Tuſcany. He next ſailed to Algiers, compelled the dey to make peace, and to reſtrain his piratical ſubjects from making farther depredations on the Engliſh. He went thence to Tunis, where, having made the ſame demands, he was deſired by the bey of that place to look at the two caſtles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake was not ſlow in accepting the challenge: he drew his ſhips cloſe up to the caſtles, in which he made great havock with his artillery; and, after burning all the veſſels in the harbour, ſailed our triumphantly to purſue his voyage. At Cadiz he took two galleons, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. At the Canaries he burned a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips; and returning home to England, when he came within ſight of his native country he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an uſuper, yet was averſe to his cauſe. He was by principle a zealous republican, and therefore could not approve a dictator. His aim was to ſerve his country, not to ſupport uſurpation. "It is ſtill our duty," he would ſay to the ſeamen, "to "fight for our country, into whatever hands "the government may fall."

While Blake was profecuting his enterprizes, another was carried on under the command of admiral Pen and Venables, with about four thouſand land-forces. Their expedition was intended againſt Hiſpaniola; but being fruſtrated in their deſign, they ſteered to Jamaica, which ſurrendered to them without a blow. Of ſo little importance was this conqueſt eſteemed, that upon the return from the expedition, Pen and Venables were ſent to the Tower, for the miſcarriage in their primary object, but they were ſoon after releaſed.

A. D. 1656.] It was Cromwell's peculiar ſtudy to engage the affections of the people by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. The benches were filled with judges of incorruptible integrity, who gave their deciſions without reſpect of perſons, and he laid aſide his major-generals, who by this time had incurred the hatred and reſentment of the whole nation. He began to hope, that by his adminiſtration, attended with ſo much luſtre abroad and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired ſuch authority as would ſecure to his government the compliance of the repreſentatives of the nation. He therefore ſummoned a parliament to meet on the ſeventeenth of September; but not truſting altogether to the good-will of the people, he uſed every art to influence the elections, and fill the houſe with his own creatures. Ireland being entirely in the hands of the army, choſe few but ſuch officers as were moſt acceptable to him. Scotland ſhowed a like compliance; and, as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on Engliſh parliaments as a badge of ſlavery, it was more eaſy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the protector ſtill found that the majority would not be favourable to him. He ſet guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; which rejected about a hundred, who either refuſed a recognition of the protector's authority, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. The excluded members proteſted againſt ſo egregious a violence, ſubverſive of all liberty; but every application for redreſs was neglected both by the council and the parliament. By theſe means, the majority of the parliament was now either friendly to the protector, or reſolved, by their compliance, to adjuſt, if poſſible, the military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family. They paſſed an act for ſecuring his highneſs the lord protector's perſon, and the continuance of the nation in ſecurity and peace: this was occaſioned by the diſcovery of two plots againſt the protector, which had been entered into by ſome republicans. They approved of the war with Spain, and granted large ſupplies for carrying it on.

A. D. 1657.] Alderman Pack, one of the city members, made a motion for inveſting the protector with the dignity of king. This threw the houſe into great diſorder. The chief oppoſition came from the uſual adherents of the protector, the major-generals, and ſuch officers as depended upon them. All the former arguments againſt kingly government were renewed. Notwithſtanding, the motion was approved by a majority, and a bill was paſſed for that purpoſe. When the crown was offered to the protector, by a committee of the houſe, he gave ſuch obſcure and ambiguous anſwers, as plainly indicated he did not wiſh to be underſtood. He deſired time to deliberate, and the conferences were continued for ſome weeks.

There can hardly be a doubt, but the motion was made with the concurrence of Cromwell, if not at his deſire; and the oppoſition which he dreaded, was not that which came from general Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and was reſolved to deprive of all authority; but that which aroſe from his own family, and from men, who, by intereſt as well as inclination, were the moſt devoted to him. Fleetwood and Deſborow, the former married to his daughter, and the latter to his ſiſter, could by no means be induced to conſent that he ſhould be inveſted with the regal dignity. They told him, if he accepted of the crown, they would inſtantly throw up their commiſſions, and never afterwards ſhould have it in their

their power to ſerve him. Colonel Pride procured a petition againſt the office of king, ſigned by a majority of the officers who were in London and the neighbourhood. Some ſudden mutiny in the army was juſtly dreaded, and ſeveral perſons, it is ſaid, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he ſhould have accepted the offer of the parliament. At laſt Cromwell, after long doubt and perplexity, was obliged to refuſe that crown which the repreſentatives of the people had tendered to him.

The regal dignity being rejected by Cromwell, the parliament found themſelves obliged to retain the name of a common-wealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifeſt uſurpation, it was thought proper to ſanction it by a ſeeming choice of the people and their repreſentatives. Inſtead of the "Inſtrument of Government," which was the work of the general officers alone, "An "humble Petition and Advice" was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was repreſented as the great baſis of the republican eſtabliſhment, regulating and limitting the powers of each member of the conſtitution, and ſecuring for ever the liberties of the people. By this deed the authority of the protector was in ſome particulars enlarged; in others it was conſiderably diminiſhed. He had the power of nominating his ſucceſſor; he had a perpetual revenue aſſigned him; a million a year for the pay of the fleet and army; three hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the civil government; and he had authority to name a new houſe, ſomething like the peers, who ſhould enjoy their ſeats during life, and exerciſe ſome functions of the former houſe: but he renounced the power aſſumed in the intervals of parliament of framing laws with the conſent of his counſel; and he agreed, that no members of either houſe ſhould be excluded but by the conſent of that houſe of which they were members. The humble petition and advice was amended by a ſupplement the ſame ſeſſion; but, after all, it was an undigeſted model of government. After this new deed, Cromwell was again inaugurated at Weſtminſter-hall, with great ſolemnity.

The parliament having adjourned itſelf, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions; but allowed him a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Richard, eldeſt ſon of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public buſineſs, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorſhip. His ſecond ſon, Henry, he made protector of Ireland. This year James Naylor, a man eminently diſtinguiſhed among the people called quakers, was accuſed of blaſphemy, and tried by the parliament, who condemned him to be publicly whipped and pilloried, both at London and Briſtol, and afterwards to be confined in Bridewell during pleaſure.

A. D. 1658.] The parliament was aſſembled the twentieth of January, and conſiſted of two houſes. All the members who had been excluded the houſe of Commons the laſt ſeſſions were now admitted to their ſeats, in conſequence of a clauſe in the humble petition and advice, "That the perſons who "are legally choſen, by a free election of the "people, to ſerve in parliament, may not be "excluded from doing their duties but by the "conſent of the houſe whereof they are mem-"bers." The new ariſtocratic body was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Other Houſe*, and conſiſted of ſixty members, among whom were five or ſix ancient peers, ſeveral gentlemen of fortune, and ſome officers who had riſen from the rank of privates, all of whom had received writs from Cromwell; but the ancient peers declined taking their ſeats. The protector endeavoured at firſt to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate; he placed no guard at the door of either houſe; but ſoon found how incompatible liberty is with military uſurpation. By bringing ſo great a number of his friends and adherents into the upper houſe, he had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. Sir Arthur Haſlerig and ſome others, whom Cromwell had created lords, rather choſe to take their ſeats with the commons. An inconteſtible majority

jority now declared themſelves againſt the protector; and they refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the *other houſe*, which he had eſtabliſhed. Even the validity of the humble petition and advice was queſtioned, as being voted by a parliament which lay under force, and which was deprived by military violence of a conſiderable number of its members. Cromwell, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malcontents in the army, reſolved to allow no leiſure for forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and, with expreſſions of great diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends, not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore by the living God that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer.

The protector was now kept in perpetual inquietude. His adminiſtration, expenſive both by military enterprizes and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his revenue, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. The royaliſts, he heard, had renewed their conſpiracies for a general inſurrection; and Ormond was ſecretly come over, with a view of concerting meaſures for the execution of this project. Many leaders of the preſbyterian party had ſecretly entered into the engagement; even the army was infected with the ſpirit of diſcontent, and ſome dangerous commotion was every moment expected from it. But the conſpiracy of the royaliſts was diſcovered, and proved ineffectual. Ormond was obliged to fly; great numbers were thrown into priſon, and a high court of juſtice was erected for the trial of thoſe whoſe guilt was moſt apparent. Dr. Hewet, and Sir Henry Slingſby were condemned and executed: Mr. Mordaunt, who was equally guilty, was acquitted through the want of evidence, his wife having bribed one of them to abſent himſelf. The conſpiracy of the millenarians in the army ſtruck Cromwell with ſtill greater apprehenſions. The officers whom he had diſcarded harboured in their breaſts ſome deſperate project, and they wanted not others in the army who were diſpoſed to ſecond their undertakings. He was likewiſe apprehenſive of aſſaſſinations, from the zealous ſpirit which actuated the ſoldiers. One Sundercome had undertaken to murder him, and by a variety of accidents had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpoſe: his guilt was proved, and when every thing was ready for the execution, he was found dead in his bed by poiſon.

While Cromwell was ſurrounded by theſe dangers, and tormented with apprehenſions, he was deſtitute even of domeſtic conſolation. Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, began to eſtrange himſelf from him, and deteſted that character which could uſe religious profeſſions for the purpoſe of temporal advancement. His eldeſt daughter, married to Fleetwood, was ſo zealouſly attached to republican principles, that ſhe could not behold even her own father inveſted with uncontroulable power: his other daughters no leſs diſapproved of his conduct; but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with the unwarrantable meaſures into which his ambition had betrayed him.

All peace was now for ever baniſhed from his mind. He felt that the grandeur which he had attained with ſo much difficulty could not enſure him that tranquillity which virtue and moderation can alone beſtow. Equally jealous of treacherous friends and enraged enemies, he was haunted in all his walks with the dread of aſſaſſination. Every action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aſpect of ſtrangers was uneaſy to him: he wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept piſtols in his pockets: he never moved a ſtep without ſtrong guards, and he performed every journey with precipitation: he returned from no place by the direct road, or by the ſame way which he went; and ſeldom ſlept three nights ſucceſſively in the ſame chamber: nor did he ever let it be known before-hand what chamber he intended to chooſe, or intruſted himſelf in any which was not provided with a back-door, at which one or more centinels were placed: in ſolitude he was miſerable, and ſociety terrified him.

Anxiety of mind at laſt affected his health, and he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the ſpace

of

OLIVER CROMWELL,

CHOSEN *by the* PEOPLE, LORD PROTECTOR *of* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND & IRELAND, *during the Years 1648 to 1658 inclusive. He Died Sept^r. 3. 1658. having filled the Royal Throne of Great Britain upwards of Ten Years.*

Publish'd by H. D. Symonds, March 11. 1796.

of a week no dangerous ſymptoms appeared, and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad; but the fever increaſing, himſelf began to dread his approaching fate, though he was taught by his chaplains to conſider his preſent diſorder as no way fatal. When one of them, named Goodwin, told him that the elect would never be damned, "Then I am ſafe," ſaid the protector, "for "I am ſure that once I was in a ſtate of "grace." His phyſicians were ſenſible of the danger of his caſe; but he was ſo much encouraged by the viſions and revelations of his preachers, that he began to conſider his recovery as not in the leaſt doubtful. "I tell "you," cried he to the phyſicians, "I tell "you, I ſhall not die of this diſtemper; I am "well aſſured of my recovery. It is pro-"miſed by the Lord, not only to my ſuppli-"cations, but to thoſe of men who hold a "ſtricter commerce and more intimate cor-"reſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill "in your profeſſion; but nature can do more "than all the phyſicians in the world, and "God is far above nature." Notwithſtanding thoſe aſſurances, the fatal ſymptoms every hour increaſed, and the phyſicians were obliged to declare, that he could not ſurvive the next fit. The council, therefore, came to know his laſt will with regard to the ſucceſſion; but his ſenſes faſt declining, he was only able to anſwer "Yes," when they aſked, whether his ſon, Richard, ſhould ſucceed him in the protectorate. He died on the third of September, a day he had always regarded as auſpicious, and on which he had gained his two ſignal victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, aged fifty-nine years, and four months. His remains were apparently interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, with more than regal magnificence; but ſome writers aſſert, that the body was wrapped in lead, and thrown into the Thames below London-bridge; and others, with as little reaſon, affirm poſitively, that it was ſecretly depoſited in Naſeby-field. By Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, he had two ſons and four daughters. Richard, his ſucceſſor, married the eldeſt daughter of Richard Major, Eſq; and Henry married a daughter of Sir Francis Ruſſel, of Chippenham, in Cambridgeſhire. His daughters were Bridget, married to commiſſary-general Ireton, afterwards to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; Elizabeth, the wife of John Claypole, Eſq; Mary, married to lord viſcount Falconbridge; and Frances, wife to Mr. Rich, grandſon to the earl of Warwick, and afterwards to Sir John Ruſſel, of Chippenham.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, the laſt year of the former century, of a good family; though being the ſon of a ſecond brother, he inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. His perſon was robuſt, and his countenance ſtrongly marked with good ſenſe and ſeverity. He received his education at Sydney-college, Cambridge, where he was admitted a fellow-commoner; and though he made no great proficiency in ſchool-learning, he was then eſteemed a man of abilities. He fell into a diſorderly courſe of life, and conſumed in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the more early years of his life, and diſſipated part of his patrimony. All of a ſudden, the ſpirit of reformation ſeized him; he married, affected a grave and compoſed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritans, and offered to reſtore to every one whatever ſums he had formerly gained by gaming. The ſame vehemence of temper which had tranſported him into the extremes of pleaſure, now diſtinguiſhed his religious habits. His houſe was the reſort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hoſpitality, as well as his liberalities to the ſilenced and deprived miniſters, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Though he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs ſo injured by his expences, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himſelf for ſome years to agriculture as a profeſſion; but this expedient ſerved rather to involve him in freſh debts and difficulties. Urged by his wants and his piety, he had made a party with Hampden, his near kinſman, who was preſſed only by the latter motive to tranſport himſelf to New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the perſecuted puri-

tans, and it was an order of council which obliged them to disembark and remain in England.

He was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament; but his person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untunable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed; in the house he was entirely overlooked, and his friend Hampden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius; and foretold, that if a civil-war ensued he would soon rise to distinction. He was forty-three years of age when he first embraced the military profession, and he soon became an excellent officer. He would not allow his soldiers to perplex their heads with those subtleties of fighting by the king's authority against his person; but plainly told them, that he would fire a pistol in the king's face as readily as against any other man. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded: from low commands he rose really to be the first, though in appearance only the second in the army: by fraud and violence he soon rendered himself the first in the state. The republicans were those whose resentment and opposition gave him the greatest uneasiness. These contained two sets of men: the *Millenarians*, who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ upon earth; and the *Deists*, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and who had no other object than political liberty. The deists were hated by Cromwell, who usually denominated them *Heathens*; but as it was important on him to gain the millenarians, he thought it prudent to accommodate them by some appearance of a common-wealth. His mother, who lived till after he was chosen protector, could never be persuaded that either his power or his person were in safety; and at every noise she heard exclaimed that her son was murdered. By her frugality and industry, she raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune; she had even been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon. Hence Cromwell has been stigmatized with the name of the Brewer; and Ludlow, who was a republican, ironically takes notice of the great accession of fortune he would have upon his mother's death, who possessed a jointure of sixty pounds a year, and his estate.

The character of this extraordinary man has been variously represented, as the writers happened to be friends or enemies. When he first distinguished himself, by opposing the arbitrary conduct of Charles, it cannot be imagined that he had formed those views of ambition which unfolded themselves in the subsequent part of his life; but rather, that he was actuated by the most just and generous motive, the love of his country. The parliament which brought the king to a scaffold, by neglecting to establish any rational system of government; by continuing themselves in their seats; by dividing among them all places of power and profit; by suffering many of the grievances which existed under the old government to remain, or creating new ones; and by conniving at some acts of oppression and injustice in their inferior agents, had given great offence to the nation. However obnoxious the parliament might be to the people, they had no means of resistance while the army preserved their fidelity; and they had already suffered too much to rashly plunge themselves again into a civil war. The dissolution of parliament, though a violent measure, was seen without dissatisfaction by many, and all parties were by this time convinced of the transcendant abilities of Cromwell, and submitted to his authority. As the government was now wholly dissolved, if he had known the true interests of his country, or been desirous to promote them, he would have assembled a convention by the free election of the people, to establish some just and equal system. No danger could have arisen from this expedient, for the people were in general well-informed, and every where evinced a respect for peace and good order, though there was no legal authority to keep them in subordination: but perhaps he might think, in the divided state of public opinion, it was much the safer to frame a system of government, and reduce it to practice, than to risk the peace of the nation, by submitting to it a question of so much magnitude. For that purpose

purpoſe he aſſembled one hundred and forty-four men, from different parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, over whom he thought he had entire influence, and dignified them with the name of a parliament; but they ſoon diſcovered their own incapacity, and ſurrendered to him their powers. The nation again became ſubject to a military government; and in a council of officers, a new conſtitution was framed, and Cromwell was choſen protector. Though his adminiſtration diſcovered great abilities, it was conducted without any regular plan, either of liberty or of arbitrary power. Under charges of ſtate offences, he committed men to priſon; cauſed them to be tried before new-created tribunals; and adjudged to death without a verdict by jury: but it is neceſſary to obſerve, that though his high courts of juſtice were arbitrary, no perſon was convicted without full proof of guilt. He violated the privileges of parliament, by the excluſion of many of its members; and then endeavoured to impoſe upon the nation a new ariſtocratic body of his own appointment, that by their aſſiſtance he might the more effectually counteract the will of the repreſentatives of the people; and when they would not recognize his *other houſe*, he diſſolved them. In theſe inſtances his conduct was arbitrary and tyrannical; but in many other reſpects he regarded the liberty and happineſs of the people. He choſe judges eminent for their abilities and integrity, and cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtered with impartiality. The Roman catholics and all ſectarians were allowed liberty of conſcience. The arts, manufactures, and commerce of the country were promoted; and the people enjoyed more eaſe and happineſs than under the monarchy. Every encouragement was given to virtue and induſtry, while idleneſs and diſſipation received a ſeaſonable check. Every department of the ſtate, civil and military, were filled with men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents; and the adminiſtration was every where active and powerful.

Cromwell was ſober and temperate; he upheld ſome ſtate, but with little expence, and without oſtentatious ſplendour. Every thing was managed with the greateſt frugality; yet he knew how to be generous. Among his ancient friends he could relax himſelf, by trifling amuſements, jeſting, and making verſes; at other times he would entertain himſelf by throwing burning coals into the boots and ſhoes of his generals and officers. One day, when he was drawing the cork of a bottle of wine, the cork-ſcrew dropt out of his hand; the courtiers and generals immediately fell upon their knees to ſearch for it. Cromwell immediately burſt out a laughing; "*Should any fool* (ſaid he) *put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your poſture, you were ſeeking the Lord; and you are only ſeeking a cork-ſcrew!*" Notwithſtanding this vein of frolic and pleaſantry, which made a part, however inconſiſtent, of his character, he preſerved his dignity, and took care to give no offence to the moſt rigid and devout. As a ſon, a huſband, a father, and a friend, his very enemies give him the higheſt praiſe.

We ſhall conclude our account of this great man with the obſervations of Cowley, who was a royaliſt:---"What can be more extraordinary, (ſays he) than that a perſon of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, nor ſhining talents of mind, ſhould have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute ſo great a deſign, as the ſubverting one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world? That he ſhould have the boldneſs and power to put his prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? Should baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? Cover all theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience to a parliament in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be retained? Trample, too, upon that parliament, and ſcornfully expel them as ſoon as they gave him ground of diſſatisfaction? Overcome all his enemies by arms, and afterwards all his friends by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriouſly at laſt? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes? Call together parliaments with a ſtroke of his pen, and ſcatter them again with a word of his mouth? Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented nation, by means of a mutinous

nous army? Command a mutinous army by ſeditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of three nations as much at his diſpoſal, as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as liberal and noble in the ſpending of them? And laſtly, (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory) with one word, bequeath all this power and ſplendour to his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at home, and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguiſhed with the whole world, which, as it was too little for his praiſe, ſo might it have been for his conqueſts, if the ſhort line of his mortal life could have ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns."

CHAP. VII.

Richard acknowledged Protector---Cabal at Wallingford-Houſe---Richard depoſed---Long Parliament reſtored---Committee of Safety---Monk enters London---A new Parliament---The Reſtoration---An account of the People called Quakers.

A. D. 1658. IMMEDIATELY after the deceaſe of Cromwell, the council aſſembled; and, in conſequence of his laſt will, elected his ſon Richard protector of the common-wealth. This election was notified to the mayor of London; and next day he was proclaimed in that city, and in Weſtminſter. He in a little time received addreſſes from the different counties and corporations of England, congratulating him upon his ſucceſſion, which they promiſed to ſupport with life and fortune. Henry, his brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, enſured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, whoſe authority was eſtabliſhed in Scotland, immediately proclaimed the new protector. The army, every where, with the fleet, acknowledged his title; and he received the uſual compliments from foreign miniſters.

A. D. 1659.] It was found neceſſary to call a parliament, to furniſh ſupplies for the common exigencies of government. The ancient right of election was reſtored to all the ſmall boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their uſual members. After ſome debate among the commons, they confirmed the *humble petition and advice*; and the *other houſe*, or the houſe of peers, which conſiſted only of thoſe perſons of no real title, who had been advanced to that ſtation by the late protector, was permitted to ſit. The parliament was now the leaſt inimical to the protector's authority. His uncle Deſborow was a republican, and his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, a millenarian, conſequently both averſe to the government of a ſingle perſon. The latter was the idol of the army, which Richard diſobliged by the promotion of ſome officers againſt whom they entertained a diſlike. Lambert alſo, and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had diſmiſſed, came forth from their retreats, and began to cabal againſt the protector. All theſe eſtabliſhed a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-houſe, was called the cabal of Wallingford.

Richard was perſuaded, by ſome of his diſguiſed enemies, to call a general council of officers, who, as they pretended, might make him propoſals for the good of the army. No ſooner were they aſſembled than they voted a remonſtrance; in which it was propoſed, that the military power ſhould be entruſted to ſome perſon in whom they could all confide; and it was plainly given to underſtand, that the young protector was not that perſon. Richard, alarmed at this propoſal, applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both conſidered it as an audacious attempt; and a vote was paſſed, that there ſhould be no meet-

meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's conſent, or by his orders. This proceeding brought things immediately to an open rupture. The officers haſtened to Richard, and demanded a diſſolution of the parliament; and Deſborow threatened him, if he ſhould refuſe compliance. The protector, wanting the reſolution to deny, accordingly diſſolved that aſſembly; and, by the ſame act, himſelf was, by every one, conſidered as effectually diveſted of all power. Soon after he ſigned his own abdication in form. Henry, the deputy of Ireland, who, though endowed with more vigour and capacity, poſſeſſed the ſame moderate diſpoſition with Richard, followed the protector's example, and reſigned his commiſſion without ſtriking a blow. Richard continued to poſſeſs a moderate eſtate, but burdened with a large debt which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the reſtoration, though he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel for ſome years. He extended his peaceable inoffenſive life to an extreme old age; and died not until the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The council of officers, now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deliberated what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh; and, after ſome conſultation, determined to revive the long parliament which had been expelled by Cromwell. This was called the good old cauſe, from their attachment to republican principles; and to them the cabal of officers, for ſome time, delivered up their aſſumed authority. The members, who had been ſecluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to reſume their ſeats among them.

At this time a conſpiracy was formed between the royaliſts and preſbyterians in favour of Charles. The conſpirators had collected ſome force in Wales, and taken poſſeſſion of Cheſter; but they were totally defeated by Lambert, who was ſent againſt them with ſuperior force.

The long, or rump parliament, for ſuch was the name it went by, choſe a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford ſhould not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general; but inſerted in his commiſſion, that it ſhould only continue during the pleaſure of the houſe. They choſe ſeven perſons who ſhould nominate to ſuch commands as became vacant; and they voted, that all commiſſions ſhould be received from the ſpeaker, and be ſigned by him in the name of the houſe. The tendency of theſe precautions eſcaped not the obſervations of the officers; and their diſcontent would immediately have broken out into ſome reſolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehenſions of danger from the royaliſts, or preſbyterians, who were conſidered as the common enemy. In this exigence, the officers held ſeveral conferences together, with a deſign to maintain their authority; and they at length came to the reſolution of diſſolving that aſſembly, by which they found themſelves oppoſed. Accordingly, Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a choſen body of troops; and, placing them in the ſtreets which led to Weſtminſter-hall, when the ſpeaker, Lenthal, proceeded in his carriage to the houſe, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were intercepted in the ſame manner; and thus the rump-parliament was diſſolved five months after it had been reſtored.

The officers, having thus reſumed the power they had given, reſolved not to relinquiſh it for the future upon eaſy terms. They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they called a committee of ſafety, and pretended to inveſt it with ſovereign authority. Fleetwood was made commander in chief; Lambert, major-general; Deſborow, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been inveſted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now eſtabliſhed, which gave the nation the melancholy proſpect of an uncontroulable tyranny.

The conduct of Monk was ſo impenetrable that it remained a doubt which party he would embrace. But upon receiving intelligence

that the officers had, by their own authority, diſſolved the parliament, he proteſted againſt the violence, and reſolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. A rivalſhip having long ſubſiſted between him and Lambert, every body ſaw the reaſon why he oppoſed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whoſe ſucceſs, his own authority, he knew, would ſoon be ſubverted. Little friendſhip had ſubſiſted between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it ſeemed, therefore, nowiſe probable that he intended to make any effort for the advancement of one enemy above another. Deeper deſigns, either in the king's favour or his own, were ſuſpected to be the motive of his conduct. He drew together the ſeveral ſcattered regiments, and ſummoned an aſſembly, reſembling a convention of ſtates; to which having communicated his reſolution of marching into England, he received a ſupply of thirty thouſand pounds. As ſoon as he put his army into motion, his friendſhip was eagerly ſought after by all the contending parties. His younger brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royaliſt, came to him with a meſſage from Sir John Granville, in the name of the king. The general aſked him, if he had ever communicated the contents of his commiſſion to any other perſon. His brother replied, to none except to Dr. Price, the general's own chaplain, who was in the royal intereſt. The general, altering his countenance, at once changed the diſcourſe, and would enter into no farther conference with him. The ſame deep reſerve was maintained through all his ſubſequent proceedings.

The committee of ſafety ſent Talbot and Clarges, Monk's brother, with propoſals for a treaty, to prevent the effuſion of blood. They were very well received by Monk; but hearing that Lambert, with his army, was advancing northward to meet him, he ſent to London three commiſſioners, with very earneſt profeſſions of an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of ſafety fell into the ſnare. A treaty was ſigned by Monk's commiſſioners; but he refuſed to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. Still, however, he made propoſals for a new negociation at Newcaſtle; the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers, and both parties agreed to act vigorouſly againſt Charles.

The committee of ſafety, in the mean time, found themſelves ſurrounded with great difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy, refuſed the payment of all taxes, and loudly exclaimed againſt the tyranny of the army. While Lambert was in the North, Hazelrig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. The apprentices in London roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Admiral Lawſon, with his ſquadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments which had been left in the city, being ſolicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered, revolted to the parliament. The rump being thus invited on all hands, again ventured to reſume their ſeats, and to thunder their votes in turn againſt the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been rejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to thoſe quarters which had been appointed them. The ſoldiers were not ſlow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert at laſt found himſelf deſerted by his whole army. He was ſoon after arreſted and committed to the tower; ſeveral other officers were caſhiered; Sir Harry Vane, and ſome members who had concurred with the committee of ſafety, were ordered into confinement; and the parliament ſeemed now to ſtand on a firmer foundation than before.

A. D. 1660.] On the ſecond of January, Monk entered England with his army, which conſiſted of near ſix thouſand men. The gentry, on his march, flocked round him with intreaties and addreſſes, expreſſing their deſire of a new parliament. He was received with open arms by Fairfax and his friends, who had taken poſſeſſion of York city. But Monk ſtill perſevered in his taciturnity, and having arrived at St. Alban's, ſent the parliament a meſſage,

meſſage, deſiring them to remove ſuch forces as remained in London to country-quarters. This meſſage greatly perplexed the houſe; but they found it neceſſary to comply. The ſoldiers, however, made more difficulty; and one regiment, in particular, poſitively refuſed, for ſome time, to yield their place to the northern army. Monk entered London next day, and took up his quarters in Weſtminſter. He ſoon waited on the houſe, which voted him their thanks for the ſervices he had rendered his country. Not being an eloquent ſpeaker, he told them, in a blunt manner, that his only merit was a deſire of reſtoring peace to the community; and for this purpoſe he intreated that they would permit a free parliament to be called.

So little reverence was paid to the preſent government by the people, that the citizens reſolved to pay no taxes until the members formerly excluded by colonel Pride ſhould be replaced. The parliament, finding matters come to extremity, determined to make at once an experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience. They accordingly ordered Monk to march into the city; to ſeize twelve perſons moſt obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets; and to take down and break the portcullices and gates of the city. A very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of theſe violent orders; and, to the great ſurprize of all men, he prepared himſelf for obedience. He entered the city in a military manner; apprehended as many as he could of the proſcribed perſons, whom he ſent to the Tower; broke the gates and portcullices; and returned to his quarters in Weſtminſter.

Monk had no ſooner leiſure to reflect, than he perceived that this laſt meaſure broke through the general ambiguity of his character. To correct this error before it was too late, he wrote a letter to the houſe, in which he deſired them, in the name of the ſoldiers, citizens, and whole common-wealth, to iſſue writs within a week for filling vacancies in the houſe; to fix a time for their own diſſolution, and the aſſembling a new parliament. Having diſpatched this letter, which he thought might be regarded as a proof of his ſincerity, he marched into the city, and deſired the mayor to ſummon a common-council at Guild-hall. He there made many apologies for the indignity which he had been obliged to put upon them; aſſured them of his perſeverance in the cauſe of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in ſuch meaſures as they ſhould approve. This declaration gave the utmoſt joy, which was celebrated by ringing of bells, illuminations, and bonfires, where rumps were roaſted in deriſion of the parliament.

The union of the city and the army cauſed no ſmall alarm in the houſe of commons. They were ſenſible that a free parliament was ardently deſired by the whole nation; and that in caſe of the diſſolution of their own preſent authority, their power was at an end. They ſent a committee, with offers to gain the general, who refuſed to hear them, except in the preſence of ſome of the excluded members. Several of them even promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate, and to ſupport his uſurpation. But Monk was too prudent to liſten to ſuch wild propoſals; he reſolved to reſtore the ſecluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election. For this purpoſe, having previouſly ſecured the conſent of his officers, and exacted from the ſecluded members a promiſe that they would call a full and free parliament, he conducted them to the houſe of commons, the other members of which were then ſitting. Moſt of the independents immediately left the place. The reſtored members began by repealing all thoſe orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion; they fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army; and having appointed a council of ſtate to carry on the government, they diſſolved themſelves, and iſſued writs for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament. Meanwhile Monk new-modelled his army to the purpoſes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, preſented him with an addreſs, in which they promiſed to obey implicitly the orders

orders of the enſuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he deſired might be ſigned by all the different regiments; and this meaſure furniſhed him with a pretence for diſmiſſing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

The general had hitherto perſevered in his reſerve, and nothing but a ſecurity of confidence at laſt induced him to be more communicative. He had a relation whoſe name was Morrice, with whom alone he deliberated on the great enterprize of the reſtoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the king, applied to Morrice for acceſs to the general; but received for anſwer, that the general deſired he might communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, refuſed for ſome time to deliver his meſſage to any but Monk; upon which the latter, now ſatisfied that he might depend upon Granville's ſecrecy, admitted him to his preſence, and opened to him his whole intentions; but, with his uſual caution, ſcrupled to commit any thing to writing. He delivered only a verbal meſſage to Granville, aſſuring Charles of his ſervices, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland, where he might wait for farther advice.

Before the meeting of parliament, Lambert eſcaped from the Tower, and had collected four troops of horſe in Northamptonſhire; but colonel Ingoldſby coming upon him unawares, his troops were diſperſed, and himſelf taken priſoner, and re-conducted to the Tower. The preſbyterians having joined the royaliſts, the elections for the new parliament went every where againſt the republicans. On the twenty-fifth of May the parliament was aſſembled in two houſes. Though the lords had not been ſummoned, they judged from the ſpirit of the times they might re-aſſume their former authority, and finding the doors open, they took their ſeats. The commons choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone for their ſpeaker. This gentleman, with many others, had gone great lengths in contributing to the ruin of the late king, but ſtopped when his death was under conſideration. The commons received a meſſage from the lords; they voted thanks to general Monk, for having ſubdued their and the nation's enemies without the effuſion of blood; they ordered that the great buſineſs of the ſettlement of the nation ſhould be taken into conſideration on the firſt of May, till which time they adjourned. In the meanwhile it was generally underſtood that the royal family was to be reſtored; but the danger incurred during the former uſurpation, and the extreme caution and reſerve of the general, kept every one in awe. But Monk, having ſounded the parliament, gave directions to Anneſley, preſident of the council, to inform the houſe, which had re-aſſembled, that one Sir John Granville had been ſent over with a meſſage from Charles, and was then at the door with a letter to the commons. He was immediately called in, and preſented the letter and declaration which he had received from his maſter. Theſe being read in both houſes, the lords and commons concurred in paſſing a vote, "That by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government ought to be by the king, lords, and commons." This was followed by a grant of fifty thouſand pounds to the king, ten thouſand pounds to the duke of York, and five thouſand pounds to the duke of Glouceſter. A committee of both houſes was appointed to draw up an anſwer to the king's letter, and invite him over to England.

The declaration was ordered to be publiſhed. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons whatſoever, and that without any exceptions but ſuch as ſhould be made by parliament. It promiſed to ſecure to every ſubject perfect liberty of conſcience: to ſubmit to the examination of parliament the claims of all ſuch as poſſeſſed lands with conteſted titles; to ſatisfy the army under general Monk with reſpect to their arrears; and to continue his officers in their ſeveral ranks, when they ſhould be received into the king's ſervice.

On the eighth of May, Charles was proclaimed in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, amidſt the general exaltation of the people. Foreign powers now, readily expreſſed their reſpect and attention to him.

France

France and Spain offered their ſea-ports, for him to take ſhipping at. The ſtates general made the ſame offer, which he accepted. The king omitted not to confirm his declaration to the commiſſioners, who were diſpatched to attend him to his native country. Montague, the Engliſh admiral, waited upon him at the Hague, to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The Duke of York was appointed high admiral, and took the command of the fleet. Charles having embarked, and arrived at Dover, was met by his friend, general Monk; and on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birthday, he made his public entry into London.

Before we conclude this part of our ſubject we think it neceſſary to obſerve, that during the period of the Common-wealth, as it was called, a pure republic never did exiſt, but an infamous military government, the worſt of all tyrannies, and which the preſbyterians endeavoured in vain to ſhake off: therefore no imputations are due to the democratic ſyſtem, nor is it at all aſtoniſhing that the people ſaw with pleaſure the reſtoration of monarchy, as that was the only means in which they could agree for the overthrow of military violence.

The following celebrated characters lived in this age. Trigo Jones, the Architect; Dr. Harvey, who diſcovered the circulation of the blood; John Milton; he was latin ſecretary to Cromwell: during a ſtate of old age, blindneſs, and poverty, he wrote his ſublime poem, Paradiſe Loſt; and died in 1674, aged 66. Walter, the refiner of Engliſh poetry; Cowley, and Denham, in the ſame line; Harrington, author of the Occana; and Clarendon, the hiſtorian.

The people called Quakers forming ſo diſtinguiſhed a part of the community, we have thought a ſhort abſtract of their hiſtory, doctrine, and diſcipline, would be acceptable to our readers. But that we may not miſrepreſent them, as too frequently has been done, the following is chiefly taken from a larger account, written at the deſire of the meeting for ſufferings.

Many perſons were diſſatisfied with the [illegible]tlement of the Church of England in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and various diſſenters had accordingly ariſen, who evinced their ſincerity by their grievous ſufferings under the cruelty and intolerance of thoſe who governed the church affairs. George Fox was among thoſe who ſaw the neceſſity of a farther reformation. He was the ſon of a weaver at Drayton in Lancaſhire, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a ſhoemaker. He began the public miniſtry in the reign of Charles I. and recommended to the people a ſpiritual worſhip; when numbers received his doctrines, ſeveral became preachers, and many meetings were ſettled.

Soon after they attracted public notice, they became the victims of eccleſiaſtical rage and jealouſy; numbers were thrown into priſon, and, under pretence of vagrancy, ſtripes were inflicted without regard to ſex, on perſons of unblemiſhed character. George Fox was confined at Nottingham in 1649: the year following he was taken before two juſtices in Derbyſhire, when one of them, ſcoffing at him for having bidden him and thoſe around him tremble at the word of the Lord, gave to the Friends the name of *Quakers*; an appellation which ſoon became, and has remained ever ſince their uſual denomination: but they themſelves adopted, as a term of mutual love, the endearing appellation of Friends.

This inoffenſive people ſeem to have been almoſt the only ſufferers on account of religion during the common-wealth. Though Cromwell did not employ his authority to put a ſtop to their perſecution, it does not appear that he was inclined to promote it. He gave ſeveral of the Friends acceſs to him; and when George Fox was brought before him as a priſoner, he releaſed him.

The firſt Friends who arrived at Boſton were women; theſe were impriſoned. This was in 1656. The year following the ſcourge was employed, and a woman firſt underwent this. Great numbers ſuffered the ſame ſeverity; but ſtripes proving inſufficient to deter them from their religious duty, it was next attempted to diſcourage them, by a law for cutting off their ears. This was executed in vain; and accordingly the perſons in power

produced another, which ſubjected Friends to baniſhment on pain of death. Their conſtancy however was not thus to be ſhaken; and four friends, among whom was a woman, were hanged at Boſton. Shocking infatuation, that men, who ſo few years before had themſelves fled from perſecution, ſhould become ſo cruel and intolerant! In this extremity application was made to the king, and he granted his mandamus (dated September 9th, 1561) to ſtop the ſeverities in New England.

When Charles II. on the proſpect of his reſtoration, iſſued from Breda his declaration for liberty of conſcience, the friends might have expected the free exerciſe of their religion; but in the third year after, a law was paſſed, decreeing "that quakers, and all others refuſing to take an oath before a magiſtrate when required, or perſuading others not to take ſuch oath, and quakers aſſembling in conventicles, forfeit five pounds for the firſt offence, ten pounds for the ſecond, and for the third to abjure or quit the realm." This law was enforced with a rigour, that often left the oppreſſed ſufferer nearly deſtitute of houſhold goods; and ſeveral families experienced the ſeparation of the deareſt connexions in life, by that part of it which ſubjected friends to baniſhment.

Although the practice of inflicting corporal puniſhment of friends ſeems to have grown to diſuſe after the reſtoration, yet this reign muſt be conſidered as the time of their greateſt ſuffering. The impriſonments were long, often terminating only with the life of the priſoner. In this reign the crowds ſhut up together, increaſed the common ſufferings of confinement, which were often augmented by the violence of magiſtrates, or the barbarity of goalors. Charles, in 1672, releaſed about four hundred; yet at the time of his deceaſe, about fifteen hundred were in priſon.

James II. to favour the religion to which he was attached, ſuſpended the operation of the penal laws againſt diſſenters, and the friends had their ſhare in the benefits ariſing from this meaſure; but it was not till the reign of king William that they obtained ſome degree of legal protection; when an act was made, which, with a few exceptions, allowed to their affirmation the legal force of an oath, and provided a leſs oppreſſive mode of recovering tythes under a certain amount. Theſe proviſions were made perpetual in the reign of George I. and thus friends, who in common with other diſſenters received the advantage of the act of toleration, have been in a great meaſure relieved from perſecution. But they are ſtill liable to ſuffer in the Exchequer and Eccleſiaſtical courts; and, at this period, there are ſeveral languiſhing in York caſtle; but this is to be underſtood only of Great Britain and Ireland; for in America, the people are not, at preſent, bound to ſupport a national miniſtry.

With reſpect to doctrine, the friends agree with other Chriſtians in the belief of one eternal God, the creator and preſerver of the univerſe; and in Jeſus Chriſt, his Son, the Meſſiah and Mediator of the new Covenant. They admit the divinity of Chriſt, but are very tender of quitting ſcripture terms for thoſe of the ſchoolmen; judging, that a curious enquiry into this ſubject, tends little to godlineſs, and leſs to peace. To Chriſt alone they give the title of the Word of God, and not to the ſcriptures, although they highly eſteem theſe ſacred writings, in ſubordination to the ſpirit from which they were given forth, and maintain that they "are able to make us wiſe unto ſalvation, through faith which is in Chriſt Jeſus." They further believe, that in order to enable mankind to put in practice the precepts recorded in ſcripture, every man coming into the world is endued with a meaſure of the light, grace, or good ſpirit of Chriſt, by which, as it is attended to, he is enabled to diſtinguiſh good from evil, and to correct the diſorderly paſſions and corrupt propenſities of his nature: which mere reaſon is altogether inſufficient to overcome.

They have no regular clergy, but permit ſuch as appear to be endued with the ſpirit, to exerciſe the office of teachers; and as this is not at command, nor to be procured by ſtudy, but is the free gift of God, they object to all preaching for hire, as contrary to Chriſt's poſitive command, "Freely ye have received, freely

freely give." Neither do they confine the office of teaching to the male ſex alone; ſuch of the female ſex as appear to be endowed with a right qualification for the miniſtry, are permitted to exerciſe their gifts for the general edification of the church; and this ſeems to be ſanctioned by the practice of the primitive times, from the advice of the apoſtle, 1 Cor. xi. 5. where he ſays, "Every woman that prayeth, or propheſieth with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head." In which epiſtle alſo, the apoſtle gives directions to the women how to behave when they propheſied; and what he means by propheſying, he himſelf explains in the ſame epiſtle, where he ſaith, "He that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation and comfort, and he that propheſieth, edifieth the church."

Contrary to the practice of moſt Chriſtians, they neither hold with baptiſm nor the Lord's ſupper. Believing, that as there is one Lord and one faith, ſo his baptiſm is one in nature and operation; and that nothing ſhort of it can make them members of his myſtical body, With reſpect to the other rite, they believe, that communion with Chriſt is only to be maintained by a real participation of his divine nature through faith; that this is the ſupper alluded to in the Revelations, "Behold I ſtand at the door and knock, if any man will hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will ſup with him, and he with me;" and that where the ſubſtance is obtained, it is unneceſſary to attend to the ſhadow, which does not confer grace, and concerning which, opinions ſo different, and animoſities ſo violent, have ariſen.

They think thoſe words of Chriſt, "ſwear not at all," amount to a prohibition of ſolemn, as well as profane ſwearing; and the government accepting of their affirmation inſtead of an oath, they ſubmit to the ſame puniſhment that is due by law to perjury, in caſe of an untruth. From motives of conſcience, they refuſe to pay tythes, though it has expoſed them to grievous ſufferings. They object to war, as repugnant to the Chriſtian religion, which breathes peace and good-will to man; and believe, that if the benevolence of the goſpel was generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would prevent them from oppreſſing and enſlaving each other.

To prevent pride and extravagance, the friends think it beſt to keep nearly to one plain, neat, and decent habit in their apparel. They alſo look upon a mourning dreſs, as no better than diſguiſed pride. For the ſame reaſon, they diſapprove of coſtly furniture and luxurious tables. Compliments, drinking healths, and the cuſtom of addreſſing a ſingle perſon in the plural number, are rejected, as having ariſen from vain adulation. Public amuſements, and gaming are condemned, becauſe they are a waſte of that time which was given for nobler purpoſes, and divert the attention of the mind from the ſober duties of life. Ever ſince the firſt appearance of the ſociety, they have diſuſed thoſe names of months and days which were given in honour of the heroes or falſe gods of the heathens, and which originated in flattery and ſuperſtition.

They hold, that as Chriſt's kingdom is not of this world, it is not the buſineſs of the civil magiſtrate to interfere in matters of religion; but to maintain the external peace and good order of the community. Perſecution, therefore, in the ſmalleſt degree, they think unwarrantable. They inculcate ſubmiſſion to the laws in all caſes wherein conſcience is not violated; they carefully impreſs it on their members, not to be concerned in any illicit trade, nor in any manner to defraud the revenue.

Though for the preſervation of the peace and good order of the ſociety, it is neceſſary that thoſe who are admitted into membership, ſhould be convinced of the doctrines which they eſteem eſſential; yet no formal ſubſcription to any articles is required, either as to the condition of membership, or to qualify for the ſervice of the church. By judging of men only according to their actions, conſiderable latitude is left to their opinions; virtue is promoted, and the harmony of the ſociety is preſerved.

For the government of the ſociety, they have meetings at different times of the year.

Each

Each ſeparate congregation held what is called a Preparative Meeting, where their own buſineſs is prepared, and ſent by deputies to a Monthly Meeting, whoſe buſineſs is to provide for the poor, judge of the fitneſs of perſons deſirous to join the ſociety, grant certificates for removing into other monthly meetings, look after diſorderly members, to marriages, births, burials, &c. Each monthly meeting appoints overſeers, to ſee that the rules and diſcipline are obſerved, and to give private admonition to any diſorderly member. When it becomes neceſſary to lay a complaint againſt the conduct of any member before the monthly meeting, they appoint a ſmall committee to viſit the offender, to endeavour to convince him of his error, and induce him to forſake it. If they ſucceed, he ſigns a written acknowledgment; and by a minute, he is declared to have made ſatisfaction. But if their admonition is ineffectual, he is then diſowned as a member of the ſociety, by a teſtimony of denial; which is a paper reciting his offence, the unavailing means employed to reclaim him, a clauſe diſowning him, and a deſire for his repentance. This paper is ſigned by the clerk, and read in the meeting to which the offender belongs, after public worſhip, and copies are diſtributed.

Thoſe who intend to marry, appear together at the monthly meeting, and declare their intention, and if not attended by their parents or guardians, they produce a written certificate of their conſent, ſigned in the preſence of witneſſes. The meeting then appoint a committee to enquire if they are clear of other engagements; and if at a ſubſequent meeting no objections are made, the parties are at liberty to ſolemnize the marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worſhip, towards the cloſe of which the parties ſtand up, and the man audibly declares to the following purport, "Friends, in the fear of the Lord, and in the preſence of this aſſembly, I take this friend A. B. to be my wife, promiſing through divine aſſiſtance to be unto her a loving and faithful huſband, till death ſeparate us;" and the woman makes the like declaration. A certificate of the proceedings is then read, and ſigned by the parties, and afterwards by their relations, and others, as witneſſes. The original certificate belongs to the bride and bridegroom, but a copy is regiſtered in the book of the meeting, where alſo are recorded the births and burials of the members. The naming of children is without ceremony. Burials are alſo conducted in a ſimple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends is ſometimes, carried to a meeting, and from thence to the grave, where a pauſe is made; on both thoſe occaſions it frequently occurs, that ſomething is ſaid to the edification of thoſe who are preſent; but no religious rite is conſidered as an eſſential of the funeral.

Quarterly meetings are compoſed of deputies from ſeveral monthly meetings, and generally held at the capital of the county. Here alſo their accounts are received, digeſted into one, and tranſmitted to the yearly meeting.

There are ſeven Yearly Meetings, viz 1 London, to which come deputies from Scotland and Ireland, 2 New England, 3 New York; 4 Penſylvania, and New Jerſey, 5 Maryland, 6 Virginia, 7 the Carolinas and Georgia. The time of aſſembling has lately been fixed for the third ſunday in May. This meeting has the general ſuperintendance of the ſociety in the country where it is eſtabliſhed; and as the accounts which it receives diſcover the ſtate of inferior meetings, it gives advice, makes new regulations, or excites to the obſervance of thoſe already made, as exigencies may require. Appeals from the judgment of quarterly meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correſpondence, by letters, is maintained with other yearly meetings.

The women have likewiſe their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, for what relates immediately to their own ſex, held at the ſame time and place with the men, but ſeparately, and without the power of making rules. There are alſo occaſional meetings of miniſters and elders.

The meeting for ſufferings, is compoſed of perſons who reſide in or near the city, choſen by the quarterly meetings, and approved by the yearly. It is conſidered as a ſtanding committee to the yearly meeting; and to it is intruſted

truſted the management of the ſociety's ſtock, printing and diſtributing books, and the general care of whatever may ariſe in the internal of that meeting, affecting the ſociety, and requiring immediate attention.

As they think no one member has a right to claim pre-eminence over the reſt, ſo they never have any preſident; believing that the divine wiſdom ought alone to preſide; and ſuch is their reſpect for order, and their deference to each other, that they have never ſtood in need of that authority. Except a few clerks, where the records are voluminous, as in London, and the perſons who have the care of meeting-houſes, none have any ſtipend or gratuity for their ſervices.

CHAP. VIII.

Acceſſion of Charles II.---Act of Indemnity---Trial of the late King's Judges---Prelacy Reſtored ---Affairs of Scotland---New Parlament---Corporation Act---Act of Uniformity --- King's Marriage---Trial and Execution of Vane---Dunkirk ſold---War with Holland, France and Denmark---Plague---Fire of London---Peace of Breda---Clarendon's Fall---Tripple Alliance ---Treaty of Aix-la Chapelle---Cabal-Coventry Act---Account of Blood---Exchequer ſhut---War and Peace with Holland---Peace of Nimeguin---Popiſh Plot---Habeas Corpus Bill---Inſurrection in Scotland---Meal-tub Plot---Trial and Execution of Stafford---Rye-houſe Plot---Trial and Execution of Lord Ruſſel---Trial and Execution of Algernon Sydney---King's Death and Character.

A. D. 1660. CHARLES aſcended the throne in the thirtieth year of his age, without any conditions or new limitations to ſecure the liberties of the people againſt regal tyranny. During his exile, he had been accuſtomed to live with his courtiers as companions, and he preſerved the ſame familiarity after his return. His firſt care was to ſelect his council, partly from the preſbyterians and partly from the royaliſts. Mancheſter was appointed chamberlain; Say, privy-ſeal; Anneſly was created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper, and Denzil Hollis were created Barons; general Monk was created earl of Albemarle; and admiral Montague earl of Sandwich; Calamy and Baxter, preſbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains: of the royaliſts, Sir Edward Hyde was created earl of Clarendon, and appointed lord-chancellor, and firſt miniſter of ſtate; the marquis of Ormond was created a duke, and appointed lord-ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Southampton, high treaſurer; and Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Maurice, ſecretaries of ſtate.

In the declaration at Breda, Charles had promiſed an indemnity to all criminals but thoſe who ſhould be excepted by parliament; and he now iſſued a proclamation, declaring that ſuch of the late king's judges as did not ſurrender themſelves priſoners within fourteen days ſhould receive no pardon. Nineteen ſurrendered themſelves, ſome were taken in their flight, and others eſcaped beyond ſea. When the indemnity was brought into parliament the commons ſeemed more inclined to lenity than the lords. But the king went to the houſe of peers, and, in the moſt earneſt terms, urged the act of general indemnity; a meaſure which was received with great ſatisfaction and applauſe. The act, therefore, paſſed both houſes, and ſoon received the royal aſſent. Thoſe who had an immediate hand in the king's death were there excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were alſo excepted. St. John, and ſeventeen perſons more, were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. And all who had ſat in any illegal high court of juſtice, were diſabled from bearing offices. An act was alſo paſſed, for a perpetual thankſgiving anniverſary on the twenty-

ninth of May. Their next buſineſs was the ſettlement of the king's revenue. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievous burden by the nobility and gentry. In lieu of which, the parliament gave him one hundred thouſand pounds a-year; and half of the exciſe was ſettled in perpetuity upon the crown, as the fund whence this revenue ſhould be levied. Tonnage and poundage, with the other half of the exciſe, were granted to the king, during life. They even proceeded ſo far as to vote, that the ſettled revenue of the crown, for all charges, ſhould be one million, two hundred thouſand pounds a-year; a ſum greater than any Engliſh monarch had ever before enjoyed. For the greater encouragement of commerce, they paſſed the famous navigation act, prohibiting the importation or exportation of all commodities from any colony belonging to his majeſty, in any other veſſel but ſuch as ſhall belong to the people of Great Britain or Ireland, whereof the maſter and three-fourths of the mariners are Engliſh, on pain of forfeiting veſſel and cargo.

After the adjournment of the parliament, thoſe who were concerned in the death of the late king were brought to trial. General Harriſon, who was the firſt, pleaded his cauſe with that undaunted firmneſs which had diſtinguiſhed him through life. What he had done, he ſaid, was from the impulſes of the ſpirit of God. He would not, he ſaid, for any benefit to himſelf, hurt a hair of the pooreſt man or woman upon earth; and, during the uſurpation of Cromwell, when all the reſt of the world acknowledged his right, or ſubmitted to his power, he had boldly upbraided the uſurper to his face. Harriſon's death was marked with the ſame admirable conſtancy which he diſplayed at his trial. Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtell, ſhared the ſame fate. They all ſuffered, not only with paſſive fortitude, but with the reſolution of men who conſidered the act for which they were condemned as highly meritorious. Their execution was attended with ſome circumſtances of barbarity; Harriſon's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the ſledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, beſmeared with the blood of his friend, and aſked how he liked that work. Peters, viewing him with an air of ſcorn, replied, "You have butchered a ſervant of God in my ſight; but I defy your cruelty." The reſt of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards diſperſed into ſeveral priſons.

About this time the duke of Glouceſter died of the ſmall pox, in the twentieth year of his age. The princeſs of Orange came to England to congratulate her brother on his reſtoration, and ſoon after died. The queen, his mother, alſo paid her ſon a viſit, and obtained his conſent to the marriage of the princeſs Henrietta with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king. The parliament again met, and having ſettled ſome articles of revenue were diſſolved.

The councils of Charles were at this time chiefly directed by Clarendon, and by his advice the army were diſbanded. When the king reviewed theſe troops, he was ſtruck with their appearance; and being ſenſible that regular forces are the moſt uſeful inſtruments of arbitrary power, was deſirous to retain them; but this able miniſter repreſented to him, that from the habits of rebellion and mutiny, in which they had lived ſo many years, he could never conſider himſelf as ſcarcely fixed on the throne till they were diſbanded. Therefore, no more than one thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot were retained, for guards and garriſons. This was the firſt appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army in England.

Clarendon was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, had hearkened, while abroad, to addreſſes from the duke of York, and, under promiſe of marriage, had ſecretly admitted him to her bed. Some time after the Reſtoration her pregnancy appeared, and though many endeavoured to perſuade the king from conſenting to ſo unequal an alliance, Charles, from a re-

gard

gard to his friend and minister, who had been ignorant of these engagements, permitted his brother to marry her. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness at the honour which he had obtained; and said, that by being so much elevated, he dreaded a more sudden downfal. Of the bishops who had been displaced, nine remained alive, and these were immediately restored to their sees. All the ejected clergy recovered their livings, and the liturgy was again admitted into the churches. But at the same time, in order to give contentment to the presbyterians, a declaration was issued, in which the king promised, that he would provide suffragan bishops for the larger dioceses: that all the prelates should be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice or assistance of presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should not be rigidly insisted on. But it was far from the intention of the king and his ministers, always to preserve this regard for the presbyterians.

A. D. 1661.] One Venner, a desperate millenarian, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and had as often been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his followers, that if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. Their imaginations being inflamed with this idea, they issued forth in complete armour, to the number of sixty persons, into the streets of London, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. One unhappy man being questioned who he was for, and answering, that he was for God and the king, was instantly sacrificed to their fury. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the trained-bands that was sent to oppose them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Caen-wood, near Hampstead. Being chased thence next morning by a party of guards, they returned to London, and took possession of a house, in which they defended themselves until the greater part of them was killed. The rest being taken by the troops, were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they persisted in affirming, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

The king had taken measures against Scotland, he disbanded their army, and demolished their forts; and having resolved to restore episcopacy, he replied to the remonstrances of Lauderdale, that presbyterianism was not a religion for a gentleman. Sharp, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interest with the king, was persuaded to abandon their cause; and for his compliance was rewarded with the archbishopric of St. Andrews. To him was entrusted the management of ecclesiastical affairs; but the violence of his conduct, and treachery, rendered him extremely obnoxious to his former friends. A parliament was assembled wholly devoted to the court, and they soon discovered the most servile submission. They abrogated the solemn league and covenant, to which the people were so strongly attached, and made several acts in favour of the king, and against the presbyterians. Scotland was omitted in the declaration for indemnity issued from Breda, and Charles ungenerously took the advantage of that circumstance, to wreak his vengeance on the marquis of Argyle; he died with great courage, but his son, lord Lorne, obtained a gift of the forfeiture, having preserved his loyalty.

In England, a conference was held at the Savoy, between twelve bishops and as many presbyterian divines, to bring about an accommodation, but without effect. Writs had been issued for a new parliament, and the court so successfully influenced the elections, that they consisted chiefly of royalists, and zealous church-men; they immediately passed an act, by which, "To intend or devise the king's imprisonment, or bodily harm, or deposition, or levying war against him; was declared, during the life time of his present majesty, to be high treason. To declare him to be a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing, to alienate the affections of his subjects; these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate

incapacitate the offenders from holding an employment in church or ſtate; under pretence, that petitioning had been attended with the worſt conſequences in the preceding reign, and to prevent ſuch abuſes for the future, it was enacted "That no more than twenty ſignatures ſhould be fixed to any petition, unleſs with the ſanction of three juſtices, or a majority of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the king, or either houſe, by more than ten perſons. The penalty annexed to a tranſgreſſion of this law, was a fine of one hundred pounds, and three months impriſonment. The late king having ſigned an act for excluding the biſhops from a ſeat in parliament; this act was repealed, and they were reſtored to their legiſlative functions. The king was empowered to depoſe all the land forces; and twelve hundred thouſand pounds was voted for the preſent exigencies of the ſtate.

In this ſeſſion was paſſed the Corporation act, ordaining, that all mayors, aldermen, counſellors, or officers of all corporations, ſhould take an oath, importing, that they did not think it lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms againſt the king; and that they abhorred the maxim of arming againſt his perſon, under ſhadow of his authority, or even of oppoſing ſuch as acted by virtue of his commiſſion. By this ſcandalous conceſſion, the liberties of England were left wholly at regal power. The earl of Clarendon hated the preſbyterians, and wanted an opportunity to cruſh them under the general name of nonconformiſts; with this view, in a conference between the two houſes, he poſitively affirmed that a conſpiracy was formed to diſturb the peace of the nation, and to ſurpriſe Shrewſbury, Coventry, and Briſtol: both houſes immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, and during the ſtate of alarm, he artfully procured the paſſing of the above bill; but this was no ſooner carried, than all enquiry was dropped, and every one ſaw that this plot was only a fiction. This parliament was denominated *The penſionary parliament*, from its being known that many of the members had penſions from the king, who approved ſo much of their proceedings, that he continued them for eighteen years.

A. D. 1662.] On the firſt of March, the king ſent for the commons to attend him at Whitehall, where he charged them with having been neglectful in the adjuſtment of the revenue: he hinted that a republican party ſtill exiſted; declared his warm attachment to the church of England; and gave his aſſent to the bill for uniformity of worſhip. By which it was required, that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the ſolemn league and covenant; and ſhould renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatever, againſt the king. This bill reinſtated the church in the ſame condition in which it ſtood before the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted, and new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, the king's promiſes of toleration and indulgence to tender conſciences, were moſt ſhamefully violated. This act was to commence its operation on St. Bartholomew's day; in conſequence of which, two thouſand miniſters, moſtly of the preſbyterian communion, who could not in conſcience ſubſcribe, relinquiſhed their livings, and ſacrificed their intereſts to their religious principles. Biſhoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, which were rejected by the two former, the latter only could be prevailed upon to accept of the biſhopric of Norwich. Deaneries and other preferments, were refuſed by many. By an act regulating the militia, all lord-lieutenants of counties, their deputies, with the officers and ſoldiers, were obliged to declare upon oath, that they held it unlawful, to take arms againſt the king and thoſe acting by his commiſſion. As a farther proof of good will to the king, the parliament voted him an annual tax of two ſhillings on every hearth; and ſhortly after were prorogued.

Charles's prodigality always kept him in want, notwithſtanding the large ſupplies from parliament; and this circumſtance is generally

rally attributed his marriage with Catharine, Infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princeſs, ſeems to have poſſeſſed few perſonal attractions, but her portion amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the fortreſs of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. For theſe, therefore, he ſacrificed his inclination; and the inauſpicious marriage was accordingly celebrated on the twenty-firſt of May. Still the king's neceſſities were greater than his ſupplies. He had ſecretly received from France the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns, for the ſupport of Portugal; but the forces ſent over to that country, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already coſt the king that ſum, and with it near double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion. The time fixed for payment of his ſiſter's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortreſs from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded at Dunkirk, had increaſed the charge of that garriſon to a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year. Theſe conſiderations induced Charles, with the concurrence of Clarendon and Southampton, to ſell this place to the French, and it was accordingly transferred for the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds.

While this affair was in agitation, Berkſtead, Corbet, and Okey, three of the regicides who had eſcaped beyond ſea, were diſcovered and arreſted in Holland by Downing, the Engliſh reſident at the Hague. They were conveyed on board an Engliſh ſhip, without giving them time to claim the protection of the States, and were executed at Tyburn. Their trial was ſoon followed by that of Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert, who had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as principal authors of the troubles, though they were not in the number of thoſe who ſat in judgment on the late king. Their execution had been ſuſpended at the interceſſion of the convention-parliament; but the new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation.

Vane was indicted for his conduct after the death of the late king. He made an admirable defence, pleading, that he had only acted in obedience to an eſtabliſhed authority; and that if he was guilty, the whole kingdom muſt be involved in his crime. He called to the recollection of the court, the violent perſecution he had ſuffered for his firſt oppoſition to Cromwell; and ſaid, that "Though it had been in his power to eſcape from his enemies at the reſtoration, he choſe rather to ſtay, and give teſtimony to the cauſe of liberty, which he had eſpouſed." His oratory, however, had no effect; he was ſentenced to death, according to the ſtrict letter of the law. When conducted to the ſcaffold, he began to addreſs the ſurrounding multitude, but his voice was drowned by the clangor of drums and trumpets; and though he was by nature of a timid diſpoſition, yet he ſubmitted to his fate with a fortitude that did honour to thoſe ſentiments of liberty by which he had been inſpired. Lambert alſo was condemned, but reprieved. He was ſentenced to ſpend the remainder of his days in the iſland of Guernſey, where he lived in a degree of content that did honour to his good ſenſe and philoſophy; "forgetting his former ſchemes of ambition, as well as being forgotten by the world." He ſurvived his condemnation ſix and thirty years.

A. D. 1663.] The preſbyterians preſented a petition to the king in council, praying they might be exempted from the penalties inſerted in the act of uniformity. The duke of York was a papiſt, and had conſiderable influence over his brother, whoſe religion, if he can be ſaid to have any, was ſtrongly inclined to the ſame; and finding that the bill operated as ſeverely againſt the catholics as proteſtant diſſenters, his majeſty iſſued a proclamation, that, though he adhered with all his heart to that act, yet out of regard to his ſubjects, he was willing to diſpenſe with their obſerving ſome of the particulars which it ſpecified. This indulgence was planned on purpoſe to favour the catholics, and therefore tranſacted without the privity and concurrence of the chancellor, whoſe credit with the king now began to decline. Clarendon was a violent enemy to the papiſts, and on that account hated by the

queen-mother, the duke of York, and the earl of Briſtol, who had turned Roman catholic during his exile. The chancellor was likewiſe obnoxious to Mrs. Palmer, the king's favourite concubine, who was afterwards created ducheſs of Cleveland. She failed not, therefore, to undermine his intereſt with his maſter; and in this attempt ſhe proved ſucceſsful. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place, and Sir Henry Bennet, a catholic, and his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office.

The parliament met in February, and drew up a remonſtrance againſt the declaration for indulgence; they alſo requeſted the king to iſſue a proclamation againſt all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits. To this requeſt he gave a very obliging anſwer; but as the parliament had agreed that all foreign prieſts belonging to the two queens ſhould be excepted, the word *foreign* was purpoſely omitted in the proclamation, and by this artifice, the queens were entitled to grant protection to as many Engliſh prieſts as they pleaſed. In return, the king preſſed the commons on his pecuniary wants; and they were ſo well ſatisfied with this ſeeming compliance, that they voted him four ſubſidies, which was the laſt time that taxes were levied in that manner. The revenues of the poſt-office, and the licences, were ſettled upon the duke of York; ſeveral laws relative to trade were paſſed; and it was enacted that the king ſhould have no power to keep the militia under arms above fourteen days.

A. D. 1664.] During the receſs of parliament, which was prorogued to the ſixteenth of March, a few diſbanded ſoldiers, and ſome other perſons, raiſed a commotion in the north; thirty of whom were taken and executed. This ſerved Charles as a pretext to demand of the parliament, when they were re-aſſembled, a repeal of the triennial act. He affirmed, in his ſpeech, that the government was expoſed to continual dangers, from the machinations of a number of diſaffected people; who claimed the right of aſſembling for the purpoſe of a new election, under the pretence that the parliament was diſſolved by virtue of the triennial act. The men who compoſed the houſe of commons, and had ſo baſely betrayed the liberties of their country, in many inſtances, muſt be ſenſible they had become extremely odious; and that if the parliament was diſſolved, they could not expect to be re-elected; in which caſe they would have loſt their penſions. Very few arguments, therefore, were neceſſary to induce them to paſs this bill; and thus Engliſhmen have been enſlaved and inſulted by the form of freedom, while they have been deprived of its enjoyment; the men who ſhould be the repreſentatives of the people, erecting themſelves into independency

But this infamous act was followed by another, if poſſible, more deteſtable, the conventicle act. The act of uniformity was not ſufficient, with all its penalties, to gratify the cruelty and intolerance of the king and his partizans; another muſt, therefore, be introduced, by which it was enacted, that if any one ſhould repair to conventicles, (as the meetings of nonconformiſts for worſhip were called) the firſt offence was to be puniſhed by a fine of five pounds, or three months impriſonment; the ſecond offence ten pounds, or ſix months impriſonment, and the pecuniary penalties for a peer were double; but for the third offence, after a trial by jury, the party convicted was to be tranſported to ſome foreign plantation, unleſs he commuted by the payment of one hundred pounds. As moſt of the perſons who became ſubject to theſe iniquitous proſecutions were unable to pay the fines, the priſons were ſoon crowded, the moſt tender connexions ſeparated, and many families ruined.

The next meaſure of the king and parliament was equally violent and unjuſtifiable, and ſhews that when the government is determined to go to war, it is never at a loſs for pretences.

The commons having examined the obſtacles to the trade of the nation, voted, that the wrongs and indignities offered by the Dutch in the Indies, Africa, and elſewhere, to the ſubjects of England, had, in a great meaſure, obſtructed the trade of the nation; that

that his majeſty ſhould be entreated to procure reparation for theſe wrongs; for which purpoſe the two houſes would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. This was the prelude of a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for ſome time determined, from the means which it might afford him of converting a part of the ſupplies to his private emolument. His brother alſo, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and conduct as high admiral, againſt a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but as being one of the chief bulwarks of the proteſtant religion.

The preceding year, Charles had ſecretly commiſſioned twenty-two ſhips, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, who not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe caſtle, on the coaſt of Africa, but ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of Cape Verde, and the Iſle of Goree. Sailing thence to America, the Admiral took poſſeſſion of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York. When the ſtates remonſtrated againſt theſe hoſtilities, the king affected a total ignorance of Holmes's enterpriſe, and the better to carry on the deception, committed him to the tower, but ſoon after reſtored him to liberty. The Dutch, finding their applications for redreſs entirely uſeleſs, ſent De Ruyter to Guinea, where he recovered all their ſettlements from the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe. He then ſailed to America, and attacked Barbadoes.

Charles had as yet received no ſupplies from the parliament for the ſupport of the war; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet. The city of London lent him a hundred thouſand pounds. Himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting, with great diligence, and encouraging the naval preparations. The parliament met in November, and voted two millions, five hundred thouſand pounds for carrying on the war, a larger ſupply than ever had been granted to any Engliſh monarch.

A.D. 1665.] The two moſt conſiderable fleets of each nation met, one under the duke of York, to the number of a hundred and fourteen ſail, the other, nearly of equal force, commanded by the Dutch admiral Opdam. The engagement began about four in the morning, and both ſides fought with ther uſual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hotteſt part of the engagement, and behaved with great ſpirit and compoſure, while ſeveral of his attendants were killed beſide him. In the heat of the action, when engaged in cloſe fight with the duke, the ſhip of the Dutch admiral blew up. This accident much diſcouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coaſt. They had nineteen ſhips ſunk and taken, while the Engliſh loſt but four. This diſaſter threw the Dutch into conſternation; and John de Wit, their great miniſter, in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen, came on board, and took on himſelf the command of the fleet. This extraordinary man quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them. He even made conſiderable improvements in the art of ſailing.

The plague raged at this time in London, and in the courſe of the ſummer ſwept away upwards of a hundred thouſand inhabitants. On this account the parliament met at Oxford, in October; when the king repreſented that their laſt ſupply was totally expended, and they readily granted him another of one million, two hundred thouſand pounds; they alſo made a preſent to the duke of York of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. The cruel perſecutions of the government, provoked the patience of the people, and a deſign had been formed for an inſurrection by the independents and republicans; but this proved abortive. However, this furniſhed the king with an opportunity of gratifying ſtill farther his diſlike to the preſbyterians, though it does not at all appear that they were concerned in the intended inſurrection. Accordingly it was enacted, "That no nonconformiſt miniſter, under what denomination ſoever, ſhall dwell or come within five miles, except upon the road, of any place where they had been miniſters of, or preached ſince the act of oblivion; unleſs they firſt took the following oath. I do ſwear that it is not lawful in any

pretence

pretence whatever, to take arms againſt the king; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or ſtate." This has been famous under the name of the five-mile act; and the penalty againſt every offender, was a fine of forty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment.

The council of Scotland publiſhed a proclamation on the twenty-fourth of December, ordering all the ſilenced preſbyterian miniſters to remove from the places where they had formerly been miniſters, and that they ſhould not reſide within twenty miles of the ſame, or within ſix miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral, or within three miles of a royal borough, nor ſhould be more than two together in the ſame pariſh, on pain of incurring the penalties of the law againſt movers of ſedition. The ill effects of this arbitrary proceeding, ſoon manifeſted itſelf in an inſurrection; but the number of inſurgents being inconſiderable, they were eaſily defeated, three hundred being killed on the ſpot, and one hundred taken priſoners, moſt of whom were executed.

A. D. 1666.] France and Denmark had by this time eſpouſed the cauſe of the Dutch, and were reſolved in ſupporting them in their unequal conteſt. The latter, being thus ſtrengthened by ſo powerful an alliance, determined to face the Engliſh once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea, and was appointed at the head of ſeventy-ſix ſail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who was ſuppoſed to be then entering the Britiſh channel from Toulon. The Engliſh fleet, which did not exceed ſeventy-four ſail, was now commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert. Albemarle, who from his ſucceſſes under Cromwell, had learned too much to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to diſpatch prince Rupert with twenty ſhips to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the courage and conduct of De Ruyter, proteſted againſt the temerity of this reſolution; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the Engliſh ſet ſail to give battle to the Dutch, who ſeeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that enſued is one of the moſt memorable in hiſtory. It began with incredible fury. The dutch admiral, Evertzen, was killed by a cannon-ball; one veſſel of their fleet was blown up, and one of the Engliſh taken. Darkneſs parted the combatants. The ſecond day they renewed the action with increaſed animoſity. Sixteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch; and the Engliſh being ſo ſhattered that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight, found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. The Dutch followed them, and another dreadful conflict was on the point of beginning, when a calm, which came on a little before night, ſuſpended the engagement. The morning of the third day the Engliſh were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch perſiſted in purſuing. Albemarle, who cloſed the rear, formed the deſperate reſolution of blowing up his ſhip rather than ſubmit to the enemy; but he happily found himſelf reinforced by prince Rupert, who not meeting the French, returned with ſixteen ſhips of the line. By this time it was night, and the next morning, after a diſtant cannonading, the fleets came to a cloſe combat, which was continued with great violence, until they were parted by a miſt. Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, had the misfortune to ſtrike on the Galoper-ſands, where he was ſurrounded and taken. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours, after having loſt twenty-three capital ſhips, beſides ſmaller; ſix thouſand men killed, and two thouſand, ſix hundred made priſoners. The loſs of the Dutch amounted to ſix ſhips, and two thouſand, nine hundred men. A ſecond engagement, equally bloody, followed ſoon after, with larger fleets on both ſides, commanded by the ſame admirals. In this the Dutch were obliged to own themſelves vanquiſhed, and retreated into their harbours. Beaufort, the French admiral was at that time entering the channel to join the Dutch, but finding that the Engliſh were maſters of the ſea, he entered into Breſt. On the ſecond of September, London was viſited by a ſecond calamity. A fire breaking out at a baker's houſe

houſe, near the bridge, ſpread itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that it laid in aſhes the moſt conſiderable part of the city. The conflagration continued for three days; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. About four hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand houſes were reduced to aſhes. As the ſtreets were narrow, and moſtly built of wood, the flames ſpread the faſter, and the unuſual dryneſs of the ſeaſon prevented the proper ſupplies of water; but the people was not ſatisfied with theſe obvious cauſes. Having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machination of their enemies, they aſcribed the preſent misfortune to the Roman catholics; but no proof, or even preſumption, after the ſtricteſt enquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize ſuch a calumny. Yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inſcription, engraved by authority, on the Monument, aſcribed the calamity to that obnoxious ſect; and though it was eraſed by order of James II. it was again reſtored after the Revolution. This calamity, though it affected the fortune of thouſands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. The capital roſe from its ruins in greater ſplendour than ever; and the ſtreets being widened, and built of brick inſtead of wood, became more wholeſome and ſecure.

But neither the miſeries the people had experienced from this dreadful accident, nor the preceding calamity of the plague, could make any impreſſion on the mind of Charles, or divert him from the proſecution of the ruinous war into which he had plunged the nation. The parliament were re-aſſembled on the firſt of September, and the king, in his ſpeech, magnified the happy ſucceſs of his arms, as if he had been always victorious, and concluded with aſſuring the commons, that the money granted for the war had proved deficient, and ſolicited a farther ſupply. The commons, who ſtill retained their liberal diſpoſition, voted him one million, eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by a poll tax, and other aſſeſſments. But at the ſame time, miſtruſting his attachment to the proteſtant religion, they preſented him an addreſs, praying that the laws againſt popiſh prieſts might be put in force. Charles, in return for their liberality, publiſhed a proclamation for baniſhing all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits out of the kingdom. But this proclamation, like thoſe of his father and grandfather, were eluded by the connivance of the king and his courtiers. By this conduct, the people were convinced he had ſome ſecret attachment to popery, which he was either aſhamed or afraid to own. Whether this was the reaſon the commons were ſo dilatory in paſſing the money bill, is uncertain, but that was not finiſhed till the cloſe of the year, and after they had received many meſſages from the king, requeſting them to uſe the utmoſt expedition.

A. D. 1667.] The war had become extremely unpopular; and Charles began to be ſenſible that the ends for which he had undertaken it, were likely to prove ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed of ſecreting for his own uſe the money granted by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his expectations; and found himſelf conſiderably in debt. He therefore intimated to the States his deſire of peace; and conferences between the belligerent powers were accordingly opened at Breda. The Engliſh commiſſioners propoſed that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; but De Wit, the Dutch miniſter, had formed the deſign of ſtriking a blow which would have a greater effect in favour of his countrymen, than all the arguments that could be uſed in congreſs, he therefore rejected the offer. Charles, depending on the ſucceſs of the conference, and thinking he had nothing to fear from the Dutch, had laid up all his large ſhips, in hopes of keeping the greateſt part of the laſt money granted by parliament to his own uſe. De Wit was acquainted with this circumſtance, and he ordered de Ruyter to ſail with a fleet of fifty men of war, in order to ſurpriſe the Engliſh while lulled in their dangerous ſecurity. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. On the eighth of June he entered the mouth of the Thames, and filled the capital with terror and confuſion. He diſpatched his vice-

admiral, Van Gheſt, up the Medway, who, by favour of an eaſterly wind, broke the chain which defended the entrance of the river, burnt three large ſhips, and ſeized the hull of another, all of which had been taken during the war. He then proceeded to Upnor caſtle, where he burnt three more capital ſhips; and then rejoined de Ruyter, who ſtill lay at the Nore. It was now expected he would ſail up the Thames, deſtroy the ſhipping, and perhaps inſult the capital. To prevent theſe misfortunes, thirteen ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall, and platforms of cannon were raiſed on the banks of the river. De Ruyter, not chuſing to run too great riſks, ſailed to Portſmouth and Plymouth, from both of which he was repulſed with loſs; but he ſeized ſeveral veſſels in Torbay. He then returned, and came up the Thames as far as Tilbury fort, and finding the Engliſh well prepared, he put immediately to ſea, but kept the coaſt in alarm for two months, till he heard peace was concluded. By the treaty of Breda, Acadia was ſeized to the French king, who agreed to reſtore St. Chriſtophers, and ſome other iſlands which he had taken in the Weſt Indies; and the two principal contracting parties retained the acquiſitions they had made. The colony of New York was the only advantage which the Engliſh derived from the war, that had coſt the nation ſuch an immenſe ſum, and in which the folly, negligence, and avarice of their ſovereign had been in a ſingular manner diſplayed to all Europe.

Charles, as if born only for himſelf, being now freed from the troubles of the war, gave in to every kind of licentiouſneſs, regardleſs of the ſufferings or cries of his people. His courtiers, following his example, ſeemed to vie with each other in libertiniſm and debauchery: irreligious wit and obſcene raillery triumphed in broad day; and decency, virtue, and morality, were obliged to hide their heads. While the diſſipation of the court gave general diſguſt, the peace was conſidered as inglorious; the Engliſh having failed to obtain redreſs upon the complaints which were the oſtenſible cauſe of the war. To appeaſe the clamours of the people by ſome ſacrifice, ſeemed requiſite before the meeting of parliament; and in theſe circumſtances the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. Clarendon was, at this time, much expoſed to the hatred of the public, and of every party which divided the nation. All the numerous ſectaries regarded him as their determined enemy. The catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king and the duke could procure them no effectual indulgence. Even the royaliſts, diſappointed in their ſanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, who ſeemed, for ſome time, to have poſſeſſed the whole power of government. Many accuſations were now urged againſt him: the ſale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the ſeamen, the diſgrace at Chatham, the unſucceſsful concluſion of the war; all theſe misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had ever oppoſed the rupture with Holland, thought it his duty to juſtify what he could not prevent. A building likewiſe, more expenſive than his ſlender fortune could afford, had been undertaken by him: and to this, which was regarded as a ſtructure raiſed from the plunder of the public, the populace commonly gave the appellation of Dunkirk-houſe. The rigid virtue of Clarendon, inſtead of ſecuring the eſteem, had long incurred the diſlike of the king and his diſſolute courtiers, and therefore inclination and policy concurred to make Charles ſacrifice him to popular prejudices. The great ſeal was taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord-keeper. The houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the king, thanked him for the diſmiſſion of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened againſt him in the houſe. It conſiſted of ſeventeen articles, which were either falſe or frivolous. Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuoſity againſt him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The parliament then paſſed a bill of baniſhment and incapacity, while Clarendon continued to reſide in a private manner at Paris, where he ſurvived his baniſhment ſix years, and employed his

his leiſure chiefly in reducing into form his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials.

A. D. 1668.] Lewis XIV. had married the Infanta of Spain, and as ſhe was daughter of Philip IV. by a prior marriage, according to the laws of Brabant, ſhe had a right to inherit that dutchy, in preference to her brother, the ſon of a ſecond marriage. But when Lewis married the Infanta he relinquiſhed her claim; however, Philip was no ſooner dead than he retracted his renunciation, and invaded the Spaniſh Netherlands, in which he made ſeveral conqueſts. The Dutch were alarmed at having him for ſo near a neighbour; and the Engliſh became jealous of his growing power and ambition. To defeat his deſigns, Charles directed Sir William Temple, his reſident at Bruſſels, to repair to the Hague, and ſecretly negociate an alliance with the Dutch miniſter, De Wit. Sweden ſoon after joined in the alliance, and hence was formed the confederacy, known by the name of the Tripple League. Lewis, ſenſible of the oppoſition he ſhould meet in extending his conqueſts, offered to relinquiſh the queen's claim, either on condition of retaining the places he had taken, or of receiving in lieu of them, Franchecomté, Cambray, Aire, and Saint Omer's; and on this propoſal the Tripple League founded the treaty. The plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Aix-la-chapelle, in May. Spain at firſt ſtrongly objected to any diviſion of territory; but finding the great allies determined to give up Franchecomté, Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer's, on condition of guaranteeing the remaining provinces, ſhe at length ſubmitted; and thus peace was reſtored to Europe.

When the parliament met, the king demanded an immediate ſupply for equipping a fleet, and fortifying the maritime parts of the kingdom. Inſtead of complying, the commons voted an enquiry into the miſcarriages during the late war. But at length, after having been gratified on that ſubject, and received re-iterated ſolicitations from the king, they voted him three hundred and ten thouſand pounds.

A. D. 1669.] The king became anxious to gain the preſbyterians, who were now extremely numerous, over to his intereſts; and at the ſame time to attach the papiſts more ſtrongly to him, by procuring a remiſſion of the ſevere reſtrictions they laboured under. To effect this, he propoſed to incorporate the preſbyterians with the church of England, and obtain a general toleration for all the other ſects of nonconformiſts. But the arch-biſhop of Canterbury reſolved to oppoſe this meaſure, he went to the king, and obtained from him a proclamation to put the laws againſt conventicles in execution, particularly the act for reſtraining nonconformiſts from inhabiting in corporations. When the parliament met, they thanked the king for his proclamation, and declared, "That they would adhere to his majeſty for the ſupport of the government in church and ſtate, againſt all ſorts of adverſaries."

A. D. 1670.] After an adjournment, the parliament met in February; when the king, in the moſt preſſing terms, demanded a ſupply; and the commons granted him an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds per ton on Spaniſh wine, and eight pounds per ton on French wine; they alſo paſſed an act, authoriſing the king to diſpoſe of his quit-rents and fee-farms, the laſt remains of the demeſnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been ſupported. By which expedient he obtained a temporary ſupply; but the crown was reduced to greater dependence. The money raiſed by theſe means, amounted to one million, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. Another act was paſſed this ſeſſion againſt conventicles, importing, "That if any perſon above the age of ſixteen, ſhould be preſent at any meeting for religious exerciſes, in any other manner than according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, where there were five perſons or more, beſides thoſe of the family, he ſhould be fined five ſhillings for the firſt offence, and ten ſhillings for the ſecond; the preacher, and the perſon in whoſe houſe, barn, or yard the conventicle met, were to be fined twenty pounds for the firſt offence, and forty pounds for

for the ſecond." Spies and informers were exceedingly buſy upon theſe occaſions, and the diſſenters were prodigiouſly harraſſed.

Some attempts were at this time made by the king to effect an union between England and Scotland. Commiſſioners were even appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions; but the deſign, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, was ſoon after rendered abortive.

The money granted in the laſt ſeſſion, like moſt of their former grants, was ſoon ſquandered away on miſtreſſes and favourites; and the king's counſels, which before were bad, now became remarkably impolitic, and were followed by ſuch conſequences as had almoſt terminated in the ruin both of princes and people. The committee of council, eſtabliſhed for foreign affairs, was entirely changed, and the whole buſineſs was entruſted to five perſons, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. This miniſtry was known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names; to whom ſhould be added the king, and the duke of York. All the ſeven were for an arbitrary government; and, with reſpect to religion, four of them were papiſts; the king, the duke, Clifford, and Arlington; the other three, Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale, were without any religion, or only conſidered it as an engine of ſtate. Never was there a more dangerous adminiſtration in England, nor one more fitted to operate the ruin of the nation. Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous ſpirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Aſhley, ſoon after known by the title of earl of Shafteſbury, was the moſt extraodinary man of his age; he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the preſbyterians: he had inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwell, and afterwards had a conſiderable hand in the Reſtoration: he was turbulent, ambitious, ſubtle, and enterpriſing. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, poſſeſſed of ſome wit, and great vivacity, but unreſtrained either by prudence or principle. Arlington was a man of a very moderate capacity. Laſtly the duke of Lauderdale, who was not defective in natural, ſtill leſs in acquired talents; but his underſtanding was not juſt, and his temper was violent and tyrannical: he was, beſides, ambitious, obſtinate, inſolent, and ſullen. Theſe were the men to whom Charles entruſted the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign into difficulties, which had nearly proved fatal to his government. They ſuggeſted to the king, that the parliament, though the ſpirit of party, at preſent, attached it to the crown, was ſtill more attached to thoſe powers and privileges, which had, during many preceding years been uſurped from the ſovereign: that it not only kept the king in dependence by means of his precarious revenue, but had never diſcovered a ſuitable generoſity, even in thoſe temporary ſupplies which it had granted him: that it was high time for the king to recover that authority, which his predeceſſors, during ſo many ages, had peaceably enjoyed; that the great error of his father was the not having formed any cloſe connection with foreign princes, who, on the breaking out of rebellion, might have found their intereſt in ſupporting him: that a war with Holland, undertaken in conjunction with the French king, would be the moſt advantageous meaſure he could adopt: that under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to raiſe a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his ſubjects, the king would in vain expect his prerogative: that his naval power might be maintained, partly by the ſupplies which, on other pretences, would be previouſly obtained from parliament, partly by ſubſidies from France, and partly by captures, which might be eaſily made on that opulent republic: and that in ſuch a ſituation, an attempt to recover the ancient authority of the crown could not fail of being attended with ſucceſs. Theſe ſuggeſtions unfortunately concurred with the inclinations and prejudices of the king, who, from the beginning of his reign, ſeems to have entertained a great jealouſy of his own ſubjects, and, on that account, a deſire of fortifying himſelf by an intimate alliance with France.

Colbert

Colbert de Croiſſy, the French ambaſſador at London, had already ſounded the inclinations of the king and his miniſters, touching an alliance with his maſter; and he found them very favourably diſpoſed to forward Lewis's deſign of rendering himſelf maſter of Flanders. Colbert having thus paved the way for a negociation, the king of France made a pretence of viſiting his frontiers, particularly to inſpect his new works at Dunkirk; and he carried with him the queen and the whole court. While he remained at this place, the ducheſs of Orleans took the opportunity of going over to England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they paſſed ten days together in great mirth and feſtivity. She had a commiſſion to aſſure Charles, that, provided he would enter into engagements for humbling the Dutch, Lewis would enable him effectually to ſhake off the yoke of parliament, and reſtore the Catholic religion in England. To render more certain his acquieſcence in theſe meaſures, the French king ſent over with the ducheſs, a young lady, named Querouaille, of extraordinary beauty and accompliſhments, who inſtantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created ducheſs of Portſmouth, and, maintaining her empire over him during the whole courſe of his life, kept him firm in his connections with France.

The ducheſs of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, having taken a glaſs of ſuccory-water, by the direction of her phyſicians, was inſtantly ſeized with violent agonies, of which ſhe expired. Strong ſuſpicions of poiſon aroſe in the court of France, and were ſpread all over Europe; and as her huſband had diſcovered many ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſcontent, he was univerſally believed to be the author of the crime. When the news of her death was brought to Whitehall, by ſir Thomas Armſtrong, who, at the ſame time, communicated the ſuſpicion of her having been poiſoned, the king melted in a flood of tears, and expreſſed his indignation againſt the duke of Orleans, in the moſt bitter terms of reproach. But he ſoon checked his paſſion, and ſaid, "Thomas, I beg you will not mention a ſyllable of this matter." Charles, during ſome time, was entirely convinced of the duke of Orleans guilt; but upon receiving the atteſtation of phyſicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be, ſatisfied; and the duke of Buckingham, on pretence of carrying compliments of condolence to the duke of Orleans, was diſpatched to France, with power to ſign the treaty which had been negociated by the ducheſs.

While theſe meaſures were ſecretly in agitation, the parliament met, according to the adjournment in October. After a ſhort ſpeech from the throne, the lord-keeper inſiſted much on the king's great want of ſupply; the mighty increaſe of the naval power of France, with the decay of that of England; the neceſſity of equipping next year a fleet of fifty ſail; and the obligations which the king lay under by ſeveral treaties to exert himſelf for the common good of Chriſtendom. Among thoſe treaties, he particularly mentioned the triple alliance, and the defenſive league with the States. The artifice anſwered expectation; and the commons voted him two millions and a half.

A. D. 1671.] When the money bills were carried up to the peers, in February, lord Lucas made a ſevere ſpeech on the enormous grants to the crown, and the ſhameful manner in which thoſe ſupplies had been ſquandered. The king had for ſome time made a practice of going without formality to the houſe, under pretence of amuſement; but really to influence their deliberations. He was preſent when this ſpeech was delivered; and ſoon afterwards it was publiſhed, at which he was ſo provoked, that he ordered it to be burned by the common executioner. During this ſeſſion the commons paſſed the Coventry act, by which the practice of maiming was made a capital crime. This law derived its origin from an outrage committed upon a member of parliament. A propoſal having been made in the houſe for laying a tax upon playhouſes, it was oppoſed by the courtiers, one of whom obſerved, that the players were the king's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country-party,

aſked, whether his majeſty's pleaſure lay among the male or the female players. This ſarcaſm was conſidered as a violation of that reſpect which was due to the crown; and was the more provoking to Charles, as he at that time entertained Davies and Nell Gwyn, two concubines whom he had taken from the theatre. It was therefore thought neceſſary that Coventry ſhould be chaſtiſed for his freedom. Sands, O'Brian, and ſome other officers of the guards, were ordered to way-lay him, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with bravery; and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was with ſome difficulty diſarmed. They cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him what reſpect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words ſpoken in the houſe. They paſſed the law above mentioned, and inſerted a clauſe, that thoſe perſons who had aſſaulted Sir John Coventry, ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

An extraordinary occurrence happened about this time. Blood, a diſbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conſpiracy for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland; on account of which crime, himſelf had been attainted, and ſome of his accomplices capitally puniſhed. The deſperate ruffian meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. He followed the duke into England, attacked his coach in the night as it drove along the ſtreets, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome accomplices, he ſecured that nobleman's perſon, whom he reſolved to hang at Tyburn. Ormond was with difficulty reſcued by his ſervants; and the aſſaſſins eſcaped by favour of the darkneſs. A little after, Blood formed the deſign of carrying off the regalia from the Tower; and he ſo far ſucceeded in his project, that he had actually ſeized the crown, and paſſed out at the Tower-gate, with three accomplices, after having left Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, ſeemingly dead of the wounds which he had received in defending his truſt. But the guards being alarmed, they purſued and apprehended the villains. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When the queſtion was put to him, he frankly owned himſelf the author of the enterprize; but refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, ſaying, the fear of death ſhould never prompt him to deny a crime, or to betray a friend. Theſe extraordinary circumſtances making him the general ſubject of converſation, the king was moved with a curioſity of ſeeing, and ſpeaking with, a perſon ſo noted for his crimes and intrepidity. Blood was not inſenſible how he might turn this incident to his advantage. He told the king, that, on account of the ſeverity which had been exerciſed over the conſciences of the godly, he had been engaged, with others, in a deſign to kill his majeſty with a carabine, above Batterſea, where he often went to bathe: that with this view, he had taken his ſtand among the reeds, but his mind was ſo overpowered with awe, that he not only relented, but diverted his aſſociates from their purpoſe. He ſaid that he had long been perfectly indifferent about life, which he now conſidered as loſt; but he gave the king to underſtand, that his aſſociates had bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths, to revenge the death of any of the confederacy; and that no precaution or power could elude their deſperate reſolution. Whether the king was prompted by admiration of the man's boldneſs, or by fear of aſſaſſination, he reſolved on granting Blood a pardon; but he thought it a point of decency firſt to obtain the Duke of Ormond's conſent. Blood was not only pardoned, but gratified with an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year, in Ireland. The king even encouraged his attendance about his perſon, and ſhowed him great countenance; while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded in defending the crown and regalia, was neglected.

In the month of March the ducheſs of York died. In her laſt ſickneſs, ſhe made open profeſſion of the Romiſh religion; and ſoon after her death, the duke publicly declared his attachment to the ſame church.

The

The immediate views of the cabal at this juncture being directed to a war with Holland, it was neceſſary to break the triple alliance, and find a pretext for beginning hoſtilities. Sir Henry Coventry was diſpatched as ambaſſador to Sweden; and Sir George Downing ſent to the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple. A ground of quarrel was ſought by means of a yacht, diſpatched for lady Temple. The captain ſailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſt; and he had orders to make them ſtrike, or fire on them, and to perſevere until they ſhould return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, ſurpriſed at this extraordinary behaviour, came on board the yacht, and expreſſed his willingneſs to pay reſpect to the Britiſh flag, according to uſual practice, but he ſaid it was not to be expected, that a large fleet, commanded by an admiral, and on their own coaſts, would lower their top-ſails to a ſingle veſſel, which was not even a ſhip of war. The captain, thinking it dangerous, as well as abſurd, to renew firing in the midſt of the Dutch fleet, continued his courſe; and, on his return, was committed to the Tower, for not having ſufficiently aſſerted the honour of his majeſty.

This incident, however, furniſhed Downing with an additional article to increaſe thoſe vain pretences, on which it was purpoſed to ground the intended rupture. The Engliſh court delayed making any complaint for ſeveral months, leſt the Dutch might have had time to grant ſatisfaction. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was inſtructed not to accept of any ſatisfaction after a certain number of days; a manner of negociating particularly impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic will not admit of ſo ſpeedy a determination. An anſwer, however, though refuſed by Downing, was ſent over to London, by an ambaſſador extraordinary, who had orders to uſe every means for accommodating the matter with the court of England. The Engliſh miniſters replied, that the anſwer of the Hollanders was ambiguous and obſcure; but they would not ſpecify the articles or expreſſions which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambaſſador requeſted the Engliſh miniſtry to draw the anſwer in what terms they pleaſed, and told them that he would ſign it; but they replied, that it was not their buſineſs to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambaſſador brought them the draught of an article, and aſked them whether it was ſatisfactory: the Engliſh anſwered, that when he had ſigned and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman reſolved to ſign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new audience, an hour was appointed for that purpoſe; but when he attended, the Engliſh refuſed to enter upon buſineſs, and told him, that the ſeaſon for negociation was now paſt.

A. D. 1672.] It was agreed by the contracting parties, in the league againſt Holland, that the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, ſhould fall upon the territories of the States-general in three different places, while the combined fleets of France and England ſhould attack their navy, and diſtreſs their commerce. Nothing retarded the commencement of hoſtilities but the indigence of Charles, who, though he had received two millions, five hundred thouſand pounds, from parliament, and ſeven hundred thouſand livres by ſtipulation, from the king of France, ſtill found himſelf in neceſſity. He gave his miniſtry to underſtand, that he could not begin the war without a farther ſupply of five hundred thouſand pounds; and as he could not have recourſe to the parliament, which was prorogued, he promiſed to confer the office of treaſurer upon him who ſhould contrive a practicable expedient for raiſing that ſum of money. The perſon moſt fortunate in this invention, was Sir Thomas Clifford, who propoſed to ſtop the payments of the exchequer. It had been uſual for the bankers to carry their money to the exchequer, and to advance it upon the ſecurity of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimburſed when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, ſometimes ten per cent. for ſums, which either had been conſigned to them without intereſt, or which they had borrowed

borrowed at ſix per cent. The meaſure propoſed by ſir Thomas Clifford, was ſo ſuddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confuſion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers ſtopped payment, and the merchants could anſwer no bills; all commerce was interrupted, and univerſal conſternation ſeized the kingdom. The king publiſhed a declaration, promiſing to do juſtice to the creditors of the crown; but very little attention was paid to it. That the counſels purſued at this time, by the king and his miniſters, were arbitrary and unconſtitutional appears from another meaſure. Charles iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending the penal laws, enacted againſt all nonconformiſts and recuſants; and granting to the proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, and to the catholics the exerciſe of it in private houſes. At the ſame time, the act of navigation was ſuſpended by the king's authority; a meaſure, which, though a ſtretch of prerogative, ſeemed uſeful to commerce, while all the ſeamen were employed on board the royal navy. Martial law was eſtabliſhed in the army by order of council, though contrary to the petition of right; and a proclamation was iſſued for puniſhing all thoſe who ſhould dare to arraign his majeſty's meaſures. The lord-keeper, having refuſed to affix the great ſeal to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws, was removed from his office; and Shafteſbury was made chancellor, in his place.

Before the declaration of war with Holland, an attempt was made on the Dutch fleet by Sir Robert Holmes. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half, and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go on this expedition. In the channel, he paſſed Sprague, who was returning with a ſquadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a deſire of engroſſing the honour and profit of the enterprize, concealed his orders, the conjunction of the two ſquadrons muſt infallibly have ſecured ſucceſs. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Neſs, who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him. One of the captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers, having received information of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, were on their guard, and had already put all the ſhips of war and merchantmen in an excellent poſture of defence. Three times were they aſſailed by the Engliſh, with great impetuoſity, and as often did they valiantly defend themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken, as were three or four of the leaſt conſiderable merchant-men. The reſt continued their courſe; and favoured by a miſt, got ſafe into their own harbours. The States-general exclaimed loudly againſt this piratical attempt; while the Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to apologize for it, by pretending that it was a caſual rencounter, occaſioned by the obſtinacy of the Dutch, in refuſing the honours of the flag.

Notwithſtanding all the menaces and preparations of the Engliſh, the States never believed they were thoroughly in earneſt till after this incident; but Charles was determined to proceed. He immediately iſſued a declaration of war againſt the Dutch, though reaſons more falſe and frivolous never were employed to juſtify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are there made of injuries done to the Eaſt India company, which yet that company diſavowed: the detention of ſome Engliſh ſhips in Surinam is mentioned; though it appears that the perſons who occupied them voluntarily remained there: the refuſal of a Dutch fleet on their own coaſts to ſtrike to an Engliſh yacht, is much aggravated: and beſide theſe pretences, mention is made of ſome abuſive pictures, which are repreſented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loſs to know to what this article alluded; until it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of certain magiſtrates at Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the perſpective of this piece, the painter had repreſented ſome ſhips

on

on fire in a harbour. This was conſtrued to be Chatham, where De Wit had acquired much honour. Charles, to complete the farce, pretended, in his declaration, that he would ſtill faithfully adhere to the triple alliance. Meanwhile he ordered all the Dutch ſhips that were in Engliſh harbours, to be ſeized, contrary to an expreſs article in the treaty of Breda. The Dutch followed his example, but afterwards releaſed their captures, obſerving that his breach of faith was not a ſufficient reaſon for their imitating ſuch unjuſtifiable conduct. After ſo uncommon an inſtance of candour and generoſity, Charles was aſhamed to detain their veſſels, which therefore were ſet at liberty.

The Engliſh now ſaw themſelves engaged in a league with France againſt the Dutch, and conſequently, whether victorious or vanquiſhed, their efforts would be equally to the diſadvantage of the nation. The French monarchy had for ſome years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of the ambitious Lewis XIV. it began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the proteſtant religion, of which Lewis had ſhewn himſelf a determined enemy. The people, therefore, beheld with diſſatisfaction a confederacy which, if ſucceſsful, muſt ſubvert the balance of power which the Proteſtants aimed at preſerving: nor were they leſs apprehenſive of their own ſovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was ſecretly attached to the Catholics. The firſt events of this war, therefore, were correſpondent to their fears of French treachery. The Engliſh and French combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the mareſchal d'Etrée, met the Dutch fleet to the number of ninety ſail, commanded by admiral de Ruyter, and a furious battle enſued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the Engliſh van, drove his ſhip into the midſt of the enemy, beat off the admiral that ventured to attack him, ſunk another ſhip that attempted to board him, and ſunk three fire-ſhips that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his veſſel was torn with ſhot, and out of a thouſand men there remained only four hundred, he ſtill continued to thunder in the midſt of the engagement. At laſt, a fire-ſhip, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was now inevitable. Sandwich, however, though warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, refuſed to quit his ſhip, and heroically embraced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy which a raſh expreſſion of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him. Night parted the combatants, and each claimed the victory. The loſs ſuſtained by the Dutch and Engliſh was nearly equal; but the French ſuffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even ſuſpected that they had orders to ſpare their own ſhips, while the two other powers ſhould grow weak by their mutual animoſities.

The arms of the confederates were much more ſucceſsful againſt the Dutch by land. Lewis croſſed the Rhine, took all their frontier towns, and even threatened the republic with total ruin. In addition to a foreign war, Holland was at this time diſtracted by domeſtic faction. The anceſtors of the young prince of Orange, William, afterwards king of England, had been expelled from the office of Stadtholder, for their inſolence and tyranny; but William was deſirous to recover that office and authority, and he and his adherents formed one party. The other party were compoſed of rigid republicans, to whom the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute power ſeemed a monſter contrary to the laws of human ſociety; the grand penſionary, John De Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of theſe. That able and virtuous miniſter, dreaded more the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Orange than the conqueſts of the French king; and ſaw no means of ſaving what remained of his wretched country, but by ſuing the victors for peace. The prince was, on the contrary, for promoting the war, in hopes that, through the popularity and influence he might acquire, he ſhould be able to recover the Stadtholderſhip. The States, however, reſolved to ſue for peace, and ſent deputies to the French camp. Lewis received them with uncommon arrogance, and dictated ſuch terms as would reduce them

to little better than ſlavery, and leave the country open to any future invaſion by land, while thoſe of Charles equally expoſed them to every invaſion by ſea.

The imperious conduct of the king of France raiſed the courage of the Dutch; and they were unanimouſly reſolved to die fighting rather than live to ſee their country ſubjugated by a bold and inſolent invader. In this extremity, they broke down their dykes and inundated the country, to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy; and the hearts and hopes of every one were directed to the active genius of the prince of Orange. Unſupported as the Dutch were againſt ſo powerful a confederacy, the attempt to negociate a peace was founded in wiſdom and humanity; but the exorbitant demands of an inſolent tyrant, rendered the chance of war preferable to a nation which cheriſhed their independence. The prince and his party availed themſelves of this circumſtance, and inflamed the public mind againſt the grand penſionary, whom they charged with being the betrayer of his country, though he was no more willing than themſelves to ſubmit to the cruel terms which had been offered. However, this miſrepreſentation and the violence of party, proved fatal to the two brothers, for, on the twentieth of Auguſt, they were maſſacred at the Hague, by the miſguided multitude; after John had governed the republic for nineteen years, with the greateſt abilities, and moſt unſpotted integrity; and Cornelius had hazarded his life in fighting its battles. The murder of the De Wits extinguiſhed party diſſenſions for the time, and all men, from fear or prudence, ſubmitted to the authority of the prince of Orange; the States alſo recalled the edict paſſed in 1667, by which they had aboliſhed the office of Stadtholder, and the prince was admitted to that office.

The neighbouring ſtates were by this time convinced of the neceſſity of their interfering, to prevent the reduction of Holland. Montercy, governor of Flanders, ſent ſome regiments privately to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, the emperor Leopold, diſpatched Monteculi at the head of twenty thouſand men, and the elector of Bradenburg took the field with twenty-five thouſand troops. Lewis, perceiving the combination that was forming againſt him, and that his progreſs was ſtopped by the inundations, left Turenne and Luxemburg to finiſh the war, and returned to St. Germains.

A. D. 1673.] The Engliſh were equally alarmed at ſeeing this brave and induſtrious people, the ſupporters of the proteſtant cauſe, on the brink of deſtruction, and the nation was filled with murmurs. The money which Charles had received, was all expended by his exceſſive prodigality; and he was obliged to call a parliament, how much ſoever he dreaded the aſſembling of that body at preſent. The eyes of all men were fixed on this ſeſſion, which met in February, after prorogations continued for near two years. Before the commons entered upon buſineſs, there lay before them an affair, which diſcovered, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a conſtant practice in the houſe for many years, in caſe of any vacancy, to iſſue out writs for new elections; but, by Shafteſbury's advice, ſeveral members had taken their ſeats upon irregular writs iſſued by the chancellor; ſo that the whole houſe in time might be filled with members clandeſtinely called up by the court. The houſe was no ſooner aſſembled, therefore, and the ſpeaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made againſt this method of election; and the members, thus called to parliament, had the modeſty to withdraw. Their election was declared null, and new writs, in the uſual form, were iſſued by the ſpeaker.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all ſectaries was next taken into conſideration; and a remonſtrance drawn up againſt that exerciſe of the prerogative. The commons repreſented that ſuch a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free courſe of the laws, and alter the legiſlative power, which had been acknowledged to reſide in the king and the two houſes of parliament. Charles, therefore, found himſelf obliged, reluctantly, to retract this declaration; but that he might do it with a better grace, he aſked the opinion of the houſe of peers, who adviſed him to comply.

Shafteſbury

Shafteſbury, when he found the king recede from ſo capital a point, which he had publicly declared his reſolution to maintain, dreaded that he might alſo abandon his miniſters to the vengeance of parliament; and therefore reſolved to atone for all his violencies in favour of monarchy, by joining the country party.

The king's compliance did not, however, obliterate the apprehenſions which had been excited by the former meaſures of the court; and they ſoon paſſed a law, entituled an "Act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants;" commonly called the Teſt Act, whereby "all perſons enjoying any office, or place of truſt or profit, are required to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and alſo to receive the communion (after the rites of the church of England) in ſome pariſh church, &c." They next preſented two petitions againſt grievances, which the king having promiſed to redreſs, they paſſed the money bills, but tacked a proviſo to it, importing, "That no papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any public employment." In conſequence of theſe acts all popiſh officers reſigned their places, and among the reſt the duke of York his poſt of high-admiral. Clifford reſigned the treaſurer's ſtaff, and was ſucceeded by the earl of Danly. Shafteſbury having joined the oppoſition, was deprived of the chancellorſhip, and the ſeals were given to ſir Heneage Finch, by the title of lord-keeper.

Though Charles had retracted his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquiſhed the diſpenſing power, he was ſtill reſolved to perſevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war. The money granted by parliament was ſufficient to equip a fleet, of which, as the duke had been ſet aſide by the teſt, prince Rupert was declared admiral. Under him were appointed ſir Edward Sprague and the earl of Oſſory; and they were joined by a French ſquadron, commanded by d'Etrées. The combined fleet ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Holland, where they found the enemy lying at anchor, within the ſands at Schonvelt. Several ſea engagements ſucceeded each other very rapidly; but no deciſive action took place. The French admiral, as before, kept aloof, while the Engliſh and Dutch fleets deſtroyed each other.

In October the parliament were again aſſembled, when they diſcovered much greater ſymptoms of ill humour than had appeared in the laſt ſeſſion. They had known for ſome time of a negociation of marriage carried on between the duke of York and the archdutcheſs of Inſpruc, a catholic of the Auſtrian family; and they had made no oppoſition. But when that negociation failed, and the duke applied to a princeſs of the houſe of Modena, then in cloſe alliance with France, this circumſtance, joined to ſo many other cauſes of diſcontent, exaſperated the commons; and they remonſtrated, with the greateſt zeal, againſt the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonſtrance came too late; for that the marriage was already celebrated by proxy. The commons ſtill inſiſting, and proceeding farther, they voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more ſupply, unleſs it appeared that the Dutch were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all reaſonable conditions of peace. To cut ſhort theſe diſagreeable attacks, the king reſolved to prorogue the parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the houſe of peers, and ſent the uſher to ſummon the commons. It happened, that the ſpeaker and the uſher nearly met at the door of the houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, "To the chair, to the chair!" while others cried, "the black rod is at the door." The ſpeaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were inſtantly made: that the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counſellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed. There was a general cry, "To the queſtion, to the queſtion!" but the uſher knocking violently at the door, the ſpeaker leaped from the chair, and the houſe roſe in great confuſion. The king, in a very ſhort ſpeech, repreſented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the leaſt appearance of diſſenſion between him and his parliament:

liament: he declared he had exerted his utmoſt care in preventing the growth of popery; and prorogued them to the 7th day of January.

A. D. 1674.] When the parliament reaſſembled, they began with applications for a general faſt; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: they addreſſed againſt the king's guards, which they repreſented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, ſince they never had yet received the ſanction of parliament: they took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a more rigorous teſt againſt popery: and what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whoſe pernicious counſels they imputed all the public grievances. Clifford was dead; Shafteſbury had made his peace with the country-party; Buckingham was deſirous of imitating Shafteſbury's example; Lauderdale and Arlington were expoſed to all the effects of national reſentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt the latter, which, however, were never proſecuted; and reſpecting the former, he every day declined in the favour of the king, and became contemptible to the people. Thus ended the power of a junto, that had laid a ſettled plan for overturning the conſtitution, and eſtabliſhing upon its ruins unlimited monarchy.

Charles, finding he could expect no ſupply from the commons for carrying on the war, reſolved to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had propoſed through the channel of the Spaniſh ambaſſador. With a cordiality, which, in the preſent circumſtances, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he aſked the voice of the parliament. The parliament unanimouſly concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condeſcenſion, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive terms; a regulation of trade was agreed to: all poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war: the Engliſh planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure; and the ſtates agreed to pay the king the ſum of eight hundred thouſand patacoons, near three hundred thouſand pounds.

The king of France expreſſed no reſentment at being abandoned in this abrupt and clandeſtine manner by his ally: on the contrary, he frankly accepted the proffered mediation of Charles, from which he had reaſon to hope for favour, conſidering that by a ſecret treaty in 1670, he had ſettled a yearly penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds on the king of England, to enable him to eſtabliſh the Roman catholic religion; and to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men, in caſe of an inſurrection. Beſides, the ſucceſs of the war had not been anſwerable to the ſanguine expectations of Lewis, and his enemies had augmented into a formidable alliance. The prince of Orange had advanced into Flanders with a numerous and well diſciplined army, and endeavoured to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; but the latter, being inferior in number, cautiouſly avoided an engagement; until at length the ſtadtholder expoſing a wing of his army at Seneffe, the French general took the advantage of this overſight, and an obſtinate action enſued. The prince of Orange behaved on this occaſion with equal courage and preſence of mind: he rallied his troops, and led them back to the charge: the battle was maintained even by moon-light, until at laſt the darkneſs parted the combatants. The prince of Orange afterwards inveſted Oudenarde; but he was obliged, by the imperial and Spaniſh generals, to raiſe the ſiege on the approach of the enemy. He next beſieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the allied armies broke up, with great diſcontents and complaints on all ſides. In other places the troops of France were univerſally victorious; and mareſchal Turenne, having diſlodged all the allies, he obliged them to repaſs the Rhine.

A. D. 1675.] The parliament met in April, when every ſtep taken by the commons diſcovered that ill-humour and jealouſy, to which the late open meaſures of the king, and his preſent ſecret attachment, gave but too juſt foundation. They drew up a bill againſt popery, and the perſons of Romiſh prieſts; they preſented

ſented, a ſecond time, a long addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale, whom they accuſed of having ſaid in council, that the king's edicts ought to be obeyed preferably to the laws of the realm; and of having procured the militia act in the parliament of Scotland, by which the Scots were to raiſe twenty-two thouſand men, who were obliged to march into England for any ſervice his majeſty ſhould command, and to obey ſuch orders as they ſhould receive from the privy council. From theſe general words, the parliament conceived England was continually expoſed to an invaſion, upon the moſt frivolous pretence. They, therefore, beſought his majeſty to remove that miniſter from his preſence and councils for ever. But as the king's anſwer was not ſatisfactory, they ſeemed ſtill determined to perſevere in their applications. They then ſet on foot an enquiry into the conduct of Danby, whom they reſolved to impeach of having been concerned in a project to render the king abſolute; but finding the proofs inſufficient, they dropped the accuſation. They applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French ſervice; and as he only promiſed that they ſhould not be recruited, they were much diſſatisfied with the anſwer. A bill was brought in, making it treaſon to levy money without authority of parliament. Another vacating the ſeats of ſuch members as accepted of offices; with one to ſecure the perſonal liberty of the ſubjects, and to prevent their being tranſported to diſtant iſlands.

The commons proceeded with ſo much warmth in oppoſition to the court, that the court party, in the upper houſe, began to dread the revival of the republican ſpirit. In order to counteract the effects of ſuch a diſpoſition, the earl of Lindſey brought into the houſe of lords a teſt-bill, for impoſing upon all perſons in eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy counſellors, and members of parliament, an oath, declaring it unlawful to take arms againſt the king upon any pretence whatever; and that they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Proteſtant religion, or the eſtabliſhed government, either in church or ſtate. So great was the oppoſition made to this bill, that the debates upon it continued ſeventeen days; and then it was carried by a ſmall majority. Being ſent down to the houſe of commons, it was likely to undergo a ſcrutiny ſtill more ſevere; but a quarrel, which enſued between the two houſes, prevented the paſſing of every bill projected during the preſent ſeſſion. One Dr. Shirley, being caſt in a law-ſuit before Chancery againſt Sir John Fag, a member of the houſe of commons, preferred an appeal to the houſe of peers; and the lords accepting the petition, ſummoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower houſe, which undertook to defend him. They maintained, that no member of their houſe could be ſummoned before the peers, and that the lords had no right to receive an appeal from any court of equity; and committed Shirley to priſon. The lords inſiſted upon their juriſdiction, which they had exerciſed during the preſent century. Conferences were held, but no accommodation enſued. The commons impriſoned four lawyers who pleaded in this cauſe before the peers, contrary to an order of the lower houſe. The lords declared this commitment a breach of Magna Charta; and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to releaſe the priſoners. He declines obedience; they apply to the king to puniſh him for contempt of the houſe. The king ſummons both houſes, and in a ſpeech exhorts them to lay aſide their animoſity. But finding his advice had no effect upon the commons, he prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth day of October.

When the parliament was aſſembled, the king recommended unanimity to the two houſes; and demanded a ſupply that would be ſufficient for building ſome new ſhips, and liquidating the anticipations of his revenue. The commons abſolutely refuſed to grant any money for paying off the crown debts, but voted three hundred thouſand pounds for building twenty ſhips of war, and appropriated the tonnage and poundage to the ſupport of the navy. They next took into conſideration,

the trade to France, and found that it was againſt England by at leaſt one million annually. In the next place they determined to ſet a mark upon all thoſe members, who, preferring their private intereſt to the public good, had ſold themſelves as penſioners to the court, and were ready on any occaſion to give their votes to the miniſter. With this view they prepared the following declaration or teſt for every member to take, by which they "proteſted before God and that houſe, that they had not, directly or indirectly, received any ſum, gratuity, place, or penſion, or the promiſe of any from the court, or any foreign miniſter, ſince the firſt of January, 1672, except what they then delivered to the houſe; nor did they know of any ſuit, gift, grant, or promiſe, to any member of that houſe but what they had ſo inſerted in writing; nor had they given a vote in parliament for any reward or promiſe whatever." In the houſe of peers, the duke of Buckingham propoſed a bill for the relief of proteſtant diſſenters, but this and all other buſineſs was ſuſpended by the diſputes between the two houſes reſpecting Shirley and Fag. A motion was made by the earl of Shafteſbury, but rejected, for addreſſing the king to diſſolve the preſent parliament. The king contented himſelf with proroguing them on the twenty-ſecond of November, to the fifteenth of February, 1677.

A. D. 1676.] Ever ſince the peace with Holland, French privateers had infeſted the channel, and regardleſs of the neutrality of the Engliſh, ſeized their ſhipping. The commiſſioners of trade at length repreſented theſe outrages to the king; and he ſent orders to our ambaſſadors at the French court, to make a complaint of this behaviour, and demanded ſatisfaction. But Lewis knew, that while he continued his penſion, Charles would not break with him for trifles, and therefore took no notice of theſe complaints.

The arbitrary and unconſtitutional meaſures of the king, had provoked the diſcontent of the people, and become objects of general complaint. The coffee houſes were the chief places where his conduct was examined with the greateſt ſeverity; he therefore iſſued a proclamation to ſuppreſs them. This was another illegal meaſure, but as the coffee-houſes were a favourite place of reſort, Charles being afraid of inflaming the reſentment of the people, complied with a petition of the keepers of thoſe houſes, who promiſed, for the future, to prevent all ſeditious diſcourſe among their viſitants, and recalled the proclamation.

A. D. 1677.] The parliament met in February, according to their laſt adjournment, when the king, in his ſpeech, made ſtrong profeſſions of future œconomy, and proteſted he was ready to grant all the ſecurity in his power for the maintenance of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the people. He recommended harmony between the two houſes, informed them of his neceſſities, and deſired ſuch a ſupply as would enable him to make a conſiderable addition to his navy. But before the parliament entered upon buſineſs, they were ſtopped by a doubt concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward III. "That parliament ſhould be held once every year, or oftener if need be." The laſt prorogation had been longer than a year; and, according to the legal conſtruction of that act, was equivalent to a diſſolution. Buckingham, who had made the motion, was ſeconded by the earls of Saliſbury, Shafteſbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but, as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been tranſacted in this parliament, thoſe four noblemen were committed to the Tower. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and Wharton, after having been confined ſome months, made their ſubmiſſion to the king, who ordered them to be releaſed. Lord Shafteſbury moved in the king's bench that he might be diſcharged; but the court refuſed to take any cognizance of the matter. Having remained a whole year priſoner, he made the ſame ſubmiſſion with the other three lords; upon which he was alſo releaſed.

The commons granted the ſum of five hundred and eighty thouſand pounds to his majeſty, for building thirty ſhips; and ſtrictly appro-

appropriated the money to that ſervice. They addreſſed the king, repreſenting the danger to which his dominions were expoſed from the growing greatneſs of France; and they aſſured him, that in caſe of war, they would not be backward in their ſupplies. As Charles required money for his pleaſures, he was not diſpleaſed with the latter part of their addreſs; and therefore told them, that unleſs they granted him ſix hundred thouſand pounds, it would be impoſſible for him to grant them a ſatisfactory anſwer. But the houſe of commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the *Court* and the *Country:* on this occaſion the latter preponderated; a general diſtruſt of the king prevailed. Inſtead of granting the ſupply, they voted an addreſs, wherein they "beſought his majeſty to enter into a league, offenſive and defenſive, with the States-General of the United Provinces, againſt the growth and power of the French king, and for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands: and to make ſuch other alliances with the confederates as ſhould appear fit and uſeful to that end." They ſupported their advice with reaſons; and promiſed ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies for preſerving his majeſty's honour and inſuring the ſafety of the public. The king pretended the higheſt anger at this addreſs, which he repreſented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in ſevere terms; and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

Charles had privately concerted meaſures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He ſought, however, for expedients to appeaſe the murmurs of the people, which every day increaſed. Accordingly he directed Sir William Temple to acquaint the prince of Orange, that he was extremely deſirous an end might be put to the war as ſoon as poſſible, with aſſurances that he would concur with the prince, in obtaining ſuch terms as might be acceptable both to Holland and England; and at the ſame time to offer the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of the duke of York, (who had been educated in the proteſtant religion) in marriage. The king thought by this offer to engage the prince entirely to his intereſt. In conſequence of this propoſal, the prince came to England, and the marriage was celebrated, to the great ſatisfaction of the nation. Soon after the king and prince ſettled the terms of pacification which ſhould be inſiſted upon between the allies and the king of France; and the prince returned with his conſort to Holland.

A. D. 1678.] The parliament met in January, when the king informed them that he had concluded an alliance with the Dutch, and mentioned the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange, and demanded a ſupply proportioned to the exigencies of the ſtate. But the parliament, not ſatisfied with the conduct of Charles, informed him, that when he ſhould be pleaſed to communicate to them the nature of his alliances, they would enable him to ſupport hoſtilities with vigour, or to conclude peace on honourable terms. They, however, voted a poll tax, appropriating the money to the ſervice of the French war; and added a clauſe, whereby all trade with France was prohibited for three years.

The king of France knew the influence of gold with Charles, and therefore offered great ſums of gold, if he would conſent to his making advantageous terms of peace with the allies. Sir William Temple, though preſſed by the king, refuſed to have any concern in ſuch a diſhonourable negociation; but others were found who would. Lewis agreed to confirm his former treaty with the king of England, and to give him three hundred thouſand pounds, only requiring that he ſhould not keep above eight thouſand regular troops in pay. Charles was highly incenſed at this article, and, with his uſual oath, exclaimed, "Cods fiſh, does my brother of France mean to ſerve me thus? Are all his promiſes to make me abſolute maſter of my people come to this? Or does he think *that* a thing to be done with eight thouſand men?"

Lewis had taken the field early in the year, and reduced Ghent and Ypres. The Dutch began to be alarmed, and he perſuaded them not to place any dependance upon England, and

and to enter upon a ſeparate treaty. Charles informed the parliament of this tranſaction, and deſired their advice; they recommended to him to declare war immediately againſt France, and voted that the alliance with Holland was no conſiderable ſecurity for the nation. They afterwards requeſted that he would pay more attention to their addreſſes; and remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king took great offence at this requeſt, and refuſed to give any anſwer. He had iſſued orders for raiſing thirty thouſand men, and the levies were compleated in ſix weeks; the duke of Monmouth was ſent over to Oſtend with three thouſand, a fleet was equipped, and the court breathed nothing but war againſt France.

Sir William Temple was ſent to Holland to concert an effectual plan for oppoſing the ambition of Lewis, and he concluded a treaty to carry on the war jointly againſt France. The prince of Orange being joined by the Engliſh auxilliaries under Monmouth, they marched to the relief of Mons, then blockaded by mareſchal Luxemburgh. This appearance of unuſual vigour in England brought Lewis to terms. Conferences for a general peace had for ſome time been held at Nimeguen, and on the morning of the critical day which was to determine peace or war for Europe, the French ambaſſadors informed Van Beverning, the Dutch ambaſſador, that they had orders to agree to the terms which had been propoſed by the States-general. By this treaty, which was ſigned on the tenth of Auguſt, France ſecured the poſſeſſion of Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, Saint Omers, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Caſſel, &c; and reſtored to Spain, only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg. The allies exclaimed loudly againſt this treaty, but they ſubmitted to the conditions procured by the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters. Spain ſigned the treaty the latter end of September, and the Germans the February following. A ſtrong ſpirit of indignation prevailed among the Engliſh againſt their king, whoſe ſupineneſs and irreſolution had ſuffered Lewis to make ſuch important acquiſitions from Spain. The prince of Orange was extremely diſſatisfied with this peace, though it was advantageous to his country, and took a very extraordinary ſtep, either to renew the quarrel, or gratify his reſentment. Mareſchal Luxemburgh received an account of the peace, and relying on the faith of treaties, reſted in full ſecurity at St. Dennis. Here he was attacked by the prince of Orange, when a furious conflict enſued, in which ten thouſand French-men were killed, and as many of the enemy. This act of wanton barbarity and treachery, by which ſo many brave men loſt their lives, remains a monument of ſhame and diſgrace to William, prince of Orange.

The Engliſh, ever ſince the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealouſies againſt the court: and the ſubſequent meaſures adopted by the king, had tended to increaſe the general prejudices. Some myſterious deſign was ſtill ſuſpected in every enterprize and profeſſion; and arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the ſecret objects of every project. In this jealous diſpoſition, the people were ſuddenly alarmed with the cry of a plot. On the twelfth of Auguſt, one Kirby, a chymiſt, accoſted the king as he was walking in the park; "Sir," ſaid he, "keep within the company: your enemies have a deſign upon your life, and you may be ſhot in this very walk." Being queſtioned with regard to this ſtrange intimation, he ſaid, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to ſhoot the king; and ſir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, to poiſon him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by Dr. Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his majeſty. This permiſſion being granted, Tongue, an intriguing divine of the church of England, was introduced to the king; and brought with him papers, containing information of a plot, and digeſted into forty-three articles. Tongue being referred to the lord-treaſurer, Danby, declared to that nobleman, that the papers had been thruſt under his door, and that, though he ſuſpected, he did not certainly know, who was the author. After a few days he returned, and told the treaſurer, that his ſuſpicions,

ſuſpicions, reſpecting the author of the papers, were well founded; that the perſon had confeſſed to him the whole matter, but deſired that his name might be concealed, being apprehenſive leſt the Papiſts ſhould murder him.

This information appeared ſo vague and unſatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. Tongue, however, went again to the lord treaſurer, and told him that a packet of letters, written by Jeſuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the poſt-houſe for Windſor, directed to one Bedingfield, a Jeſuit, who was confeſſor to the duke of York, and reſided at that place. When this intelligence was brought to the king, he replied, that the packet mentioned had a few hours before been carried to the duke by Bedingfield; who ſaid, that he ſuſpected ſome bad deſign upon him, and that he knew the letters not to be the hand-writing of the perſons whoſe names were ſubſcribed to them. This incident farther confirmed the king in his incredulity, and the matter would probably never been more inveſtigated, had it not been for the anxiety of the duke; who, hearing that prieſts and Jeſuits, and even his own confeſſor, had been accuſed, was deſirous that a thorough enquiry ſhould be made by the council into the pretended conſpiracy. Kirby and Tongue were accordingly enquired after, and were now found to be living in cloſe connection with Titus Oates, the perſon who was ſaid to have conveyed the firſt intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that he had fallen under the ſuſpicion of the Jeſuits, and that he had concealed himſelf, in order to avoid their reſentment. This man was of an abandoned character, and ſo indigent that he depended upon Kirby for his daily bread. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board of a man of war, and diſmiſſed for unnatural practices. He then profeſſed himſelf a Roman Catholic, and croſſed the ſea to St. Omer's, where he lived ſome time in the Engliſh ſeminary at that place. The fathers of the college ſent him thence with ſome diſpatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not ſuffer him to continue among them; ſo that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of returning to London, where he was ready to embrace any means, however profligate, for his ſupport.

In this ſituation, it was a joyful ſurpriſe to him to underſtand that the council was diſpoſed to take ſome notice of his intelligence. But, expecting more encouragement from the public than from the king or his miniſters, he thought proper, before he was preſented to the council, to go with his two companions, Tongue and Kirby, to Sir Edmonſbury Godfrey, an active juſtice of the peace, and before him depoſed to a narrative, drawn up in a manner ſo alarming as to make an impreſſion on the public. The pope, he ſaid, had found himſelf entitled to the poſſeſſion of England and Ireland, on account of the hereſy of prince and people, and had accordingly aſſumed the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms. This, which was St. Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the Jeſuits; and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several Engliſh catholic lords, whoſe names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of ſtate: lord Arundel was appointed chancellor, lord Powis treaſurer, Sir William Godolphin privy ſeal, Coleman, the duke's ſecretary, was made ſecretary of ſtate, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Belaſis general of the forces, lord Peters lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford paymaſter. The king, whom the Jeſuits called the Black Baſtard, was ſolemnly tried by them, and condemned as a heretic. He affirmed that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confeſſor, La Chaiſe, had offered ten thouſand pounds to any man who ſhould kill the king. Ten thouſand pounds, he ſaid, had been offered to Sir George Wakeman to poiſon the king; but he was mercenary, and demanded fifteen thouſand, which demand was complied with. Leſt theſe means ſhould prove abortive, four Iriſh ruffians had been employed by the Jeſuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a piece, to ſtab the king at Windſor. Coleman, late ſecretary to the

ducheſs of York, was deeply concerned in the plot, and had given a guinea to the meſſenger, who carried them orders for the aſſaſſination. Grove and Pickering were alſo employed to ſhoot the king with ſilver bullets. The former was to receive, for this ſervice, fifteen hundred pounds; and the latter, being a pious man, thirty thouſand maſſes. Pickering would have executed his purpoſe, had not the flint at one time dropped out of his piſtol, at another time the priming. Coniers, the Jeſuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten ſhillings, which, he thought, was not dear, conſidering the purpoſe for which he intended it, namely, ſtabbing the king. Letters of ſubſcription were circulated among the Catholics all over England to raiſe a ſum for the ſame purpoſe. No leſs than fifty Jeſuits had met in May laſt, at the White-horſe Tavarn, where it was unanimouſly agreed to put the king to death. A wager of a hundred pounds was laid, and the money depoſited, that the king ſhould eat no more Chriſtmas-pies. The great fire of London had been the work of the Jeſuits: ſeveral other fires were reſolved on, and a paper model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire-balls were called among them Tewkeſbury Muſtard-pills. Twenty thouſand Catholics in London were prepared to riſe; and Coleman had remitted two hundred thouſand pounds to aſſiſt the rebels in Ireland. The duke of York was to be offered to the crown, in conſequence of the ſucceſs of theſe probable ſchemes, on condition of extirpating the proteſtant religion. Upon his refuſal, "To pot James muſt go," as the Jeſuits were ſaid to expreſs it.

Oates, during his examination before the council, betrayed ſo much the groſſneſs of his impoſture, that he contradicted himſelf in every ſtep of his narrative. While in Spain, he had been carried, he ſaid, to Don John, who promiſed great aſſiſtance towards the execution of the catholic deſigns. The king aſked him, what ſort of a man Don John was? Oates replied, that he was a tall lean man; which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. He totally miſtook the ſituation of the Jeſuit's college at Paris. Though he pretended great intimacy with Coleman, he knew him not when placed very near him; and had no other excuſe than that his ſight was bad in candle-light. He was guilty of the ſame miſtake with regard to Sir George Wakeman.

Notwithſtanding the abſurdity and contradiction of Oates's narrative, it was greedily received by the multitude. Danby likewiſe, who ſtood in oppoſition to the French and catholic intereſt at court, was willing to encourage every ſtory, which might diſcredit that party. A great number of the Jeſuits mentioned by Oates, were immediately taken into cuſtody. Coleman, who was ſaid to have acted ſo ſtrenuous a part in the conſpiracy, at firſt retired, but next day ſurrendered himſelf to the ſecretary of ſtate; and ſome of his papers by Oates's directions, were ſecured. Coleman, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the duke, had been engaged in a correſpondence with father La Chaiſe, with the pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, and with other catholics abroad; and being himſelf a fiery zealot, the expreſſions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiſcretion. In his correſpondence, mention is made of a project for reſtoring popery, upon the acceſſion of the duke of York. But theſe letters contained nothing that could ſerve as proof with regard to the preſent information; and their very ſilence in that reſpect, though they appeared imprudent enough in others, might have entirely diſcredited Oates's pretended diſcovery. When the contents of thoſe letters were publicly known, Oates's plot and Coleman's were univerſally confounded together. Coleman's letters contained ſome myſterious hints about extirpating the proteſtant hereſy, the great zeal of the duke, and the mercenary ſpirit of his brother. It appeared from them that ſome deſigns had actually been on foot; and Oates's narrative was ſuppoſed to give the particulars.

In this violent agitation, an accident ſerved to confirm the prejudices of the people. Sir Edmund-

Edmundſbury Godfrey, who had been ſo active in unravelling the myſtery of the popiſh machinations, after having been miſſing ſome days, was found dead in a ditch by Primroſe-hill, in the way to Hampſtead. His own ſword was thruſt through his body, but no blood had flowed from the wound; ſo that it appeared he had been dead ſome time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets, rings on his fingers, and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck, which was diſlocated. His breaſt exhibited ſome marks of contuſion; and on his breeches were found ſeveral drops of wax-lights, which he never uſed in his own family. The cauſe of his death remains, and muſt ſtill continue, a ſecret; but the ſtory roſe, that he had been aſſaſſinated by the papiſts, on account of his taking Oates's evidence.

During this ſtate of public anxiety, the parliament was aſſembled. The king, in his ſpeech to them, ſcarcely mentioned the plot, which he was unwilling to ſubmit to their diſcuſſion; but Danby laid open the matter to the houſe of peers. Charles was extremely diſpleaſed with this temerity, and told his miniſter, "Though you do not belive it, you will find that you have given the parliament a handle to ruin yourſelf, as well as to diſturb all my affairs; and you will ſurely live to repent it. Danby had afterwards ſufficient reaſon to applaud the king's ſagacity. The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one houſe to the other. An addreſs was voted for a ſolemn faſt. Addreſſes were alſo voted for laying before the houſe ſuch papers as might diſcover the horrible conſpiracy; for the removal of popiſh recuſants from London; for denying acceſs at court to all unknown or ſuſpicious perſons; and for appointing the trainbands of London and Weſtminſter to be in readineſs. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellaſis, were committed to the Tower, and ſoon after impeached for high treaſon. So vehement were the houſes, that they ſat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the ſubject of the plot; for no other buſineſs could be attended to. A committee of lords was appointed to examine priſoners and witneſſes. Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of ſuch as ſhould be accuſed or ſuſpected. Oates, who, if his evidence had been true, muſt, by his own account, be regarded as an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, careſſed, and called the ſaviour of the nation. He was recommended by the parliament to the king, was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a penſion of twelve hundred pounds a year, to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to call forth new witneſſes, who hoped to profit by the deluſion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if poſſible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the ſtage. He had been noted for ſeveral cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently paſſed himſelf for a man of quality. This man, at his own deſire, was arreſted at Briſtol, and conveyed to London. When he appeared before the council, he gave information of Godfrey's murder only, which, he ſaid, had been perpetrated in Somerſet-houſe, where the queen lived, by papiſts, ſome of them ſervants in her family. He ſaid, that a ſervant of Lord Bellaſis offered to give him four thouſand pounds if he would carry the body off. He was queſtioned about the plot, but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and alſo aſſerted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, being examined before the committee of lords, he bethought himſelf better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found ſo anxiouſly enquired into. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with that of Oates, which had been publiſhed; but to render it of greater importance, he added ſome new circumſtances, and thoſe ſtill more tremendous and extraordinary. He ſaid, that ten thouſand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and immediately to ſeize Hull. That Jerſey and Guernſey were to be ſurprized by forces from Breſt; and that a French fleet was, all laſt ſummer, hovering in the channel for that purpoſe. That in London,

forty thouſand men were ready for an inſurrection. That himſelf had been tampered with to murder a man, and was to receive for that ſervice four thouſand pounds, beſide the pope's bleſſing. That the king was to be aſſaſſinated, the proteſtants maſſacred, and the government to be offered to ONE, if he would conſent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope ſhould govern it without him. In a ſubſequent examination before the commons, he accuſed the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to cuſtody by order of parliament. But the moſt terrible part of the narrative was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thouſand men, who were ready at St. Iago, in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raiſe ten thouſand men to ſupply her own garriſons in Flanders.

Thoſe narratives are ſo extravagant that they carry with them their own refutation. The infamy of the witneſſes, the contradiction in their teſtimony, the extreme improbability of it, and the low vulgarity of the information, ſo unlike that which might be expected from men entruſted with great affairs; all theſe circumſtances concur to excite our horror againſt the authors of ſuch impoſition, and our pity at the deluſion of the times that could credit ſuch ridiculous reports. In order to give a confident air to the diſcovery, Bedloe publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, "A Narrative and impartial Diſcovery of the horrid Popiſh Plot, carried on for burning and deſtroying the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with their Suburbs, &c. by captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid Deſign, and one of the popiſh Committee for carrying on ſuch Fires."

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witneſſes, who all along had enlarged their narratives in proportion as they were greedily received, went a ſtep farther, and ventured to accuſe the queen of a deſign againſt the life of her huſband. The commons, in an addreſs to the king, gave countenance to this ſcandalous accuſation, but the lords rejected it with becoming diſdain. When the king received the news, he ſaid, "They think, I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I will not ſuffer an innocent woman to be abuſed," He immediately ordered Oates to be ſtrictly confined, ſeized his papers, and diſmiſſed his ſervants. But on an application to parliament, this daring informer recovered his liberty.

Edward Coleman, ſecretary to the duke of York, was the firſt who was brought to trial, as being moſt obnoxious to thoſe who pretended to fear the introduction of popery. His letters being produced, contained, as himſelf confeſſed, much indiſcretion; but nothing criminal, far leſs treaſonable, againſt him. But Oates and Bedloe depoſed, that he had received a commiſſion, ſigned by the ſuperior of the Jeſuits, to be papal ſecretary of ſtate, and had conſented to the poiſoning, ſhooting, and ſtabbing of the king. The former ſwore that he had ſent fourſcore guineas to a ruffian, who undertook to kill the king. The date of the tranſaction he fixed in the month of Auguſt, but would not fix the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greater part of that month, and therefore the witneſs would not be particular. In conſequence of theſe wild accuſations, Coleman received ſentence of death, which was ſoon after executed upon him. He ſuffered with calmneſs and conſtancy, and to the laſt perſiſted in the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was ſucceeded by thoſe of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jeſuit, was accuſed by Oates and Bedloe, the only witneſſes againſt him, of being one of the fifty Jeſuits who had ſigned the reſolution of murdering the king. Ireland proved that he was in Staffordſhire the whole month of Auguſt, during which time Oates aſſerted that he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and the judge commended their verdict. It was in the ſame manner ſworn, that Pickering and Grove had bound themſelves by an oath to aſſaſſinate the king; and that they had provided ſcrewed piſtols, and ſilver bullets, for that purpoſe. They likewiſe were found guilty. All theſe unhappy men went to execution proteſting their innocence; a circumſtance which, as they were Jeſuits, made

no

no impreſſion on the ſpectators, who were very numerous.

The execution of theſe unfortunate men ſeemed to appeaſe the popular reſentment; but a new train of evidence was now diſcovered, which kindled anew the flame of hatred. One Miles Prance, a profeſſed Roman catholic, had been accuſed by Bedloe of being an accomplice in Godfrey's murder; and upon his denial, had been thrown into priſon, loaded with irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of naſtineſs. There the poor wretch lay, groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shafteſbury, and threatened with ſeverer puniſhment in caſe of obſtinacy, he demanded if his confeſſion would procure his pardon. Being anſwered in the affirmative, he had no longer courage to reſiſt, but confeſſed himſelf an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He ſoon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the ſame rigours being employed againſt him, he was induced once more to confirm his firſt information. The murder, he ſaid, was committed in Somerſet-houſe, by the contrivance of Gerrard and Kelly, two Iriſh prieſts. That Lawrence Hill, footman to the queen's treaſurer, Robert Green, cuſhion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter to the palace, followed ſir Edmunſbury at a diſtance, from ten in the morning until ſeven in the evening; but that paſſing by Somerſet-houſe, Green throwing around his neck a twiſted handkerchief, he was ſoon ſtrangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerſet-houſe; whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was ſeen by Bedloe. Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence. Though Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcilable, and were alſo invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain; the priſoners were condemned and executed. They all denied guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a Proteſtant, the circumſtance was regarded as very conſiderable.

This horrible perſecution continued ſome time; Whitebread, provincial of the Jeſuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the ſame order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne ſoon after. Beſide Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witneſs, appeared againſt the priſoners. This man ſpread the alarm ſtill farther, and even aſſerted, that two hundred thouſand Papiſts in England were ready to take arms. The priſoners proved, by ſixteen witneſſes from St. Omer's, that Oates was in that ſeminary at the time he ſwore he was in London. But as they were Papiſts, their teſtimony would not be allowed any credit. All pleas in their favour availed them nothing. The Jeſuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, denying with their lateſt breath the crimes for which they ſuffered. The informers were leſs ſucceſsful on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, who, though they ſwore with their uſual animoſity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing ſo far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the laſt man that fell a ſacrifice to theſe bloody wretches. The witneſſes produced againſt him were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates ſwore that he ſaw Fenwick, the Jeſuit, deliver Stafford a commiſſion from the general of the Jeſuits, conſtituting him paymaſter of the papal army. Dugdale gave teſtimony that the priſoner had endeavoured to engage him in the deſign of murdering the king. Turberville affirmed, that the priſoner, in his own houſe at Paris, had made him the ſame propoſal. The clamour and outrage of the populace againſt the priſoner were very great: he was found guilty by the peers, and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the ſentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his perſecutors could not forbear ſhedding tears at the ſerene fortitude diſplayed by this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were impriſoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted ſome time after, when the people began to recover from their infatuation.

The parliament was now agitated by an-

other circumſtance. Montague, the king's embaſſador at Paris, had procured a ſeat in the lower houſe; and without obtaining or aſking the king's leave, he ſuddenly came over to England. Charles ſuſpecting his intention, ordered his papers to be ſeized; but Montague, who foreſaw this meaſure, had taken care to ſecret one paper, which he immediately laid before the houſe of commons. It was a letter from the treaſurer Danby, written in the beginning of the year, during the negociations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Montague was there directed to ſell the king's good offices to the king of France for a certain ſum of money; contrary to the general intereſts of the confederates, and even thoſe of his own kingdoms. This letter, among other particulars, contained theſe words: "In caſe the conditions of peace ſhall be accepted, the king expects to have ſix millions of livres a-year for three years, from the time that this agreement ſhall be ſigned between his majeſty and the king of France; becauſe it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in humour to give him any ſupplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambaſſador here has always agreed to that ſum; but not for ſo long a time." Danby was ſo unwilling to engage in this infamous treaty, that the king, to ſatisfy him, ſubjoined with his own hand theſe words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R."

The houſe was kindled into a violent flame by this intelligence; and immediately voting an impeachment of high treaſon againſt that miniſter, ſent up ſix articles to the houſe of peers: theſe were, that he had traitorouſly engroſſed to himſelf regal power, by giving inſtructions to his majeſty's ambaſſadors, without the participation of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or the privy-council: that he had endeavoured to ſubvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power; and to that end, had levied and continued an army, contrary to act of parliament: that he had endeavoured to alienate the affections of his majeſty's ſubjects, by negociating a diſadvantageous peace with France, and procuring money for that purpoſe: that he was popiſhly affected, and had concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papiſts againſt his majeſty's perſon and government: that he had waſted the king's treaſure; and had, by indirect means, obtained ſeveral exorbitant grants from the crown.

The earl of Danby was extremely embarraſſed by ſome of theſe articles, in regard to which he could not juſtify himſelf without accuſing the king, who had defired that he would not divulge his ſecret negociations; and aſſured the earl of a pardon if he would ſtand between him and the attacks of parliament. Danby conſented to conceal the king's name, and defend himſelf in the beſt manner he could. He recriminated upon Montague, as the perſon who had adviſed and ſet on foot thoſe private treaties; and to prove this aſſertion, ſent two of that miniſter's letters to the houſe of commons, which would not ſuffer them to be read. He obſerved in the houſe of lords, that the French miniſtry had always conſidered him as an enemy to the intereſt of their nation; that he had exerted uncommon diligence in tracing out the conſpiracy; and that he had waſted no treaſure, inaſmuch as there was none to waſte.

Admitting all the allegations in the impeachment to be true, there was not one that amounted to high treaſon; and therefore the lords refuſed to commit him to the tower. The commons inſiſted upon his being taken into cuſtody; and a conteſt enſued between the two houſes. Very probably, the commons might be ſenſible Danby held no great ſhare of guilt in any of the articles they had exhibited againſt him; but their intention was obviouſly to arraign the conduct of the king through the perſon of his miniſter, and perhaps, afterwards to attack the king himſelf. Charles began to apprehend ſome diſagreeable conſequences from the determined ſpirit of the lower houſe, he therefore prorogued the parliament on the thirtieth of December, and ſoon after diſſolved it by proclamation.

Thus came to a period a parliament, which had continued from the ſecond year of the king's reign. Its concluſion was very different

ent

ent from its commencement. Being elected during the festivity which attended the restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royalists, who were pensioned by the crown; and which, in return, they supported with the greatest liberality. But as the seats became vacant, they were supplied with men who had more regard for the interest of their country; and the former complaisance and confidence of parliament were changed into dissatisfaction and distrust.

In Scotland an attempt had been made to assassinate Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, and some years after, one Mitchel being apprehended on suspicion, Sharpe promised him he should be dismissed without punishment if he would confess his guilt. Mitchel was so credulous as to believe him, and was immediately produced before the council by the faithless primate. The council had no proof against him, but hoping to involve the whole body of the covenanters in this odious crime, solemnly renewed the promise of a pardon if he would make a full discovery; and it was a great disappointment to them, when they found upon his confession, that only one person, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his design. He was then carried before a court of judicature, where he refused to renew his confession. He was again examined by the council, and put to the torture, which he endured without shrinking, and was confined in irons, till 1677, when he was brought to trial for an attempt to assassinate an arch-bishop and privy counsellor. His former confession was pleaded against him, and attested by Lauderdale, and the primate. Mitchel in vain asserted that he had been engaged to make that confession by a solemn promise of pardon. The privy counsellors denied upon oath, that any such promise had been made; and refused his request, to produce their books in court, but they were not aware that the promise of pardon was recorded in the narrative of Mitchel's examination, the whole minutes signed by the chancellor, and the proofs of their perjury committed to record. Lauderdale was inclined to pardon; but the primate insisted upon execution; and the unhappy victim suffered at Edinburgh.

The rigour exercised against conventicles, had only increased the zeal of those who frequented them; and in the western counties where they most abounded, Lauderdale and the privy council let loose the highlanders, who, trained up in rapine and violence, marked their footsteps with blood and devastation. To prevent the cry of an oppressed people from reaching the throne, the council forbad, under severe penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom. Notwithstanding Cassils, Hamilton, and Tweedale, came to London, and laid their complaints before the king. Charles gave orders for stopping in some measure these violent proceedings; but made use of an expression which is a disgrace to any king, "Though Lauderdale appeared to have been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland, I cannot find that he has acted in any instance against my interest."

An incident soon after occurred which rouzed the Scottish covenanters from their inactivity. A company of them had way-laid, with an intention to kill, Carmichael, an officer of the archbishop's, who had rendered himself obnoxious by his severity. While they were waiting for their prey, the archbishop passed by in his coach. This was interpreted as a declaration of the secret purpose of providence, who had delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they dragged him from his coach; having pierced him with many wounds, they left him dead and immediately dispersed themselves. Thus fell Dr. Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had betrayed the liberties of his country, and became infamous by his perfidy, cruelty and violence. Had he received his death from the hands of the common executioner, we should have said, that he met the fate he deserved.

A more violent persecution was now commenced against the covenanters; and inflamed by oppression they met to celebrate their worship

ſhip with arms in their hands. At one of their conventicles, they repulſed the attack of captain Graham, afterwards viſcount Dundee. The covenanters finding themſelves perpetually harraſſed, were reſolved to perſevere, and ſeek for that relief from their valour and fortune alone, which the ſeverity of government, left them no other means to obtain. Though at firſt repulſed, they made themſelves maſters of Glaſgow; diſpoſſeſſed the eſtabliſhed clergy, and iſſued proclamations, in which they declared, that they fought againſt the king's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, againſt popery and prelacy, and againſt a popiſh ſucceſſor.

The king apprehenſive of the conſequences of this inſurrection, ſent Monmouth with a body of cavalry into Scotland; theſe were joined by ſome Scottiſh regiments, and marched againſt the inſurgents, who had taken poſt between Hamilton and Glaſgow. Their numbers never exceeded eight thouſand, and they were without officers, experience, or judgment. They were eaſily routed: about ſeven hundred fell in the purſuit, and twelve hundred were made priſoners; many of whom were executed, and others tranſported. An act of indemnity was ſoon after paſſed. But Lauderdale, who had governed Scotland as High commiſſioner for twelve years, during which time he had exerciſed the greateſt tyranny, took care that the act ſhould be ſo worded, as rather to afford protection to himſelf and his aſſociates, than to the unhappy covenanters.

A. D. 1679.) Writs were iſſued for aſſembling a new parliament in March, and Charles exerted his utmoſt endeavours to influence the elections, but his efforts were ineffectual. The encouragement he had given to Roman catholics, and the arbitrary and impolitic meaſures he had purſued, raiſed the ſpirit of diſtruſt and diſſatisfaction with his government among the people univerſally; and almoſt all the active men in the kingdom were enemies to the court. In conſequence of which only ſuch men were returned as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to popery, and the extenſion of regal power. From ſuch a parliament, Charles had no reaſon to expect more complaiſance than the laſt. To avert the ſtorm, and ingratiate himſelf with the people, his firſt ſtep was to prevail on the duke of York to withdraw beyond ſea, that no farther ſuſpicion might remain of the influence of popiſh counſels. The duke readily complied; but firſt required an order for that purpoſe, ſigned by the king; leſt his abſenting himſelf ſhould be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He alſo deſired that the king ſhould ſatisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth; and this requeſt being granted, he retired with his ducheſs, and daughter Anne, to Bruſſels.

Charles, in his ſpeech to the new parliament, mentioned the pains he had taken in puniſhing the conſpirators, and the murderers of Godfrey. He made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded ſupplies, as well for diſbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. The commons having choſen Edward Seymour for their ſpeaker, the king rejected their choice, and deſired that they might appoint Sir Thomas Meres. An obſtinate diſpute enſued. The commons maintained, that the king's approbation of their ſpeaker was merely a matter of form; and that he could not, without giving a reaſon, reject the ſpeaker choſen. The king, on the other hand, inſiſted, that ſince he had the power of rejecting, he might if he pleaſed, keep the reaſon in his own breaſt. At laſt, by way of compromiſe, it was agreed to ſet aſide both candidates; and Gregory, a lawyer, being choſen, the election was ratified by the king. The houſe next proceeded to appoint a committee for preparing evidence againſt the lords who were in the Tower, and for receiving farther information with regard to the conſpiracy, and the murder of Godfrey; and they then began to prepare new articles of impeachment againſt the earl of Danby. But the king had before hand had the precaution to grant him a pardon; and, in order to ſcreen the chancellor from all attacks by the commons, he had taken the great ſeal into his own hands, and had himſelf affixed it to the parchment. He told

told the parliament, that as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was in no respect criminal; that his pardon, however, he would insist upon; and if it should be found any wise defective in form, he would renew it again and again, until it should be rendered entirely complete: but that he was resolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court. The commons were far from being satisfied with this concession; and pretended that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by them. They, therefore, still insisted on the impeachment of Danby. The peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby, after absconding for a little time, surrendered himself, and was immediately committed to the Tower, where he remained till 1683.

The king was now reduced to great perplexity. He saw his authority already disregarded, and ran the risque of being disgraced by the discoveries of Danby. In this emergency he consulted Sir William Temple, who advised him to weaken the opposition, by admitting the chiefs of it into his council. The king assented to this expedient. The earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, was created treasurer in the room of Danby: the earl of Sunderland, a man of capacity, was made secretary of state: lord Halifax, celebrated for his genius, learning and eloquence, was likewise admitted into the council; and these three, with Sir William Temple, were first consulted in all affairs of importance. Shaftesbury was declared president of the council, contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the consequence of admitting him into any part of the administration. The event confirmed the justness of this opinion; for Shaftesbury, finding that he possessed no share in the king's confidence, still adhered to the popular party, over which he retained all his former influence. The commons soon proceeded so far as to vote unanimously, "that the duke of York's being a papist, and the hopes of his coming to the crown, had given the highest countenance to the present conspiracies and designs of the papists against the king and the protestant religion." It was expected, that a bill for excluding him the throne would soon be brought in. To prevent this measure, the king concerted some limitations, which he offered to the parliament. It was proposed, that on every new reign, the king should not, for a certain time, have it in his power to dissolve the parliament: that in case of a popish successor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any ecclesiastical preferments: that no member of the privy-council, no judge of the common law, or in chancery, was to be put in or displaced but by consent of parliament: and the same precaution was extended to the military part of government, to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties, and to all officers of the navy.

But the commons knew too well the faithless disposition of the king and his brother, to trust either of them; and therefore proceeded to the exercise of a right, which never can be separated from the people or their representatives. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared, that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's demise or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; that all acts of royalty, which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he so much as entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title, should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied banishment as well as exclusion, had a majority of seventy-nine on the second reading, and would have passed the lower house, if the parliament had not been prorogued a few days after.

The next step of the commons was to set on foot a severe enquiry against those members who received pensions from court, and eighteen were discovered. The standing army and the guards were voted illegal; and they brought in the bill of habeas corpus, which was passed into an act before the end of the

ſeſſion. This act is too important to paſs over with the inattention uſual in works of this kind; but as it is drawn up in the technical ſtyle, it would not be very intelligible to an ordinary reader, and occupy too much room to be inſerted at length; we have, therefore, ſelected the following abſtract from Blackſtone's Commentaries:

"The ſtatute itſelf enacts, 1. That on complaint and requeſt in writing by or on behalf of any perſon committed and charged with any *crime* (unleſs committed for treaſon or felony expreſſed in the warrant; or as acceſſary, or on ſuſpicion of being acceſſary, before the fact, to any petit-treaſon or felony; or upon ſuſpicion of ſuch petit-treaſon or felony, plainly expreſſed in the warrant; or unleſs he is convicted or charged in execution by legal proceſs) the lord chancellor or any of the twelve judges, in vacation, upon viewing a copy of the warrant, or affidavit that a copy is denied, ſhall (unleſs the party has neglected for two terms to apply to any court for his enlargement) award a *habeas corpus* for ſuch priſoner, returnable immediately before himſelf or any other of the judges; and upon the return made ſhall diſcharge the party, if bailable, upon giving ſecurity to appear and anſwer to the accuſation in the proper court of judicature. 2. That ſuch writs ſhall be indorſed, as granted in purſuance of this act, and ſigned by the perſon awarding them. 3. That the writ ſhall be returned and the priſoner brought up, within a limitted time according to the diſtance, not exceeding in any caſe twenty days. 4. That officers and keepers neglecting to make due returns, or not delivering to the priſoner or his agent within ſix hours after demand a copy of the warrant of commitment, or ſhifting the cuſtody of a priſoner from one to another, without ſufficient reaſon or authority, (ſpecified in the act,) ſhall for the firſt offence forfeit 100*l.* and for the ſecond offence 200*l*, to the party grieved, and be diſabled to hold his office. 5. That no perſon, once delivered by *habeas corpus*, ſhall be recommitted for the ſame offence, on penalty of 500*l.* 6. That every perſon committed for treaſon or felony ſhall, if he requires it the firſt week of the next term, or the firſt day of the next ſeſſion of *oyer* and *terminer*, be indicted in that term or ſeſſion, or elſe admitted to bail; unleſs the king's witneſſes cannot be produced at that time: and if acquitted, or if not indicted and tried in the ſecond term or ſeſſion, he ſhall be diſcharged from his impriſonment for ſuch imputed offence: but that no perſon, after the aſſizes ſhall be open for the county in which he is detained, ſhall be removed by *habeas corpus*, till after the aſſizes are ended; but ſhall be left to the juſtice of the judges of aſſize. 7. That any ſuch priſoner may move for and obtain his *habeas corpus*, as well out of the chancery or exchequer, as out of the king's bench or common pleas; and the lord chancellor or judges denying the ſame, on ſight of the warrant or oath that the ſame is refuſed, forfeit ſeverally to the party grieved, the ſum of 500*l.* 8. That this writ of *habeas corpus* ſhall run into the counties palatine, cinque ports, and other privileged places, and the iſlands of Jerſey, and Guernſey. 9. That no inhabitant of England (except perſons contracting, or convicts praying, to be tranſported; or having committed ſome capital offence in the place to which they are ſent) ſhall be ſent priſoner to Scotland, Ireland, Jerſey, Guernſey, or any places beyond the ſeas, within or without the king's dominions: on pain that the party committing, his adviſers, aiders, and aſſiſtants, ſhall forfeit to the party grieved a ſum not leſs than 500*l.* to be recovered with treble coſts; ſhall be diſabled to bear any office of truſt or profit; ſhall incur the penalties of *praemunire*; and ſhall be incapable of the king's pardon."

The juſt and benevolent intentions of this act are frequently defeated, particularly in crown caſes, by the judges demanding exorbitant bail, notwithſtanding it has been declared by a ſubſequent act, 1 W. and M. ſt. 2. c. 2. that exceſſive bail ought not to be required.

During theſe ſtruggles between the king and parliament, for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, his extravagance had involved him in debt, and made him anticipate the ſtated revenues; while their want of confidence prevented

vented them from granting any new ſupplies till they were ſure of their proper application, and the grievances of the nation were redreſſed. Charles, finding the commons ſhewed no indication of a deſign to comply with his demand, had, for ſome time, entertained thoughts of proroguing the parliament; but now his reſolution was quickened by a hint that the commons intended to draw up a remonſtrance upon the grievances of the nation, ſimilar to that which was preſented to his father before the commencement of the civil war. He therefore repaired to the houſe of peers on the 27th of May, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the parliament to the 14th day of Auguſt. It was ſoon after diſſolved without advice of council; and writs were iſſued for a new parliament.

In the latter end of Auguſt, the king was taken ill of an intermitting-fever at Windſor. This being thought dangerous by the phyſicians, Charles, with the privity of Eſſex, Sunderland, and Halifax, ſent a courier for the duke of York, who returned privately to England; but before he reached Windſor, the king was recovered. The duke of Monmouth had reſigned himſelf to the management of Shafteſbury, and ſeemed to aſpire to the ſucceſſion of the crown. He was highly favoured by the king, and idolized by the people. But the duke of York refuſed to return to the continent, until Monmouth was deprived of his commiſſion, and ordered to quit the kingdom. This great point being gained, the duke of York retired again to Bruſſels; but he ſoon obtained leave to reſide in Scotland, that he might be at hand, in caſe of his brother's deceaſe. During his ſtay in that country he made himſelf more enemies than friends.

The new elections had gone entirely in favour of the country party; the king, therefore reſolved to prorogue the parliament; but not expecting the concurrence of the council in this meaſure, he only declared to his miniſters the reſolution which he had formed. Many of them in diſguſt threw up about this time; particularly lord Ruſſel, a man extremely popular, not only from the mildneſs and integrity of his character, but from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Shafteſbury was removed from the office of preſident of the council; and the earl of Radnor ſubſtituted in his place. Eſſex reſigned the office of treaſurer, and was ſucceeded by Lawrence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, became the king's chief counſellors.

About the latter end of October, the public tranquillity was again interrupted by the diſcovery of another plot. There was one Dangerfield, a man who had been burned in the hand for crimes, tranſported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted for coining, and expoſed to all the infamy which the laws could inflict on the baſeſt enormities. Under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the preſbyterians, ſome catholics of condition releaſed him from Newgate, where he was confined for debt, and ſet him to work. He pretended to have been privy to a deſign for deſtroying the king and the royal family, and converting the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the tale, and rewarded him with a ſum of money. Having concealed ſome ſeditious papers in the houſe of colonel Manſell, he conducted ſome officers of the cuſtoms to the premiſes, where he pretended they would find ſome ſmuggled goods. In the courſe of their ſearch, the papers he had treacherouſly concealed were found. When theſe were examined by the council, it was concluded that they were forged by Dangerfield, who was put under arreſt. All his haunts were ordered to be ſearched; and in the houſe of Mrs. Collier, a Roman catholic, and an intimate of his, was found the plan of the pretended plot, fairly written, and concealed in a meal tub; from whence it derived the name of the Meal-tub-plot. Finding he was detected, he made full confeſſion of the impoſture, which he ſaid had been contrived by the counteſs of Powis, lord Caſtlemain, and the five popiſh lords in the Tower; and that he was to have accuſed Monmouth, Buckingham, Eſſex, Halliſax, and others, with being concerned in a conſpiracy

ſpiracy againſt the king and the duke of York. The people did not ſpare to accuſe the king with being the promoter of this deſign againſt the lives and honour of theſe perſons, who were obnoxious to him, and to throw an odium on the preſbyterians.

A. D. 1680] The nation grew impatient at the long prorogation of parliament, and great endeavours were uſed to prevail on the king to aſſemble it. Seventeen peers preſented a petition to this purpoſe; and many of the corporations imitated the example. Notwithſtanding ſeveral marks of diſpleaſure, and even a menacing proclamation from the king, petitions came from all parts, earneſtly inſiſting on a ſeſſion of parliament. As Charles found no law by which he could puniſh thoſe importunate, and, as he deemed them undutiful ſolicitations, he was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addreſſes were framed, containing expreſſions of the higheſt regard to his majeſty, the moſt entire acquieſcence in his wiſdom, the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſion to his prerogative, and the deepeſt abhorrence of thoſe who endeavoured to encroach upon it by preſcribing to him any time for aſſembling the parliament. Thus the nation became diſtinguiſhed into Petitioners and Abhorrers. Beſides theſe appellations, which were ſoon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of Whig and Tory. The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs. The country-party on the other hand, compared the courtiers to the Iriſh banditti, called Tories.

The duke of Monmouth returned from his exile without the king's permiſſion, upon which occaſion the joy of the people was unſpeakable, they conſidered him as the only perſon who could deliver them from popery and ſlavery. Shafteſbury had eſpouſed his intereſt againſt the duke of York, whom the king recalled from Scotland in February that he might be near his perſon. Monmouth was a natural ſon of the king's by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the reſtoration. His manners were affable and generous. He courted the affections of the people, and they as ardently wiſhed him to ſucceed to the throne. To forward this deſign, a report was circulated that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Walters, and that the marriage contract was in a box, entruſted to the care of Sir Gilbert Gerard. The king, in a council aſſembled for the purpoſe, declared that this rumour was falſe; Gerard was examined, and he declared upon oath, that he never had any ſuch contract, nor never heard that any ſuch writing exiſted. The king afterwards publiſhed a declaration that he never was married, or contracted in marriage to Mrs. Walters, mother of the duke of Monmouth, nor to any other perſon but queen Catharine. Shortly after, Shafteſbury, Huntingdon, Ruſſel, Cavendiſh, and ſeveral other noblemen and gentlemen appeared at the bar of the King's Bench, Weſtminſter-hall, and preſented to the grand jury of Middleſex reaſons for indicting the duke of York as a popiſh recuſant. While the jury were deliberating on this preſentment, the chief juſtice ſent for them, when he ſuddenly and irregularly diſmiſſed them.

Charles was ſenſible that the majority of the new houſe of commons were in the oppoſite intereſt, he therefore uſed every art to encourage his partizans; and having aſſured his brother that he would never abandon his intereſt, he ſent him back to Scotland, previous to the meeting of Parliament, which was aſſembled in October. The king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpecious harangue, in which he declared himſelf ready to concur with them in all reaſonable expedients for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, provided the ſucceſſion was preſerved in its legal courſe; demanded a ſupply for the ſupport of Tangiers, and recommended unanimity between them and him. But the commons knew him too well to make any dependance upon his promiſes; they cenſured the court for the notorious miſapplication of the generous ſupplies that had been granted by parliament; they expoſed that prodigality which kept the king

for

for ever a beggar, while his people were continually giving with unbounded liberality; they expelled Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, and firſt judge of Cheſter, and Sir Francis Withers, for ſigning the petition of the abhorrers; they alſo preſented a petition to the king, praying him to remove Sir George from all public employments. The votes which had paſſed in the laſt parliament againſt the duke of York, were renewed, and a bill was brought in "To diſable James, duke of York and Albany, from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm." The chief ſpeakers in favour of the bill, were Sir William Jones, who had now reſigned his office of attorney-general, lord Ruſſel, Sir Francis Winningon, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate, Sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, Hyde, Seymour, and Temple.

The debates were carried on with great violence on both ſides. The excluſioniſts aſſerted, that the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the conſtitution: that the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown had been often ſet aſide; and that ſuch an expedient was never ſo neceſſary as at the preſent juncture, when the duke's bigotry to the church of Rome, his connections with catholic princes, and his own arbitrary diſpoſition, threatened the nation with the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, and even the extinction of their liberties. Thoſe who oppoſed the bill maintained, that the right of ſucceſſion was deemed a fundamental principle in all European monarchies; and had never been ſet aſide but by ſucceſsful uſurpation or abſolute tyranny; that it never could be altered without expoſing the kingdom to the moſt violent convulſions, unleſs the whole nation concurred in approving the change: that a legiſlature which deviates from a fundamental rule of the conſtitution, ſubverts the very principle from which it derives its own authority: and that, though individuals acquieſce in common laws enacted by a majority in parliament, it was far from being probable that they would ſhow the ſame compliance, ſhould the lineal ſucceſſion be altered. Laſtly, they obſerved, that the king was determined to riſque every thing rather than ſacrifice the right of ſucceſſion: and therefore it would be prudent to conſider the conſequences of driving him to extremity. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the bill was carried in the houſe of commons by a great majority. But in the houſe of peers the king expected to oppoſe it with ſucceſs; where, beſide the prevalence of the court party, he was there during the debate, to influence by his preſence their deliberations. The bill was defended by Shafteſbury, Eſſex, and Sunderland. The debate againſt it was chiefly conducted by Halifax. At length the bill was thrown out by a conſiderable majority. All the biſhops, except three, voted againſt it.

The commons were much exaſperated at this diſappointment; and immediately voted an addreſs for the removal of Halifax from the king's councils and preſence for ever, on the ground of his having adviſed the late prorogation of parliament. They iſſued writs for apprehending ſeveral gentlemen who had been foremen of grand juries, that ſent up *abhorring addreſſes*; and impeached the lord chief juſtice, North, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, for having aſſiſted in the ſame. They voted, that until the excluſion bill was paſſed, they could not, conſiſtently with the truſt repoſed in them, grant the king any ſupply; and to prevent his having recourſe to other methods of obtaining money, they voted, that whoever ſhould hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon any branches of the king's revenue, ſhould be reſponſible to parliament for ſuch conduct. They drew up a remonſtrance, in eighteen articles, repreſenting the danger to which the nation was expoſed, from the favour ſhown to papiſts, and inſinuating that the king was engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of his people.

A. D. 1681.] The king, therefore, finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the commons, formed the reſolution of once more diſſolving the parliament. The commons having got intelli-

intelligence of his design, about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to the door, when they immediately passed the following votes: That whoever advised his majesty to prorogue the parliament, to any other purpose than in order to pass the bill for the exclusion of the duke of York, is a betrayer of the king, the protestant religion, and the kingdom; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France. That it is the opinion of the house, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. They had just passed these votes, when they were summoned to attend the king in the house of peers, where he gave his assent to some bills, and prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of January. He soon after dissolved them. A bill had been passed in both houses, for repealing the persecuting statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, against protestant dissenters, but the king ordered the clerk privately to withdraw it, by which artifice this salutary act was for the present eluded.

The parliament being thus dissolved, it was considered as doubtful, whether the king would ever call another; but the desire he had of being supplied with money, surmounted the fears which he might entertain of exposing himself again to their resentment. As it was supposed that the neighbourhood of London was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be stedfast in the king's interests, he resolved not only to punish the Londoners, by shewing his suspicions of their loyalty, but to reward the inhabitants of Oxford, by convoking the new parliament at that city. Against this, Monmouth, and fifteen peers protested, as the houses, they said, could not there be in safety from the papists and their adherents. The parliament was, however, ordered to assemble at Oxford; whither the members on both sides came armed and attended by their adherents, as if they expected an immediate rupture. The four London members were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were interwoven these words, "No popery! No slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of military congress, than of a civil assembly.

Most of the same members who had served in the last parliament were again returned. Charles affected to treat them with austerity; but regardless of his menaces, they pursued the same measures, and having chosen the same speaker, they ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. The bill of exclusion was more resolutely urged than ever. Instead of which, Ernely, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England; and that on the king's demise the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention of the house. Nothing less than a total exclusion could satisfy them.

Each party had for some time reviled and ridiculed the other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, became productive of an incident which merits notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the duchess of Portsmouth, the king's favourite mistress, who used to supply her with these occasional publications, employed one Everard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot, who happened to be a spy for the opposite party, imagining this a trick to entrap him, discovered the whole transaction to Sir William Waller, an eminent justice of the peace; and to convince him of the truth of the information, posted him, and two other persons, privately, where they might hear the conference between Fitzharris and him. The libel which they had composed, was replete with the utmost rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy

copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himſelf now delivered over to the law, he reſolved to pay court to the popular party, from whom he hoped to find protection. He affirmed that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the excluſioniſts. He introduced the duke of York as a principal accomplice in the popiſh plot, and as a contriver of the murder of Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey.

The commons voted an impeachment againſt Fitzharris, which they ſent up to the lords. The lords rejected the impeachment; the commons aſſerted their right; and a commotion was likely to enſue. The king availed himſelf of this pretext to cut ſhort a parliament which had thwarted all his meaſures, and to ſave his brother from any farther attacks. He concealed his intentions from his moſt intimate friends, and coming ſuddenly to the houſe on the twenty-eighth of March, the day the excluſion bill was to have been read a ſecond time, he diſſolved the parliament, with a fixed reſolution never to aſſemble another. He immediately ſet off for Windſor, whence he next day repaired to London, and there publiſhed a declaration, in which he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf for having diſſolved the two laſt parliaments.

Moſt writers have agreed to throw conſiderable odium on this and the former parliament, for their pertinaciouſly adhering to the excluſion of the duke of York, and oppoſing the arbitrary meaſures of the king, inſtead of doing honour to their memory; for their wiſdom, their foreſight, and their patriotiſm. But nothing can more ſtrongly juſtify their conduct than the ſubſequent events. When James ſucceeded to the throne, his arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures became inſufferable; and an injured and indignant people accompliſhed that which theſe parliaments ſo meritoriouſly tried in vain to effect. However iniquitous the conduct of a king and his miniſters may be, there are always ſome to be found who are baſe enough to ſupport them, becauſe they find an intereſt in ſo doing. Men who are actuated by no other principle but ſelf-love. Charles had no ſooner publiſhed his declaration than his partizans procured a number of addreſſes, filled with the warmeſt expreſſions of duty, inveighing againſt the preſumption of the commons, applauding the diſſolution of parliament, and extolling the king's conduct in the moſt abject ſtrain of adulation.

Charles having freed himſelf from the reſtraints of parliament, gave a looſe to his diſpoſition, he became arbitrary, and cruel. The firſt object of his reſentment was his own ſpy, Fitzharris. He was tried in the King's-bench, Weſtminſter-hall, condemned, and executed: as was alſo one Oliver Plunket, the popiſh titular primate of Ireland, for a conſpiracy with the French court. The whole gang of ſpies and informers were now received into his majeſty's ſervice; and Stephen College, a London joiner, was the next victim. He was a man of ſome abilities, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal againſt popery and arbitrary power, and was connected with Shafteſbury, and the other popular leaders. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with ſword and piſtol, where it is ſaid he ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the king and court. It was pretended, that a conſpiracy had been contrived to ſeize the king's perſon, and detain him in confinement, until he ſhould make certain conceſſions, which were to be demanded of him. College was indicted for high treaſon in London, but the grand jury rejected the bill. The court, however, were determined not to loſe the horrid ſatisfaction of murdering this man; he was therefore ſent to Oxford, where the treaſon was ſaid to have been committed. The moſt unfair means were employed to pack the jury, and they conſiſted entirely of royaliſts. The priſoner was accuſed by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had proſtituted their conſciences againſt the catholics; and though objections were made to the infamy of their characters, their evidence was admitted.

College defended himſelf with great courage and preſence of mind, and invalidated all their teſtimonies. The jury, however, after half an hour's deliberation, brought in a verdict againſt him; and the inhuman ſpectators teſtified

teſtified their ſatisfaction with a ſhout of applauſe. He bore his fate with unſhaken fortitude, and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

Titus Oates, the original informer, was the only perſon of that ſtamp whoſe ſervices were now rejected. He had done the buſineſs for which he was employed, and rather overdone it. He was, therefore, by an order of council, ignominiouſly expelled from Whitehall, and even forbid to come within a certain diſtance of that palace. But the king's reſentment was chiefly directed againſt Shafteſbury. No ſums were ſpared to ſeek for evidence, and even to ſuborn witneſſes againſt him. He was committed to priſon, and his indictment was preſented to the grand jury of London. Witneſſes were examined, who ſwore to ſuch incredible circumſtances, as muſt have invalidated their teſtimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers was found a draught of an aſſociation againſt popery and the duke of York; but it was not in the priſoner's hand-writing, nor could his adverſaries prove that he had ever communicated this ſcheme to any body, or ſignified his approbation of it. The grand jury, therefore, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, teſtified their joy by the loudeſt acclamations, which were echoed.

The king being now reſolved to humble the preſbyterians, the non-conformiſts were rigorouſly proſecuted, on the ſtatute enacted in the reign of queen Elizabeth. All magiſtrates, juſtices of the peace, and lieutenants of counties, ſuſpected of leaning towards republican principles, were diveſted of their employments, and their places filled with approved Tories. The clergy teſtified their devotion to the court, in their writings and ſermons; the pulpits reſounded with the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; and the king received a great number of addreſſes, profeſſing the utmoſt abhorrence of the principles avowed in the aſſociation which had been found among Shafteſbury's papers.

The duke of York, as high commiſſioner, had governed Scotland in a very arbitrary manner. He had touched the parliament with his opium wand, and it ſlept obedience. An act was paſſed, by which it was declared, "That the crown of Scotland by an inherent right, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always deſcended to the heir of blood, and that no law or conſideration could alter the ſucceſſion." Another act was alſo paſſed, impoſing upon perſons in office a teſt oath, acknowledging the king's ſupremacy, renouncing the covenant, and eſpouſing the doctrine of paſſive obedience. The earl of Argyle had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his youth for his loyalty, but he was not diſpoſed to go all lengths with the court, and when he took this oath, he ſubjoined "as far as is conſiſtent with itſelf, and the proteſtant religion." For this innocent expreſſion he was committed to priſon, and indicted for high treaſon, leaſing making, and perjury. Three judges out of five, found him guilty, and a jury of fifteen peers gave verdict againſt him. The king ordered his execution to be ſuſpended till farther notice; during which time he eſcaped from priſon, and fled to Holland. By this means he ſaved his life, but his title and eſtates were forfeited. The unfortunate covenanters, were proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, and many of them ſuffered death: till tired with the buſineſs of murder, and finding it ineffectual, the duke ſtopped the hands of the executioner, and they were only condemned to hard labour for a proportionate time, according to the degree of offence. The grievous ſufferings of the people made them reſolve to retire to ſome other country, where they might enjoy that liberty of conſcience, of which they were deprived in their own; and for that purpoſe they ſent agents to London to treat with the proprietor of Carolina. James, who knew their intention, prevailed on the epiſcopal clergy, to write to the archbiſhop of Canterbury in commendation of the *mildneſs* of his adminiſtration, and his care of the church; and theſe lying prieſts complied with his deſire. About the latter end of the year, the king ſent for his brother, and reſigned himſelf wholly to his counſels during the remainder of his reign.

A. D. 1682.

A. D. 1682.] Early in the year James made a voyage to Scotland, to ſettle his affairs, and bring his family to London. The ſhip in its paſſage ſtruck on a ſand bank, and was loſt. The duke ſaved himſelf and ſuch perſons as he named for admittance in the barge; and to his eternal infamy it is recorded, that while many perſons of diſtinction periſhed, and among them, Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to ſave ſome obſcure prieſts and his favourite dogs.

Though the king's authority made every day great advances, it ſtill met with conſiderable obſtacles from the city of London, which was entirely ſwayed by the malcontents; and the grand juries ſkreened from oppreſſion the preſbyterians of that capital. Sir John Moor, the mayor, had been gained over to the court intereſt; and he named for ſheriffs two perſons, whom he knew would be agreeable to the miniſtry. The citizens, taking the alarm, inſiſted upon an election by liveries, and Papillon and Dubois were elected by a great majority. The mayor, however, carried on a ſeparate poll, which he inſiſted was the legal one, and declared the election in favour of North and Rich, who were accordingly ſworn in ſheriffs for the enſuing year; but it was neceſſary to ſend a guard of the train-bands to protect them in entering upon their office. A new mayor of the court-party was ſoon after choſen, by means ſtill more violent and irregular. The king, having gained this advantage, had a proſpect of obtaining full revenge on his enemies; and it was not long before the effects of theſe alterations were ſeen. Juries were readily packed to his mind. When it was firſt known that the duke of York intended to leave Scotland, Alderman Pilkington, at that time ſheriff, is reported to have ſaid of him, "He has already burned the city; and now he is coming to cut all our throats." For this expreſſion, whether true or falſe, the duke ſued him, and he was caſt in damages to the amount of a hundred thouſand pounds, in direct violation of that excellent clauſe in Magna Charta, which ſays, "No one ſhall be amerced to his utter ruin." Sir Patience Ward, formerly mayor, who gave evidence for Pilkington, was ſued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory. The earl of Shafteſbury was ſo alarmed at the influence of the court, that in order to provide for his ſafety, he retired to Holland, where he died ſoon after.

A. D. 1683.] Charles, though at this time ſecure of the magiſtracy of London, foreſaw a ſtrong oppoſition at the next election, and that he would be every year expoſed to the ſame ſtruggles, not only in that city, but in all the corporations which were under preſbyterian government. He therefore, formed the project of erecting a deſpotic authority over all the corporations of England; and began with London, againſt which he iſſued a writ of "Quo warranto" to inquire into the validity of its charter, which he pretended the corporation had forfeited in two inſtances. They were charged with having impoſed a toll, in order to defray the rebuilding of their markets after the fire of London; and of having preſented to the king an addreſs, containing a ſcandalous reflection upon his majeſty and his adminiſtration. This addreſs was preſented in 1679, on the prorogation of parliament, and the action was founded on the following paſſage, "Your petitioners are greatly ſurprized at the late prorogation, whereby the proſecution of the public juſtice of the kingdom, and the making of neceſſary proviſions for the preſervation of your majeſty and your proteſtant ſubjects, have received interruption." The cauſe was tried in the court of King's bench, where the judges, who were entirely influenced by the miniſtry, declared, that the city of London had forfeited its privileges; and that its charter was at the king's diſpoſal. Though Treby and Pollexfen, who defended the corporation againſt the king's attorney and ſolicitor general, proved that it had a right by its charter to make bye laws. The judgment, however, was not recorded until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. This tranſaction threw the citizens of London into great conſternation. A common-council being aſſembled, the majority agreed to ſubmit to the king's pleaſure, before the ſentence ſhould be recorded. They accordingly preſented

ſented a petition to that effect; and the king offered to reſtore their charter on the following conditions: that no mayor, or other officer, ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe of his office without his majeſty's approbation; that if the king diſapprove twice of the mayor or ſheriffs elected, he may, by commiſſion, appoint theſe magiſtrates; that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majeſty's permiſſion, diſplace any magiſtrate; and that no alderman, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhall be elected without conſent of the court of aldermen, who, if they diſapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

Other corporations, ſeeing the fate of London, ſurrendered their charters into the hands of the king without much oppoſition; whence they were not retrieved but by the payment of conſiderable ſums of money. By this iniquitous means he plundered the nation, and ſubjected it to his will.

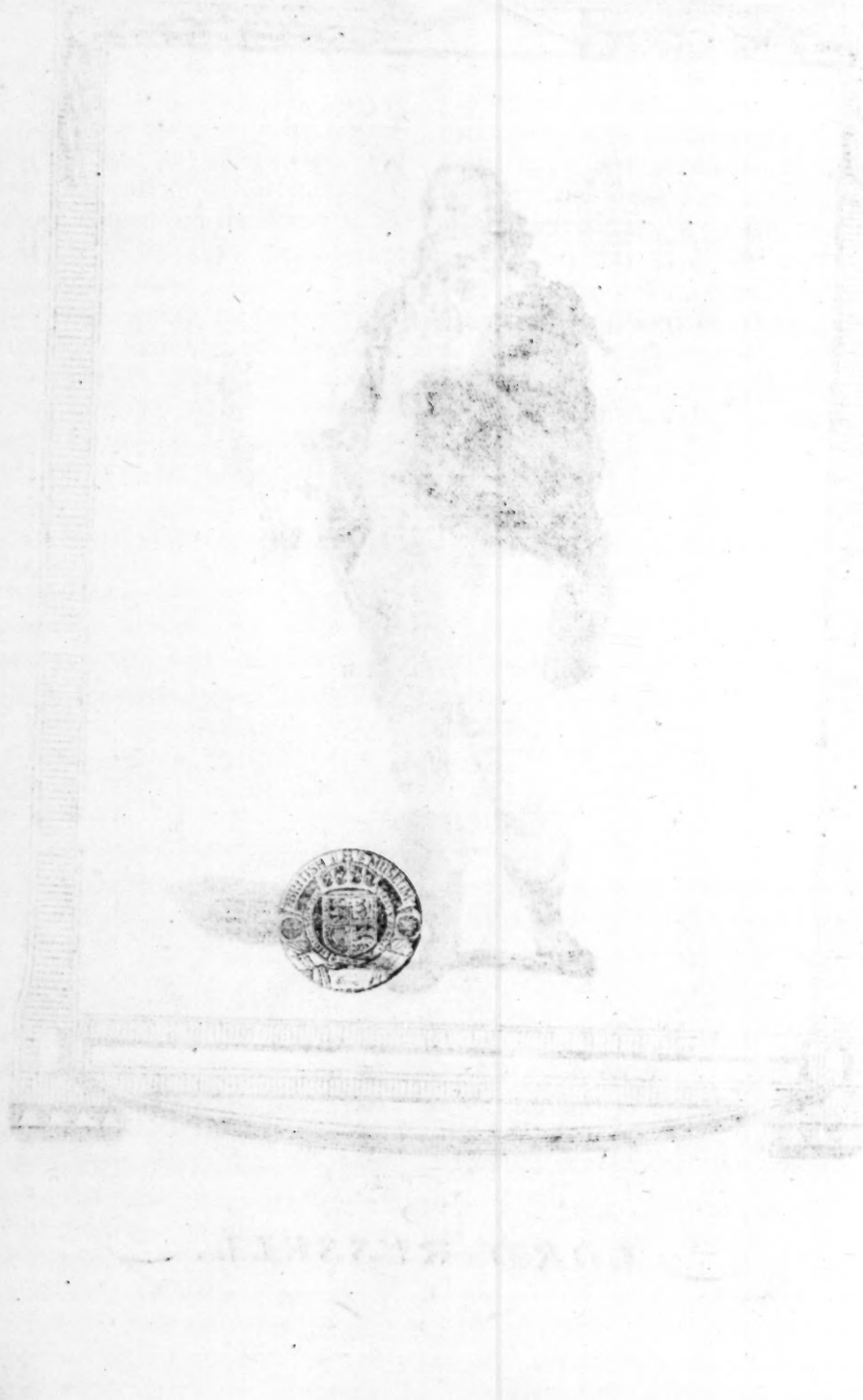
So arbitrary an adminiſtration, over a people who entertained high notions of liberty, could not fail of exciting diſcontents, and producing deſigns againſt government. The earl of Shafteſbury, before his departure for Holland, had engaged the duke of Monmouth, with the lords Ruſſel and Grey, to riſe in arms, and oppoſe the duke's ſucceſſion at the death of Charles. They afterwards aſſociated with them the earls of Eſſex and Saliſbury, eſtabliſhed correſpondences, and planned inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom. It was propoſed, that their friends ſhould riſe in arms in London, Briſtol, Devonſhire, and Cheſhire.

The chiefs of the conſpiracy were now the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Eſſex, the lords Ruſſel and Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandſon to the parliamentary leader who oppoſed the tax of ſhip-money. All theſe were determined to proſecute the ſcheme of inſurrection, but differed widely from one another in their motives. Monmouth aſpired to the crown; Ruſſel and Hampden propoſed to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, and redreſs the public grievances; Sidney was a profeſſed republican; Eſſex cheriſhed the ſame principles; and lord Howard was an abandoned nobleman, who ſought only to gratify his own intereſt and ambition. There was likewiſe a ſet of ſubordinate conſpirators, conſiſting of colonel Rumſey, and lieutenant-colonel Walcot, old republican officers; Goodenough, under-ſheriff of London; Furguſon, an independent miniſter; and ſeveral attorneys, merchants, and tradeſmen of London: but of theſe none had acceſs to the lords except Rumſey and Ferguſon. The inferior order at their meetings, propoſed to aſſaſſinate the king in his way to Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, poſſeſſed a farm, on the road thither, called the Rye-houſe, whence the conſpiracy was denominated "the Rye-houſe plot." They deliberated upon ſtopping the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, to ſeize the perſons of the king and his brother, and if that attempt ſhould fail, to ſhoot him from the hedges: but the whole was little more than looſe diſcourſe, the overflowings of their zeal and enmity. The houſe in which the king lived at Newmarket taking fire accidentally, he was obliged to quit that place eight days ſooner than he intended; and to this circumſtance his ſafety was afterwards aſcribed.

One of the conſpirators, whoſe name was Keiling, finding himſelf in danger of a proſecution, for being concerned in arreſting the mayor of London, at the ſuit of Papillon and Dubois, the two excluded ſheriffs, reſolved to earn his pardon by diſcovering this plot to the miniſtry. The conſpirators had got ſome hint of the danger in which they were involved; and all of them concealed themſelves. At length, colonel Rumſey, and Weſt, a lawyer, determined to ſave their own lives at the expenſe of their companions; and they ſurrendered themſelves with an intention of becoming evidence. Shephard, being apprehended, confeſſed all he knew; and warrants were iſſued againſt the chiefs of the conſpiracy. Monmouth abſconded, Grey eſcaped from the meſſenger by whom he had been arreſted, but Ruſſel was committed to the tower. Eſſex, Sidney, and Hampden, with many other conſpirators, were alſo ſecured.

LORD RUSSELL.

Published by W.D. Symonds May 12 1798.



cured. Walcot was firſt brought to trial, and condemned with Hone and Rouſe, two aſſociates in the conſpiracy, upon the evidence of Rumſey, Weſt, and Shephard. They were executed at Tyburn, and met their fate with compoſure and reſignation.

The next trial was that of Lord Ruſſel, a nobleman, eſteemed by the people for his virtue and amiable qualities, which extorted veneration even from his enemies. The witneſſes produced againſt him were, Rumſey, Shephard, and lord Howard. They, however accuſed him with great reluctance. Lord Howard depoſed, that Ruſſel was concerned in the deſign of creating an inſurrection; but all the witneſſes concurred in giving teſtimony, that he was in no manner engaged in, or privy to the plan concerted for deſtroying the king. Ruſſel had a ſpirit too high, to permit him to diſavow having been concerned in the conſpiracy: but the laws againſt treaſon were ſtrained to produce his conviction. After ſentence had been pronounced upon him, very powerful intereſt was made in his behalf. His ancient father, the earl of Bedford, offered the ducheſs of Portſmouth an hundred thouſand pounds, on condition of her procuring a pardon. Ruſſel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the feet of the king, and in the moſt pathetic manner, pleaded in behalf of her huſband, urging the merits of her father in behalf of her condemned conſort. But Charles dreaded the popularity Ruſſel had acquired, and the independent principles he entertained. Remembering that he oppoſed him vigorouſly in the late parliament, he was now inexorable. Accordingly ſentence was pronounced againſt Ruſſel; he was to ſuffer on the gallows; but the king commanded that he ſhould be beheaded, ſaying, "My lord Ruſſel ſhall find that I am poſſeſſed of that prerogative which he thought fit to deny me in the caſe of lord Stafford." Lord Cavendiſh, who had long lived in terms of the moſt intimate friendſhip with Ruſſel, propoſed to favour his eſcape, by changing apparel with him, and ſubmitting to all the conſequences of remaining in priſon in his room; and the duke of Monmouth ſent him a meſſage, declaring, that he would willingly ſurrender himſelf, if there was the leaſt reaſon to imagine that meaſure would operate towards ſaving his life. Theſe generous propoſals Ruſſel nobly declined, obſerving with the fortitude that peculiarly marked his character, that he foreſaw, and was fully prepared to meet his fate. At his laſt interview with his lady, ſo careful was ſhe not to interrupt the tranquillity he maintained, that ſhe reſolutely contended with the keen anguiſh that wrung her heart, and ſo far ſucceeded, as not to ſhed a tear. Having parted with his lady, he exclaimed, "Now the bitterneſs of death is paſſed; and from that moment he betrayed no ſymptom of diſcompoſure. Immediately before being conducted to the place of execution, he wound up his watch, ſaying, "I have now done with time, and muſt henceforth think only of eternity." In order to render the triumph of the court more conſpicuous, he was conveyed through the city, and the ſcaffold erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. He was brought from the Tower to the place of execution in a coach, attended by Tillotſon and Burnet, with whom he joined in fervent prayer. As he paſſed through the ſtreets, the populace lamented the fate of a man, for whoſe virtues they entertained the higheſt veneration. Having aſcended the ſcaffold, he preſented to the ſheriffs a paper, expreſſive of his abhorrence of popery, and aſſerting, that he was entirely innocent of any deſign againſt the life of the king. Having fervently prayed, that the Almighty would preſerve his majeſty and the proteſtant religion, he ſubmitted to the executioner with unſhaken fortitude.

Algernon Sidney, ſon of the Earl of Leiceſter, was next brought to trial. The only witneſs againſt him was the infamous Howard; but as the law required two, a very extraordinary expedient was employed to procure another. In ranſacking the priſoner's cloſet, ſome manuſcript diſcourſes on government were found. Theſe were produced in court, and affirmed to be as ſubſtantial evidence as living witneſſes. Theſe papers contained principles favourable to liberty, and ſuch as the beſt men in all ages have been known to embrace;

brace; the origin of the ſocial contract, the ſource of power derived from the conſent of the people, the lawfulneſs of reſiſting tyrants, and the preference of liberty to the government of a ſingle perſon. Lord Ruſſel's fate was determined in two days, but Sidney's trial was prolonged three weeks. Sidney proved by the teſtimony of the earls of Angleſea, and Clare, Mr. Phillip, Dr. Burnet, and others, that Howard had confeſſed, "That he could not get his pardon till he had done ſome other jobs, and gone through all the drudgery of ſwearing:" but no notice was taken of this. With reſpect to the papers, he obſerved, that there was no evidence of their having been written by him beſides a ſimilitude of hand, a proof which was never admitted in criminal proſecutions; that allowing him to be the author, he had never communicated them to a ſingle perſon; neither did they contain any thing criminal. That where the law poſitively requires two witneſſes, one witneſs, ſupported by the moſt convincing circumſtances, could never ſuffice, much leſs with a circumſtance ſo weak and ſo precarious. Theſe arguments, though urged with great ability, were all over-ruled by the violent and inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief juſtice; and by his direction, a partial jury readily gave a verdict againſt Sidney. While he was upon his trial, Withers, one of the judges, gave him the lie; this he diſregarded as a perſonal affront. But Jefferies having interrupted him as he was urging a plea, he conſidered that as a public injury, and cried out, "Then I appeal to God and the world, I am not heard;" and refuſed to defend himſelf any longer. When ſentence was pronounced, he made this pathetic exclamation: "Then, O God! O God! I beſeech thee, ſanctify theſe ſufferings to me, and impute not my blood to my country, nor to this city, through which I am to be carried to my death. Let no inquiſition be made for it; but if any ſhall be made, and the ſhedding of innocent blood muſt be revenged, let the weight of it fall on thoſe who maliciouſly perſecute me for righteouſneſs ſake." Jefferies ſtarting from his ſeat, exclaimed, that the priſoner's reaſon was affected; but Sidney, calmly ſtretching out his arm, deſired him to feel if his pulſe did not beat at its ordinary rate. Though Sidney complained, and with reaſon, of the iniquity of his ſentence, he had too much greatneſs of mind to deny his connections with Monmouth and Ruſſel. On the contrary, he gloried in his ſufferings for the *good old cauſe*, in which, from his early youth he had been enliſted. His ſentence being changed from hanging to decapitation, he walked with a firm ſtep to the place of execution. He aſked no friend to attend him; and only borrowed two of his brother's footmen, who walked behind him. When he had aſcended the ſcaffold, being aſked if he had any thing to ſay to the people, he replied, "I have made my peace with God, and have nothing to ſay to man." After a ſhort pauſe, he added, "I am ready to die, and will give you no farther trouble." Theſe were the laſt words he uttered in public; but he left his laſt thoughts behind him in writing with his friends, wherein were laid down thoſe great and generous principles of political ſociety, which were afterwards made the foundation of the revolution. Great pains were taken to ſuppreſs them.

The odium which government had brought upon itſelf by the proſecution of that great man, Algernon Sidney, was probably the means of ſaving Hampden's life. Howard was the only evidence brought againſt him. He was indicted for a miſdemeanor, and caſt in a fine of forty thouſand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Briſtol, one of the conſpirators, had fled to the Weſt Indies, and was now brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armſtrong alſo, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and executed without trial. Lord Eſſex, who had been impriſoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of ſuicide, or had been aſſaſſinated, it is impoſſible now to determine.

A. D. 1684.] This was the laſt blood that was ſhed for an imputation of plots and conſpiracies, which agitated the nation during the greater part of this reign; but other modes of vengeance were carried into execution, by the gloomy

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

Published by H.D. Symonds. March 28 1798.

gloomy ſuſpicion of the duke of York, who, ſince the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, daily came into power. Titus Oates, for calling him a popiſh traitor, was fined a hundred thouſand pounds; and was adjudged to remain in priſon until he ſhould make payment, of which he was utterly incapable. A like illegal ſentence was paſſed upon Dutton Colt, for the ſame offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, who was foreman of the grand jury that rejected the bill againſt Shafteſbury, was fined ten thouſand pounds, for having, in ſome private letters, reflected on the government. Samuel Johnſon, who had been lord Ruſſel's chaplain, was fined five hundred marks, for having written a book entitled Julian the Apoſtate; in which he expoſed and refuted the prevailing doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. Of all thoſe who were concerned in the late conſpiracy, hardly one eſcaped the ſeverity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth. At this period, the government of Charles was as abſolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but, to gratify his ſubjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, ſon of the king of Denmark. About the ſame time, the duke, contrary to law, was reſtored to the office of high-admiral, without taking the teſt.

A. D. 1685.] The outward gaiety of the king, was but a cover to his inward uneaſineſs: the conſcious guilt of having oppreſſed a free and generous people, gave him juſt reaſon to apprehend ſome dreadful convulſion. He grew melancholy and reſerved; and was heard to ſay, in oppoſing the duke's violent councils, "Brother, I am too old to go again on my travels; you may if you pleaſe." It has been aſſerted by ſome writers, that the ducheſs of Portſmouth, perceiving it was impoſſible the preſent mode of government could long continue, had prevailed upon the king to form a new plan of adminiſtration; and that he had determined to ſend the duke to Scotland, to recall Monmouth, to ſummon a free parliament, and to throw himſelf entirely on the good will and affections of his people. If he really had theſe laudable meaſures in contemplation; it was too late to accompliſh them, for he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit, reſembling an apoplexy; and, though he was recovered from it by bleeding, he languiſhed only a few days, and expired on the ſixth of February, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign; though in the ſtatute books, it was called the thirty ſixth, reckoning from the death of his father, in 1649. Biſhop Ken attended the king during his illneſs, but he diſcovered a total indifference to his devotions and exhortations; and the biſhop was at length excluded the chamber. Father Huddleſtone, a benedictine monk, was then introduced, and from him Charles received the ſacrament, according to the Romiſh communion. In his cabinet were found two papers written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that perſuaſion. Theſe were ſoon after publiſhed by James, his ſucceſſor.

Charles had no legitimate offſpring, but he had ſeveral children by his concubines. By Lucy Walters, he had James, duke of Monmouth: by Elizabeth Killigrew, created viſcounteſs Shannon, Charlotte, Jemima, Henrietta, and Maria: by Catherine Peg, Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth: by Barbara Villiers, created ducheſs of Cleveland, Charles Fitz-Roy, duke of Southampton; Henry Fitz-Roy, duke of Grafton; George Fitz-Roy, duke of Northumberland; and three daughters: by Louiſe de Querouaille, (a native of France, and his favourite miſtreſs) ducheſs of Portſmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond: by Eleanor Gwyn, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans, and James Beauclerk; by Mary Davis, Mary Tudor: Gwyn and Davis, were both actreſſes.

Charles in his perſon, was tall and ſwarthy, and his countenance marked with ſtrong harſh lineaments. In his manner, gay, polite, and affable; eaſy of acceſs, and an agreeable companion. As a king, he had not one quality worthy of imitation. Ambitious of power, yet deſtitute of reſolution and perſeverance: deſirous of popularity, yet without the addreſs neceſſary to conciliate the affections of his people. Wholly addicted to ſenſual gratifica-

tions, and unprofitable diverſions, he would ſacrifice to them the intereſt and glory of his kingdom. Hence, in his public meaſures, he acted either from the influence of caprice, the impulſe of neceſſity, or the ſuggeſtions of mercenary and wicked miniſters. While he was abroad, he embraced popery, in hopes of receiving aid from the Catholic princes towards his reſtoration; and if a man of ſo abandoned a character can be ſaid to have any religion, his conduct on his death bed, and the teſtimonies he left behind, prove him to have been a Roman Catholic, as well as the protection which he conſtantly offered to papiſts, to whom he might be attached both from principle and policy, as they were ever ready to promote his notions of abſolute power. He brought with him the faſhions and vices of the French court, without that refinement which makes them leſs diſguſting; inſtead of which he indulged in every ſpecies of low debauchery and profaneneſs. He was a cold and uncomplaiſant huſband. He married for convenience, nor could the queen, who was a princeſs of virtue, either by the graces of her perſon, or amiable diſpoſition, render herſelf agreeable to the king. He loved none but his miſtreſſes, his children, and his brother. His heart was incapable of friendſhip; and judging of all mankind by himſelf, he believed them to be falſe, perfidious, and intereſted. He never attached himſelf to his miniſters or courtiers, with a ſincere affection; and when they were attacked by the popular party, he made no difficulty in giving them up, and ſigning the warrant for their execution: Danby is an exception; but as we have already obſerved, the king protected him for his own ſake, and not from any regard to that miniſter. With all his appearance of good nature he was cruel and unjuſt, and when compliant, not from principle, but becauſe his attention was diverted from inveſtigating the merits of the caſe. The treatment of the duke of Argyle, the proſecution and execution of many innocent ſufferers, particularly of the great Ruſſel, and the noble patriot Sidney, prove that he had no regard to juſtice or humanity. Though in Scotland he had ſworn to obſerve the covenant, and in his declaration at Breda, had pledged himſelf to give full liberty of conſcience, his cruel perſecution of the covenanters, and non-conformiſts, prove that he was deſtitute of every ſenſe of honour. Buckingham compares him to Tiberius, the Roman Emperor, for perfidy and cruelty. He was negligent of the intereſt of the nation, careleſs of its glory, laviſh of its treaſures, and jealous of its liberties. A gay tyrant, who, while he ſeemed in ſport, deprived his ſubjects of their moſt invaluable privileges, and endeavoured to render them a nation of ſlaves.

The arts and ſciences were cultivated with good ſucceſs during this reign, though they received no encouragement from the king. He was ſo beſet by craving courtiers and miſtreſſes, that he had neither money nor attention to beſtow on the improvement of ſcience. A few philoſophical men had eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry. In the firſt year after the reſtoration, they obtained a patent, and were denominated the Royal Society. Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, Barrow, and Ward, were eminent in the mathematics; and Hooke in his microſcopic obſervations. During this period alſo flouriſhed, Sydenham, the reſtorer of the true practice of medicine; Boyle, who made great improvements in the air pump, hydroſtatics, and chemiſtry: and Newton, whoſe wonderful reſearches and diſcoveries in natural philoſophy, have immortalized his name. This great man died in 1727, aged 85.

Dryden filled the higheſt ſeat in poetry, but his writings are juſtly cenſurable for their licentiouſneſs. The ſame muſt be ſaid of Otway and Wycherly. Dryden and Otway both died in extreme want. The works of Rocheſter are ſo groſs, that they cannot be named without giving offence to a modeſt ear. The Hudibras of Butler, is a maſterpiece of ſatire; and contributed greatly to the advantage of the royal cauſe. Charles was ſo highly pleaſed with it, that he got the greateſt part of it by heart; but gratitude was no part of his character, and he ſuffered the author to live in obſcurity, and die in want.

The

The ſingularity of John Bunyan, and the eſtimation in which his works are held by many, may make a ſhort account of him acceptable to our readers. He was born of poor parents, by whoſe care he learned to read and write; but he became exceedingly diſſolute, and forgot even this ſmall portion of learning. He was brought up a tinker; and inliſted in the parliamentary army. At the ſiege of Leiceſter, he was drawn out to ſtand centinel; but one of his comrades, voluntarily deſired to go in his ſtead, which being agreed to, he went, and was killed by a muſket ſhot. Bunyan at length became alarmed at the terrors of a future ſtate, changed his diſſolute courſe of life, and recovered his loſt learning; and as he poſſeſſed ſtrong natural talents, his friends prevailed upon him to enter into the miniſtry. After the act againſt conventicles had paſſed, he and multitudes of other non-conformiſts were thrown into priſon. He was indicted at the quarter ſeſſions for an upholder and maintainer of unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles; and for not conforming to the church of England. He frankly acknowledged being at a meeting, and preaching to the people, and that he was a diſſenter; declaring with the apoſtle Paul, that, "after the way they called hereſy, ſo worſhipped he the God of his fathers." The juſtices took this candid acknowledgment for a confeſſion, and ſentenced him to perpetual baniſhment. This ſentence was never executed, but he remained twelve years in Bedford gaol, which was crowded with ſixty or ſeventy non-conformiſts at a time, among whom were ſome miniſters. The cruel perſecutions of the times, the vaſt number of ſufferers, the poverty of thoſe who eſcaped proſecution, and the malignity of their enemies; all operated to prevent the unfortunate victims from receiving relief by contributions. John Bunyan had a large family, and one daughter afflicted with blindneſs; for their ſupport he learned, while in priſon, to make long thread tagged laces, and worked with great induſtry; his leiſure hours were ſpent in exerciſes of devotion among his fellow priſoners, and here he wrote ſome of his much admired works. At the interceſſion of Dr. Barlow, biſhop of Lincoln, he was at length releaſed. But unintimidated by his ſufferings, he returned to his labours in the miniſtry, and zealouſly exorted his friends, wherever he went, neither to be afraid or aſhamed of making an open profeſſion of their religion, nor to forſake the aſſembling themſelves together, notwithſtanding the penalties of the law, but with courage and patience to endure the cruel perſecutions to which they were expoſed. He alſo exerted himſelf greatly in procuring relief for thoſe who were in priſon. Death at laſt put an end to his labours and his uſefulneſs, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1688, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was interred in Bunhill-fields burying-ground, and a handſome monument erected to his memory. He was paſtor of an anabaptiſt congregation, at Bedford.

The preſbyterians having made ſo conſiderable a figure in the hiſtory of theſe times, we think it neceſſary to give a ſhort account of their diſcipline and doctrine. John Knox having been perſecuted in Scotland, retired to Genoa, where he became acquainted with Calvin, and zealouſly attached to his ſyſtem of church government, which upon his return to his native country, he ſtrongly recommended, and which has ſince been eſtabliſhed by ſeveral ſtatutes. In Scotland, every kirk, or church, is governed by the miniſter and a certain number of laymen, called elders, and choſen by the people. The miniſter of the pariſh, with one ruling elder, choſen half yearly, out of every kirk-ſeſſion, repreſent their reſpective kirk at the preſbytery to which they belong. Scotland is divided into ſixty-nine preſbyteries, each conſiſting of a number of pariſhes, not exceeding twenty-four, nor leſs than twelve. They determine all appeals from the kirk-ſeſſions, i. e. from the ſeveral parochial aſſemblies, but can try nothing at the firſt inſtance cognizable before a kirk-ſeſſion. They compoſe all differences between miniſters and people, for which end they hold preſbyterial viſitations in each pariſh, where they examine the regiſters of the kirk-ſeſſions, &c. They enquire into the repairs of churches; ſee that the glebe, &c. ſuffer no delapidations; appoint

appoint ſchools in the pariſhes; and ſee that the funds be not miſapplied. They alone can exclude from the communion; licence probationers; ſuſpend, diſpoſe, and in effect, determine all eccleſiaſtical matters within their diſtrict. From the preſbytery, there lies an appeal, in all caſes, to provincial ſynods. There are fifteen provincial ſynods, compoſed of ſeveral adjacent preſbyteries. The members are a miniſter and a ruling elder, out of each pariſh. Theſe ſynods meet twice a year, and chuſe a moderator, who is their prolocutor. The acts of the ſynods are ſubject to the review of the General Aſſembly, which is the dernier reſort of the kirk of Scotland; and conſiſts of commiſſioners from preſbyteries, royal burghs, and univerſities. A preſbytery of twelve miniſters ſends two miniſters and one ruling elder; a preſbytery of between twelve and eighteen, ſends three and one ruling elder; of between eighteen and twenty-four, ſends four and two ruling elders; of twenty-four, ſends five miniſters and two ruling elders; every royal burgh ſends one elder, and Edinburgh two; every univerſity ſends one commiſſioner, uſually a miniſter. The general aſſembly meets once a year, in the month of May. The king is repreſented by his commiſſioner, who diſſolves one meeting and calls another in the king's name; and the moderater does the ſame in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. By this œconomy, the government of the kirk of Scotland is in the hands of the people. Every kirk, beſides the elders, has a certain number of deacons, whoſe buſineſs is to take care of the poor and viſit the ſick. Ordination is performed by the impoſition of hands of other miniſters. The Engliſh preſbyterians are more like the independents, each congregation governing itſelf, without the ſuperintending authority of any other body of men. The preſbyterians admit in general the doctrinal articles of the church of England.

CHAP. IX.

Acceſſion of James II---Invaſion, defeat, and execution of Argyle and Monmouth---Cruelties of Kirk and Jefferies---High court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion---Sentence againſt the biſhop of London ---Embaſſy to Rome---Impriſonment, trial, and acquittal, of the Biſhops---Birth of the prince of Wales---Conduct of the prince of Orange---Lands in England---King's flight---Is ſeized at Feverſham---Retires to France---Interregnum.

A. D. 1685. THE duke of York ſucceeded his brother without any oppoſition, by the title of James II. His firſt act was to aſſemble the privy-council; where he made profeſſions of his reſolution to maintain the eſtabliſhed government, both in church and ſtate. But his conduct ſoon manifeſted the falſhood of this declaration. All the cuſtoms, and the greater part of the exciſe, which had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without any new act for that purpoſe. He likewiſe went openly to maſs, with all the enſigns of his dignity: and even ſent Caryl to Rome, as his agent, to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic church in England. The pope, Innocent XI. prudently adviſed the king not to be too precipitate in his meaſures; and the Spaniſh ambaſſador uſed the freedom to make like remonſtrances; obſerving to the king, how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed him againſt being governed too much by the counſels of thoſe men: "Is it not the cuſtom in Spain (ſaid James) for the king to conſult with his confeſſor?" "Yes (replied the ambaſſador) and that is the reaſon why our affairs ſucceed ſo very ill."

Notwithſtanding the king's prejudices, all the chief offices of the crown ſtill continued in the hands of Proteſtants. Rocheſter was treaſurer; his brother Clarendon, chamberlain; Godolphin, chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate: and Halifax, preſident

JAMES. II.

WILLIAM. III.

ANNE.

GEORGE. I.

GEORGE. II.

ſident of the council. The king's firſt parliament, which was moſtly compoſed of zealous Tories, was ſtrongly biaſſed to comply with all the meaſures of the crown. They voted unanimouſly to ſettle on the king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by his predeceſſor until the time of his deceaſe. For this favour, James aſſured them of his reſolution to ſecure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no anſwer could be extorted from him with regard to religion.

James was now determined to take vengeance on the contrivers of the popiſh plot; and Oates was the firſt object of his indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments: one for ſwearing that he was preſent at a conſultation of Jeſuits, in London, the twenty-fourth of April, 1679; and the other, for ſwearing that father Ireland was in London on the beginning of September of the ſame year. On the former indictment he was convicted on the evidence of twenty-two perſons; and on the latter, of twenty-ſeven. His ſentence was, to be fined a thouſand marks on each indictment; to be whipped on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be impriſoned during life; and to be pilloried five times every year. Though the whipping was ſo ſevere, that it was evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that puniſhment, yet Oates ſurvived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a penſion of four hundred pounds a-year ſettled on him.

Dangerfield, another of the plot diſcoverers, was proſecuted for having formerly written a libel reflecting on the late king and government; of which being convicted, he was ſentenced to ſtand twice in the pillory, and to be whipped one day from Aldgate to Newgate, and another from Newgate to Tyburn. As he was returning from his laſt whipping he was inſulted by one Francis, a barriſter of Grays-Inn, to whom he made a ſharp reply and ſpit in his face. Francis, in a rage thruſt his cane into Dangerfield's face, but it accidentally run into his eye, through which he died in great agony a few hours after; and the other was deſervedly hanged as his murderer.

Richard Baxter, the preſbyterian, for having written a paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, in which he objected to epiſcopacy in general, and paſſed ſome cenſures on the Engliſh biſhops, was tried immediately after Dangerfield; and ſentenced to pay five hundred marks, and obliged to find ſecurities for his good behaviour for ſeven years.

The parliament of Scotland was aſſembled by the duke of Queenſbury, who, as lord commiſſioner, repreſented the king. He read a letter from James, in which he called the rigid preſbyterians horrid murderers, and aſſaſſins, and deſired the ſtates would take proper meaſures to ſecure the kingdom againſt their intrigues. The parliament ſhewed the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the royal will, in all their acts; a fawning addreſs was ſent to the king on his acceſſion; they confirmed the act for maintaining the eſtabliſhed religion; they annexed the exciſe to the crown; they made it high treaſon to defend the ſolemn league and covenant; they paſſed an act againſt houſe and field conventicles, ordaining that whoever ſhould preach or be preſent at ſuch conventicles, ſhould be puniſhed with death; and in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they profeſſed their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions, that anywiſe tended to derogate "from the king's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute authority and power." How miſerable is the ſituation of a people, when the men, who *call themſelves* their *repreſentatives*, will thus baſely betray their intereſt, and reduce them to ſlavery? There is no deſpotiſm ſo abſolute as a mock repreſentation. James would not have dared, by his own authority, to treat the people of Scotland in this manner.

The earl of Argyle, and the duke of Monmouth were both exiles in Holland. They concerted the plan of an invaſion and inſurrection in England and Scotland, for the purpoſe of freeing their country from its preſent bondage, and ſupporting the claim of Monmouth to the crown. Accordingly they hired a few ſhips from the Dutch, and collected about two or three hundred Engliſh exiles. Argyle, with his ſhare of this force, and arms for five hundred men, embarked for Scotland, and

landed in Argyleſhire, but did not meet with the ſucceſs he expected. In vain did he ſummon a people, ſo loſt to all ſenſe of liberty, to riſe and vindicate their violated privileges. He was joined only by about two thouſand men, chiefly of his own clan. The king had got intelligence of his intended invaſion, and prepared a force to oppoſe him. He was cloſely purſued by the royal army, his arms and ammunition were ſeized, his proviſions were cut off, his followers at length defeated, and himſelf unfortunately taken priſoner, and carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant ſpirit, he was publicly executed. He ſuffered on his former unjuſt ſentence.

The expedition of Monmouth was equally unfortunate. He landed at Lyme, in Dorſetſhire, with ſcarce a hundred followers, but ſo popular was his name, and ſo great the averſion of the people to the perſon and religion of James, that in four days he had aſſembled above two thouſand men. He publiſhed a declaration, in which he aſſerted the validity of his mother's marriage with the late king; called James, the duke of York, a popiſh uſurper, tyrant, and murderer; and repreſented that his very religion incapacitated him for the kingly office, and that the people muſt never hope for eaſe or ſafety, while a papiſt and a tyrant ſat upon the throne.

The parliament, which was then ſitting, was no ſooner informed of Monmouth's landing than they preſented to the king an addreſs, aſſuring him of their loyalty, zeal, and aſſiſtance. The duke of Albemarle, ſon to him who reſtored the royal family, aſſembled the militia of Devonſhire, to the number of four thouſand men, and advanced, in order to oppoſe the rebels; but finding his troops diſaffected to the king, he ſoon after retreated with precipitation. Meanwhile, the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by conſiderable numbers. Here twenty young maids, of ſome rank, preſented Monmouth with a pair of colours, their own handy-work, and a copy of the bible. He was perſuaded to aſſume the title of king, and was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. His numbers had now increaſed to ſix thouſand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to diſmiſs a great many who crowded to his ſtandard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome, in all which places he was proclaimed; but he waſted, in receiving theſe empty honours, the time which he ought to have vigorouſly employed in action. The king called over from Holland ſix regiments of Britiſh troops; the army was conſiderably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of three thouſand men, were diſpatched under the command of Feverſham and Churchill, in order to check the progreſs of the rebels. They took poſt at Sedgmore, a village in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in conſiderable numbers. Monmouth, finding that he was not joined by any man of rank or influence; and learning alſo, that an inſurrection, which was projected in the capital, had not taken place, and that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated, and made priſoner, ſunk into ſuch deſpondency, that he had once reſolved to withdraw himſelf, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. At laſt, however, he aſſumed the reſolution to make a deſperate effort. The negligent diſpoſition made by Feverſham invited him to the attack; and his faithful followers tried what courage and principle could perform againſt diſcipline and ſuperior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and ſeemed upon the point of gaining the victory, when the miſconduct of Monmouth, and cowardice of lord Gray, who commanded the horſe, proved fatal to the enterprize. Gray fled at the firſt onſet; and after a combat of three hours, the rebels being charged in flank by the royal army, gave way, and were followed with great ſlaughter. About fifteen hundred were killed in the battle and purſuit; and thus ended an enterpriſe, no leſs raſhly begun than feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, until his horſe ſunk under him. In order to conceal himſelf, he changed cloaths with a peaſant, who being diſcovered by the purſuers, they now redoubled the

the diligence of their ſearch. At laſt the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern. When ſeized by his enemies, he burſt into tears, and implored for life. He wrote to the king the moſt ſubmiſſive and penitential letters, conjuring him to ſpare the iſſue of a brother, who had ever been ſo ſtrongly attached to his intereſts. James admitted him to an audience, in hopes of extorting a diſcovery of his accomplices. At this interview, the duke fell upon his knees, and begged for his life in the moſt abject terms; but the ſtern tyrant aſſured him, that his crime was of ſuch a nature as could not be pardoned. The duke now finding that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepared himſelf for death with a ſpirit better ſuited to his rank and character. On his way to the ſcaffold, the populace manifeſted their compaſſion by a plentiful effuſion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where it had been neceſſary to repeat the blow. But this precaution ſerved only to throw the executioner into a trepidation. He ſtruck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face, as if to reproach him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a ſecond time, and the executioner ſtruck him again and again to no purpoſe. He then threw down the axe, and declared he was incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. But the ſheriff compelled him to reſume the work; and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body. Thus periſhed, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the Engliſh people. He was brave, ſincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and thereby ſeduced into an enterprize which exceeded his capacity.

But the vengeance of the king was ſtill unſatisfied by this atonement. His officers acted with the moſt ſavage inhumanity towards thoſe who were made priſoners at Sedgmore. Feverſham ordered above twenty to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the ſame manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, a brutal ſoldier, who had long ſerved at Tangiers. As if to make ſport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company were at dinner. Ten were turned off with a health to the king, ten with a health to the queen, and ten with a health to Jefferies. Obſerving their feet to ſhake in the agonies of death, he ſaid they ſhould have muſic to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to ſound. One execution was attended with circumſtances of treachery and barbarity, which demand a particular recital: A young maid, armed with all the charms which innocence and beauty, bathed in tears, could poſſeſs, flung herſelf at the feet of Kirke, and implored the life of her father. The inhuman tyrant, inflamed with a criminal deſire, promiſed to grant her requeſt provided ſhe would be equally compliant to him. The ſtruggle was hard and ſevere, to loſe her father, or to part with her honour. Filial affection at length prevailed, and ſhe ſubmitted to his vile embraces. But what muſt be her aſtoniſhment, when the wanton ſavage ſhewed her the next morning, from the chamber window, a tender parent, for whom ſhe had thus ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet! Rage, deſpair, and indignation took poſſeſſion of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were expoſed to the capricious cruelty of this barbarian. His own regiment, which was diſtinguiſhed for its outrages, he uſed, by way of pleaſantry, to call his Lambs; an appellation long remembered with horror in the Weſt of England.

But theſe military outrages were ſtill inferior to the legal ſlaughters committed by judge Jefferies, who was ſent down to try the delinquents. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a ſpecimen of his character in many trials where he preſided. The natural brutality of his temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the priſoners, that if they would ſave him the trouble of trying them, they might expect ſome favour; otherwiſe he would execute the law upon them with the utmoſt ſeverity. Many poor wretches were

were thus ſeduced into a confeſſion, which ſerved only to haſten their ruin. No leſs than eighty were executed at Dorcheſter. He afterwards opened his commiſſion at Exeter, Taunton, and Wells; and whitherſoever he proceeded, he carried conſternation along with him. The juries were ſo intimidated by his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent perſons were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, beſide thoſe who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of the law. Women were not exempted from the general ſeverity, but ſuffered for harbouring their neareſt kindred. Lady Liſle, though the widow of one of the regicides, was herſelf a royaliſt. She was proſecuted for having ſheltered in her houſe two fugitives from the battle of Sedgmore. This aged priſoner proved, that ſhe was ignorant of their crime when ſhe had given them protection; and the jury ſeemed inclined to juſtice. They thrice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often ſent back by Jefferies, with menaces and reproaches, and at laſt were conſtrained to give a verdict againſt the priſoner, who was beheaded.

But the fate of Mrs. Gaunt was yet more terrible. She was an anabaptiſt, noted for her beneficence, which ſhe had extended to perſons of all perſuaſions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourſe to her in his diſtreſs, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain, hearing that an indemnity and reward was offered to ſuch as informed againſt criminals, came in, and betrayed his protectreſs. He was pardoned for his treachery, and ſhe was burnt alive for her benevolence.

Goodenough, the under-ſheriff of London, who had been engaged in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, was made priſoner after the battle of Sedgmore, and reſolved to ſave his own life, by accuſing Corniſh, the ſheriff, whom he knew to be extremely obnoxious to the court. The proſecution was carried on with ſuch precipitation, that the priſoner was tried, condemned, and executed, in the ſpace of a week. After his death, the perjury of the witneſſes appeared ſo flagrant, that even the king expreſſed ſome regret, granted his eſtate to the family, and condemned the witneſſes to perpetual impriſonment. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately created a peer, and was ſoon after inveſted with the dignity of chancellor.

James was now ſo elate with his proſperity, that he began to undervalue the parliament. When they were re-aſſembled on the ninth of November, he told the two houſes, that the militia was found by experience to be of no uſe; and he required a new ſupply, in order to maintain the forces which he had levied to augment the ſtanding army. He alſo informed them, that he had employed a great many catholic officers, in whoſe favour he had diſpenſed with the law which required the teſt to be taken by every one that held any public office. He found them uſeful, he ſaid, and was determined to keep them in employment.

When this ſpeech was taken into conſideration by the commons, many ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the preſent meaſures; and the houſe was with ſeeming difficulty engaged to promiſe in a general vote, that they would grant ſome ſupply. But inſtead of finiſhing that buſineſs, they proceeded to examine the diſpenſing power; and they voted an addreſs to the king againſt it. Before this addreſs was preſented they reſumed the conſideration of the ſupply; and, as one million, two hundred thouſand pounds, were demanded by the court, and two hundred thouſand propoſed by the country-party, a middle courſe was taken, and ſeven hundred thouſand, after ſome diſpute, were at laſt voted. The addreſs againſt the diſpenſing power was expreſſed in the moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive terms; but was, nevertheleſs, ill received by the king, whoſe anſwer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth. The commons were ſo intimidated by his reply, that they kept ſilence a long time; and when Coke, member for Derby, roſe up and ſaid, "I hope we are all Engliſhmen, and not to be frightened with a few hard words;" ſo meanly abject was this aſſembly, that they ſent him to the Tower for theſe expreſſions. The king, in a few days, prorogued the parliament, which,

which, after ſome other prorogations, was at length diſſolved.

A. D. 1686.] The parliament being diſmiſſed, the next ſtep was to ſecure a catholic intereſt in the privy-council. Accordingly four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover. The king made no ſecret of his deſires to have his courtiers converted to his own religion. He even endeavoured to proſelyte Kirke; but the barbarian told him, he had promiſed the emperor of Morocco, that if he ever changed his religion he would turn Mahometan. Sunderland, who ſaw that the only way to preferment was by popery, made no heſitation to gain the royal favour at that price. Rocheſter, the treaſurer, was diſplaced, becauſe he refuſed to conform. In theſe ſchemes, James was entirely governed by the counſels of the queen, and of his confeſſor, father Peters, a Jeſuit, whom he ſoon after created a privy counſellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long ſupported the royal cauſe, this nobleman, on account of being a proteſtant, was ſuperſeded by the lord Tyrconnel, a violent partizan of the Romiſh church, who ſoon procured a repeal of the teſt act. The proteſtants beheld themſelves delivered into the hands of their moſt inveterate enemies; they were ſtripped of their arms on pretence of ſecuring the public peace; a barbarous banditti were let looſe to prey upon them; and even a renewal of the ancient maſſacres was hourly expected. In Scotland, ſeveral noblemen were brought over to the court religion, and Perth, one of the new proſelytes, ſucceeded Queenſbury, as high commiſſioner.

The king's open declaration to diſpenſe with the teſt, had ſtruck an univerſal terror throughout the nation, and the former horror againſt popery was revived and ſtrengthened by another incident which happened at this time: Lewis XIV. having long harraſſed the proteſtants, had at length entirely revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been enacted by Henry the IV. for ſecuring to them the free exerciſe of their religion. From the proſecutions to which they were expoſed, above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious of the people fled from France. Fifty thouſand of them came over to England; and from their repreſentations augmented the dread that was entertained of the abolition of the proteſtant religion.

The extraordinary favour ſhewn by James to the catholics, could not fail to excite the indignation of the clergy of the church of England; a body of which had hitherto ſupported the king againſt his republican enemies, and to the aſſiſtance of which he was chiefly indebted for his crown. The pulpits now began to thunder out againſt popery; and the more that James attempted to impoſe ſilence on theſe topics, the more vehement were the proteſtant preachers in their controverſial declamations. Among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, was one Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, who inveighed with great ſeverity againſt thoſe who had changed their religion. This conduct gave great offence at court; and poſitive orders were iſſued to the biſhop of London to ſuſpend Sharpe until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be farther known. The biſhop refuſed to comply; and the king reſolved to puniſh him for his diſobedience, by an expedient equally illegal and alarming. To effect his deſigns, he determined to revive the high commiſſion court, which had been aboliſhed by act of parliament in the time of his father. An eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, therefore, was iſſued, by which ſeven commiſſioners were inveſted with unlimitted authority over the whole church of England. Crow and Sprat, biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter; the earls of Rocheſter and Sunderland; chancellor Jefferies; lord chief juſtice Herbert; and the biſhop of Cheſter, who was appointed in the room of Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, becauſe he would not act in it, were the commiſſioners. Before this tribunal the biſhop was ſummoned; and both he and Sharpe were ſuſpended from the exerciſe of their clerical function.

A. D. 1687.] James, finding himſelf deſerted by the church-party, affected to careſs the preſbyterians; and with this view, he aſſumed the power of iſſuing a declaration of

general indulgence, and of ſuſpending at once all the penal ſtatutes, by which a conformity was required to the eſtabliſhed religion. But the king's intentions were ſo obvious, that it was impoſſible for him ever to gain the confidence of the nonconformiſts. They were ſenſible, that both the violence of his temper, and the maxims of his religion, were repugnant to the principles of toleration. They diſſembled, however, their diſtruſt for ſome time, and the king went on ſilently, applauding himſelf for the ſucceſs of his ſchemes. The declaration, however, which he publiſhed in Scotland, was ſufficient to diſcover the ſecret. By virtue "of his ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and abſolute power," all oaths, teſts, &c. impoſed upon nonconformiſts, are ſuſpended. The moderate preſbyterians are allowed to meet in their private houſes only; and all field conventicles are prohibited, under the moſt rigorous penalties; quakers are allowed to meet under ſimilar reſtrictions. But after paſſing long encomiums on the loyalty and integrity of the catholics, they are declared to be relieved from *all* acts of parliament made or executed againſt thoſe of their faith, and allowed the full exerciſe of their religion.

Not content with this flagrant declaration of his partiality, he publicly ſent the earl of Caſtlemaine, ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdom to the catholic communion. Never was an ambaſſador, on ſo important an errand, treated with ſuch marks of diſrepect. His holineſs affected always to be troubled with a cough, when he gave him an interview; and the earl was at laſt obliged to retire without an audience. The pope, inſtead of being pleaſed with this precipitate meaſure, concluded, that a ſcheme, conducted with ſo much indiſcretion, could never prove ſucceſsful. The cardinals were even heard facetiouſly to declare, that the king ſhould be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the ſmall remains of popery that yet ſubſiſted in England. The only proof of complaiſance which James received from the pontiff, was his ſending to England a nuncio, in return for the embaſſy. By act of parliament, any communication with the pope was made treaſon; but ſo little regard did the king pay to the law, that he gave the nuncio a public reception at Windſor; and this envoy reſided openly in London during the ſubſequent part of the preſent reign.

But theſe tranſactions were only a prelude to the innovations which James had projected. The Jeſuits were ſoon after permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom. They exerciſed the catholic worſhip in the moſt public manner; and four catholic biſhops, conſecrated in the king's chapel, were ſent through the kingdom to exerciſe their epiſcopal functions, under the title of apoſtolic vicars. Their paſtoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and diſtributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their reſpective orders; and a great number of prieſts and friars arrived from abroad. Nothing now remained but to open the door of the church and the univerſities to the intruſion of the catholics, and this effort was ſoon after begun.

Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king's mandate to the univerſity of Cambridge, for the degree of maſter of arts. They perceived all the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an admiſſion, and therefore preſented a petition, beſeeching the king to revoke his mandate. But James, ſo far from complying with their requeſt, would not even admit their deputies to his preſence. The vice-chancellor was ſummoned to appear before the high-commiſſion court, and deprived of his office. The univerſity however, perſiſted, and the father was refuſed. The king, thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretenſions; but he carried on his attempts upon the univerſity of Oxford with greater vigour.

The place of preſident of Magdalen-college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king ſent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert to the catholic religion, and likewiſe a man of a bad character. The fellows of the college made very ſubmiſſive applications to the king for recall-

recalling his mandate; but before they received an anſwer, the day came, on which, by their ſtatutes, they were obliged to proceed to an election. They therefore choſe Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and reſolution. The king was incenſed at the diſregard which they had ſhewn to his authority; and in order to puniſh the college, an inferior eccleſiaſtical court was ſent down, which, finding Farmer a man of ſcandalous character, iſſued a mandate for a new election. The perſon now recommended by the king, was Dr. Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford, a man of proſtitute character, but who atoned for all vices, by his willingneſs to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refuſed to comply with this injunction; and their conduct ſo incenſed the king, that he repaired in perſon to Oxford, and ordered them to be brought before him. He reproached them with their diſobedience in the moſt imperious terms; and commanded them to chooſe Parker without delay. The college repreſented, that, having already made a regular election of a preſident, they could not deprive him of his office, during his life-time, and ſubſtitute any other in his place: that, even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the ſtatutes of their founder, could not be choſen; that they had all of them bound themſelves by oath to obſerve thoſe ſtatutes; and never on any account to accept of a diſpenſation: Theſe reaſons availed them nothing. The preſident and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the office. The college was immediately filled with Catholics; and Charnock, one of the two that remained, was made vice-preſident.

A. D. 1688] This flagrant violation of the laws and religion of the kingdom proved one of the moſt unpopular acts of James's reign; but notwithſtanding the general alarm which it ſpread over the nation, he proceeded to violate, without reſerve, the moſt ſacred eccleſiaſtical and civil privileges of the people. A ſecond declaration of liberty of conſcience was publiſhed, almoſt in the ſame terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines ſhould read it after ſervice in their churches. The clergy were known univerſally to diſapprove of the ſuſpending power; and they were now reſolved to diſobey an order dictated by the moſt bigotted motives. In order to encourage them in this reſolution, ſeven prelates, namely, Lloyd, biſhop of St. Aſaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner of Ely; Lake, of Chicheſter; White, of Peterborough; Trelawny, of Briſtol; and Sancroft, the primate, met privately at the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, and concerted the form of a petition to the king. With the warmeſt expreſſions of zeal and ſubmiſſion, they remonſtrated, that they could not read his declaration conſiſtently with honour or conſcience, and therefore beſought his majeſty to excuſe them. This modeſt addreſs only ſerved the more to inflame the king's reſentment. He immediately formed a reſolution of puniſhing the biſhops; and as the petition had been delivered him in private, he ſummoned them before the council, and queſtioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The biſhops, perceiving his intention, declined for ſome time giving an anſwer; but being urged by the chancellor, they at laſt avowed the petition. On their refuſing to give bail, an order was immediately iſſued for their commitment to the Tower: and the crown lawyers received inſtructions to proſecute them for a ſeditious libel, in the court of king's bench.

The king gave orders that they ſhould be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. No ſooner was this meaſure publickly known, than the river-ſide was lined with an incredible multitude of ſpectators. As the reverend priſoners paſſed, the people kneeled in veneration, craving their bleſſing, calling upon heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to ſuffer nobly in the cauſe of religion. The biſhops were not wanting, by their modeſt and humble deportment, to increaſe the attachment of the ſpectators; whom they exhorted to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very ſoldiers by whom they were guarded, kneeled down before them, and implored their forgiveneſs. Upon landing, the biſhops immediately went

to

to the Tower-chapel, to render thanks for thoſe afflictions which they ſuffered in the cauſe of truth.

The twenty-ninth of June was fixed for their trial; and their return was yet more ſplendidly attended than their impriſonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immenſe crowd of the populace, waited upon them to Weſtminſter-hall. Their counſel contended for the right of the ſubject to petition, and remarked, that it could be no ſedition to deny the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws, becauſe there really was no ſuch prerogative. Two of the judges, though their ſeats were held during pleaſure, declared in favour of the biſhops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they paſſed the whole night; but next morning they returned into court, and gave their verdict, Not guilty. Immediately the hall reſounded with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the crowds without, and through the whole extent of the city. It rapidly reached Hounſlow Heath, where a large army had been encamped ever ſince Monmouth's rebellion. James had reviewed the troops on the very day which the trial ended, and had retired into the tent of lord Feverſham, the general, to dinner, when he was ſurprized to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of tumultuous joy. He ſuddenly inquired the cauſe, and being informed that it was nothing but the ſoldiers ſhouting at the delivery of the biſhops, "Call you that nothing!" cried he; "but ſo much the worſe for them."

The king, though he knew that all orders of men, except a handful of catholics, were diſcontented, and even enraged at his meaſures, was determined to proceed, with unremitting violence, in the proſecution of them. He diſplaced two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the biſhops. He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen who had not read his declaration, and all had refuſed it, except two hundred. He ſent a mandate to the new fellows whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-college, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madura.

On the tenth of June, two days after the biſhops were ſent to the Tower, the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This event was highly agreeable to the catholics, but increaſed the diſguſt of the proteſtants, by depriving them of that pleaſing, though not immediate proſpect, of the ſucceſſion of the prince of Orange to the crown. The birth of this infant was attended with ſome circumſtances which induced a ſuſpicion that the king had a deſign of impoſing on the world a ſuppoſitious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death ſupport the catholic religion in his dominions. A ſimilar report had been propagated in the year 1682, when the queen, then ducheſs of York, was pregnant; but the child proved a female.

The fleet and the army, as well as the people, diſcovered every day the moſt evident ſymptoms of diſcontent. The fleet had begun to mutiny, becauſe Stricland, the admiral, a Roman catholic, introduced the maſs a-board his ſhip, and diſmiſſed the proteſtant chaplain. The king had intended to augment his army with Iriſh recruits, and he reſolved to try the experiment on the regiment of the duke of Berwick, his natural ſon; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refuſed to admit them; and to this oppoſition five captains ſteadily adhered. They were all caſhiered; and had not the diſcontents of the army on this occaſion, become very manifeſt, it was reſolved to have puniſhed thoſe officers for mutiny. The king, however, made a trial of the diſpoſitions of the army, in a manner ſtill leſs diſguiſed. His intention was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their approbation of the repeal of the teſt and penal ſtatutes. Accordingly, one of them was drawn up in preſence of the king by its major, who deſired that ſuch of the ſoldiers, as were againſt the late declaration of liberty of conſcience, ſhould lay down their arms. James was ſurpriſed to find, that, two captains and a few popiſh ſoldiers excepted, the whole battallion grounded their arms. After remaining ſpeechleſs a few moments,

moments, he told them, with a ſullen air, "he ſhould not again do them the honour to aſk their approbation."

The prince of Orange, ever ſince his marriage with lady Mary, had made it a maxim to concern himſelf little with Engliſh affairs, and never by any meaſure, to diſguſt any of the factions, or give umbrage to the prince who filled the throne. How little ſoever he might approve of James's adminiſtration, he always kept a total ſilence on the ſubject, and gave no countenance to thoſe diſcontents which prevailed throughout the nation. It was from the application of James himſelf, that the prince firſt openly took any part in Engliſh affairs. Notwithſtanding the loſty ideas which the king entertained of his prerogative, he found that the edicts which he emitted ſtill wanted much of the authority of laws, and that the continuance of them might in the iſſue become dangerous, both to himſelf and to the catholics, whom he deſired to favour. An act of parliament alone could inſure the indulgence or toleration, which he had laboured to eſtabliſh; and he hoped, that if the prince would declare in favour of that ſcheme, the members, who had hitherto reſiſted all his own applications, would at laſt be prevailed with to adopt it. The conſent therefore, of the prince to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes and of the teſt was ſtrongly ſolicited by the king; and in order to engage his concurrence, hopes were given him, that England would ſecond him in all thoſe enterprizes, which he had planned on the continent. But the prince of Orange was too politic to accede to James's propoſals, a concurrence which would draw upon himſelf all the odium that had already been experienced by the king. He would, therefore, go no farther than to promiſe his conſent to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, by which the nonconformiſts as well as the catholics, were expoſed to puniſhment.

Zeyleſtein, who had been ſent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his ſon, brought back to the prince invitations from moſt of the great men in England, to aſſiſt them by his arms, in the recovery of their laws and liberties. The prince gave inſtructions to Dykevelt, his envoy, ſecretly to ſound the diſpoſitions of the people, and in his name to aſſure them of his good offices. Dykevelt executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that all orders of men caſt their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from thoſe dangers, with which their religion and liberty were ſo ſtrongly threatened. Many perſons in the kingdom made ſecret applications to Dykevelt, and through him to the prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Ruſſel, aſſured him in perſon, of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went over under pretence of drinking the waters at Spa, and conveyed ſtill ſtronger aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the meaſures of the king. Lord Dumblaine, ſon of the earl of Danby, being maſter of a frigate, made ſeveral voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even conſiderable ſums of money to the prince of Orange. Soon after the biſhop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonſhire, and Dorſet, with ſeveral other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in addreſſes to him, and intreated his ſpeedy deſcent. The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their meaſures againſt the king; and William therefore determined to accept of the invitations that were offered him. The time at which he entered upon his enterprize, was juſt when the nation was in a ferment on account of the impriſonment of the biſhops. He had previouſly made conſiderable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ſhips were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were alſo levied, and ſums of money, which had been raiſed for other purpoſes, were applied to the advancement of this expedition.

But the object of theſe preparations could not be kept a ſecret from D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, and he acquainted his maſter. Lewis apprized James of his danger, and offered to aſſiſt him in repelling it. He

was willing to join a ſquadron of French ſhips to the Engliſh fleet; and to ſend over any number of troops which James ſhould think requiſite for his ſecurity. The king, however, could not be convinced that his ſon-in-law intended an invaſion. Fully perſuaded himſelf of the ſacredneſs of his authority, he imagined that a like belief poſſeſſed the minds of his ſubjects. He therefore declined the French king's propoſal, unwilling perhaps to call in foreign aid; when he had at home an army which he thought ſufficient. When this offer was rejected, Lewis again offered to march down his numerous army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus to detain their forces at home for their own protection. But this propoſal met with no better reception.

James, however, commiſſioned his ambaſſador at the Hague to enquire the deſtination of this armament. The anſwer was, "that they only imitated the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and aſſembled a numerous army, without explaining his intentions." In conſequence of this anſwer, he determined to prepare with vigour for defence. The army was augmented, the fleet completely manned, ſeveral regiments were brought over from Ireland, Feverſham was appointed general of the land forces, and the navy was entruſted to the command of Dartmouth. When the king received intelligence from his miniſter in Holland, that a great number of Engliſh ſubjects were there waiting to take part in the expedition, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He now perceived the extreme danger of his ſituation, and knew not by what means it was poſſible to extricate himſelf. His only reſource was in retreating from thoſe imprudent meaſures, by which he had created himſelf ſo many enemies at home and abroad. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common ſecurity. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices, who had been deprived of their commiſſions for their adherence to the teſt and the penal laws: he reſtored the charters of London, and of all the corporations: he annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: he removed the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion: he re-inſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen-college; and he was even reduced to careſs the biſhops, whom he had ſo lately perſecuted and inſulted. But all his conceſſions were now too late, and were regarded only as the effects of fear. The biſhops, inſtead of ſuggeſting comfort, recapitulated to him all the inſtances of his mal-adminiſtration. Intelligence having arrived of a great diſaſter, which had befallen the Dutch fleet, he recalled thoſe conceſſions which he had made in favour of Magdalen-college; and, to ſhew his attachment to the Romiſh church, at the baptiſm of the young prince, he appointed the pope one of the ſponſors.

A declaration of the prince of Orange, was, in the mean time, induſtriouſly diſperſed over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained. He promiſed his aſſiſtance in redreſſing them; he affirmed, that his only purpoſe was to procure the people a laſting ſettlement of their liberty and religion; and that he had no other motive for coming over, but to learn the ſenſe of the nation in a full and free parliament.

The prince's meaſures were ſo well concerted, that, in three days, above four hundred tranſports were hired. The army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all neceſſary ſtores; and the prince ſet ſail from Helvoet Sluys, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men. He firſt encountered a ſtorm, which drove him back; but his loſs being ſoon repaired, he again put to ſea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made ſail with a fair wind towards the Weſt of England. The ſame wind detained the king's fleet in its ſtation near Harwich, and enabled the Dutch to paſs the ſtreights of Dover without oppoſition; ſo that, after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniverſary of the gunpowder-treaſon.

Though the invitation from the Engliſh was

was very general, the prince for ſome time had the mortification to find himſelf joined by very few. The Dutch army marched firſt to Exeter, where the country people had been ſo lately terrified with the executions which had enſued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at laſt began to deſpair of ſucceſs. But juſt as he deliberated on re-embarking his forces, he was joined by ſeveral perſons of conſequence, and the whole country ſoon after came flocking to his ſtandard. The firſt perſon who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, all came to Exeter. The whole kingdom was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire; the earl of Danby ſeized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottinghamſhire embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day there appeared ſome effect of the general combination, into which all ranks of people had entered againſt the meaſures of the king.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom was the diſſatisfaction of the army, which ſeemed univerſally tinctured with the ſpirit of the times. Lord Colcheſter, ſon of the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer that deſerted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace attempted to follow the example; but was intercepted by the militia, under the Duke of Beaufort. Lord Cronbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, carried over to the prince the greater part of three regiments of cavalry. Several officers of diſtinction informed Feverſham, the general, that they could not in conſcience fight againſt the prince of Orange. The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own ſervants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raiſed from the rank of page, had been inveſted with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deſerted his royal maſter in the extremity, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural ſon to the late king, colonel Berkley, and ſome others.

In this univerſal defection, James, not knowing where to turn, or on whom to rely, began to think of requeſting aſſiſtance from France, when it was become too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. The king was by this time arrived at Saliſbury, the head-quarters of his army; and he found that his body amounted to twenty thouſand men. It is poſſible that had he led thoſe to battle, without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour, and ſecured him on the throne. But he was immerſed in fears, ſuſpicions, and perplexity, which prevented him from forming any bold reſolution. It was no ſmall addition to his preſent diſtreſs, that Anne, his favourite daughter, and the prince of Denmark, perceiving the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, reſolved to abandon him, and take part with the prevailing ſide. When the king was told that the prince and princeſs had followed the example of the reſt of his favourites, he was ſtung with the moſt bitter anguiſh. "God help me," ſaid he, "my own children have forſaken me!"

In the midſt of this diſtraction and perplexity, he embraced a ſudden reſolution of drawing off his army and retiring towards London. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, invaded by one ſon-in-law, abandoned by another, deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and hated by thoſe who had ſuffered from his cruelty, he aſſembled the few noblemen that ſtill adhered to his intereſts. In this forlorn council, he demanded the advice of thoſe in whom he moſt confided. Addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Ruſſel, who had been executed in the preceding reign, by the intrigues of James, "My lord," ſaid the king, "you are an honeſt man; you have credit, and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Ah, ſir, replied the earl, "I am old and feeble; I can

I can do you but little ſervice---I had, indeed, a ſon!"---James was ſo ſtruck with this reply, that he was not able to ſpeak for ſome minutes.

The king's fortune now expoſed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was not ſuch as could gain him the eſteem of his friends and adherents. He ſeemed in this emergence as much depreſſed with adverſity, as he had before been vainly elated with proſperity. He was prevailed upon to iſſue writs for a new parliament, and to ſend Haliſax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commiſſioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But theſe were the laſt acts of royal authority which he exerted. The news received by the king from all quarters ſerved to continue the panic into which he was fallen, and he now precipitately embraced the advice of eſcaping into France. Before-hand he ſent off the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch's. Himſelf diſappeared in the night-time, attended only by ſir Edward Hales; and aſſuming the diſguiſe of a plain dreſs, went down to Feverſham, where he embarked on board a ſmall veſſel for France. But his misfortunes continued to purſue him. The veſſel in which he had embarked was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the perſon of the king, but ſuppoſing him to be ſome rich catholic, inſulted and abuſed him.

When James quitted London, he threw the great ſeal into the river, burned all the writs which had been made out for the election of a new parliament, and entered a caveat againſt making uſe of thoſe which had been iſſued.

The king's precipitate flight threw all into confuſion. The earl of Feverſham diſbanded his army, and without paying or diſarming them, let them looſe to plunder at pleaſure. The populace roſe in London, and pulled down the maſs houſes. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had hid himſelf in diſguiſe at a houſe in Wapping, waiting for a ſhip to convey him to France, was diſcovered by them, and ſo ſeverely treated, that the lord mayor ſent him to the Tower to prevent his being torn to pieces; where he died a few days after of the bruiſes he had received.

The government being diſſolved by the king's flight; a conſultation was held in Guildhall, by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and the lord mayor and aldermen, when it was reſolved to adhere to the prince of Orange, to whom they ſent a deputation, with this reſolution ſigned by all the perſons preſent. They alſo publiſhed a proclamation, as did likewiſe the prince, requiring the officers of the army to re-aſſemble the diſbanded troops, and wait in quarters for farther orders. When the news arrived that James had been ſtopped at Feverſham, the lords ſent four of their number, with a detachment of guards to attend him to London, where again the populace, moved by his diſtreſſes, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectation, with ſhouts and acclamations. During his abode at Whitehall, little attention was paid to him by the nobility or any perſons of diſtinction. Himſelf ſhowed not any ſymptom of ſpirit, nor diſcovered any intention of reſuming the reins of government, which he had once thrown aſide.

Though the prince of Orange was ſecretly embarraſſed by James's return to the capital, he determined to diſſemble, and received the news of it with a haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to puſh James by threats and ſeverities to relinquiſh the throne. The king having ſent lord Feverſham on a civil meſſage to the prince, deſiring a conference previous to the ſettlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under an arreſt, on pretence of his coming without a paſſport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where James then reſided, and to diſplace the Engliſh. The king was ſoon after commanded by a meſſage, which he received in bed at midnight, to quit his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a ſeat of the ducheſs of Lauderdale's. He deſired permiſſion to retire to Rocheſter, a city not far from the ſea-coaſt; this requeſt was readily granted

granted. And while James lingered at Rocheſter, he ſeemed deſirous of an invitation to keep poſſeſſion of the throne; but obſerving that he was entirely neglected by his own ſubjects, and oppreſſed by his ſon-in-law, he reſolved to ſeek ſafety from the king of France, the only friend he had now remaining. He therefore privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him; and he arrived ſafe at Ambleteuſe, in Picardy, whence he proceeded to St. Germains, where he ſtill enjoyed the empty title of a king.

This prince was of an active, violent, and vindictive temper. His ſtrong attachment to the church of Rome, and his extravagant notions of prerogative, made him utterly diſregard the liberties of his people; and break down all the ramparts which had been raiſed with ſo much labour for the protection of their religion and laws. Forgetting that all government was inſtituted for the general good, he ſubjected the people to his arbitrary will; forgetting alſo the fate of his father, and the hiſtory of all former times, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of a mean ſubmiſſion. But a free and generous nation, however cheerfully they may ſubmit to a juſt and legal government, can never proſtrate themſelves at the feet of a tyrant. After a ſhort reign of three years and nine months, James was juſtly depoſed, and might have ſuffered death for his ſubſequent attempts to recover his authority, if he had been taken. His fate affords an inſtructive leſſon to all future kings, that when they violate the privileges of the ſubject, the people will reſiſt.

James had only three legitimate children that ſurvived him. By Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, he had two daughters; Mary, born the thirtieth of April, 1662, and married to William Henry, of Naſſau, prince of Orange; Anne, born the ſixth of February, 1664, and married to George, prince of Denmark, ſecond ſon of Frederick III. king of Denmark. By Maria D'Eſte, daughter of the duke of Modena, he had one ſon, commonly known by the title of the Chevalier St. George; he reſided chiefly at Rome, and died in 1766, aged ſeventy-eight.

By Arabella Churchill, ſiſter of John, duke of Marlborough, he had two natural children, 1. James Fitz-James, commonly called, duke Berwick. 2. Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the Grand Prior.

INTERREGNUM.

THE prince of Orange, by his courage and abilities, effected the deliverance of the kingdom, but the more difficult taſk remained of obtaining for himſelf that crown, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. By the advice of the houſe of lords, the only remaining member of the legiſlature, he was deſired to ſummon a convention by circular letters, and in the mean time to take upon himſelf the public adminiſtration of affairs. But the prince, unwilling to act upon ſo imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had ſat in the houſe of commons during any parliament of Charles II. and to theſe were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common-council. This was regarded as the moſt proper repreſentative of the people, that could be ſummoned during the preſent emergency. They met on the twenty-ſixth of December, and unanimouſly voted the ſame addreſs with the lords. The prince being thus inveſted with the chief executive power, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to chooſe members to ſerve in the convention. His orders were univerſally complied with; government was conducted in the moſt regular peaceful manner, and the prince became poſſeſſed of all authority, as if he had regularly ſucceeded to the throne.

A. D. 1689.] The convention was aſſembled on the twenty-ſecond of January, and moſtly conſiſted of thewhig party: after thanks were voted to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought them, they proceeded to the ſettlement of the kingdom. In a few days they paſſed, by a great majority, a vote, which was ſent up to the houſe of

lords for their concurrence. It was contained in theſe words: "That king James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of jeſuits and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when brought into the upper houſe, met with great oppoſition, but was at length carried by a majority of two voices.

The throne being declared vacant, the next conſideration was the appointing a ſucceſſor. Some declared for a regent; others that the princeſs of Orange ſhould be inveſted with regal power; and the young prince conſidered as ſuppoſitious. The debates ran high on this ſubject. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons; while the prince, with his uſual prudence, entered into no intrigues either with the people or the convention, but kept a total ſilence, as if he had been no way concerned in the tranſaction. At laſt, perceiving that his own name was little mentioned in theſe diſputes, he called together the lords Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Danby, with a few more, and told them, that having been invited over to reſtore their liberty, he had happily effected his purpoſe; that he had heard of ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for eſtabliſhing the government; that if they choſe a regent, he thought it incumbent on him to inform them that he never would accept of that office, the execution of which, he knew, would be attended with inſuperable difficulties; that he would not accept of the crown under the princeſs his wife, though he was convinced of her merits: that therefore, if either of theſe ſchemes were adopted, he could give them no aſſiſtance in the ſettlement of the nation, but would return home to his own country, ſatisfied with his endeavours to ſecure the freedom of the Britiſh dominions. This declaration produced the intended effect. After a long debate in both houſes, a new ſovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. The convention next proceeded to ſettle the mode of ſucceſſion, and the terms on which they ſhould offer the crown to the prince and princeſs of Orange.

On the thirteenth of February, both houſes of the convention waited upon the prince and princeſs of Orange, who received them in the ſtate Banqueting-houſe. One of the clerks then read the following memorable

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS:

I. "That the pretended power of ſuſpending laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, without the conſent of parliament, is illegal.

II. "That the pretending power of diſpenſing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is illegal.

III. "That the commiſſion for erecting the late court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all other commiſſions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

IV. "That levying money for, or to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament for a longer time, or in any other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal.

V. "That it is the right of the ſubject to petition the king; and all commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning, are illegal.

VI. "That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unleſs it be with the conſent of parliament, is contrary to law.

VII. "That the ſubjects, who are proteſtants, may have arms for their defence, ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

VIII. "That all elections of members of parliament ought to be free.

IX. "That the freedom of ſpeech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any court or place out of parliament.

X. "That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel nor unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

XI. "That jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned; and jurors who paſs upon men in trials of high treaſon, ought to be freeholders.

XII.

XII. "That all grants and promiſes of fines and forfeitures of particular perſons, before conviction, are illegal and void.

XIII. "And that, for the redreſs of all grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

"And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all and ſingular the premiſes, as their undoubted rights and liberties: and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought, on any account, to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example."

The declaration concludes thus, "Having therefore an entire confidence that his ſaid highneſs, the prince of Orange, will perfect the deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and ſtill preſerve them from a violation of their rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, That William and Mary, prince and princeſs of Orange, be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and all the dominions thereunto belonging: to hold the crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions to them the ſaid prince and princeſs, during their lives, and the life of the ſurvivor of them; and that the ſole and full exerciſe of the royal power be only in, and executed by the ſaid prince of Orange, in the names of the ſaid prince and princeſs, during their joint lives; and after their deceaſe, the ſaid crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms to be to the iſſue of the body of the ſaid princeſs; and in default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne, of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and in default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of the ſaid prince of Orange."

When this declaration was read, the marquis of Halifax, as ſpeaker of the upper houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England, which was accepted by the prince, in terms of moſt reſpectful acknowledgments; and that very day, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

The former oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated, and the following ordered to be taken by all perſons, inſtead of them:

"I, A. B. ſo ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majeſties king William and queen Mary. So help me God."

"I, A. B. do ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, the damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, potentate, or ſtate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

The coronation oath was alſo altered and amended, and conſiſted in the following queſtions and anſwers:

"Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear, to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame?" 'I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.'

"Will you, to your power, cauſe law and juſtice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?" 'I will.'

"Will you, to the utmoſt of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and the proteſtant reformed religion, as by law eſtabliſhed? And will you preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all ſuch rights and privileges as by law do, or ſhall appertain unto them or any of them?" 'All this I promiſe to do.'

"Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the goſpels, ſhall ſay, "The things which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep. So help me God."

ÆRA

ÆRA IV.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

The Convention changed into a Parliament---Coronation of the King and Queen---Act of Toleration---War declared againſt France---Affairs of Scotland---Affairs of Ireland---Siege of Londonderry---Battle of the Boyne---Maſſacre of Glencoe---Victory of La Hogue---Affairs of Germany---Death of Queen Mary---Peace of Repſwick---Plots to Aſſaſſinate King William---Death of the Duke of Glouceſter---Act for the Succeſſion of the Elector of Hanover---Death of King William.

WILLIAM III. aſcended the throne by a capitulation with the people. By the Revolution and the Bill of Rights, the exiſtence of a compact between the king and people, was confirmed beyond all diſpute, as well as the right of the latter to diſmiſs even the higheſt officer in the ſtate, if he ſhould be found to abuſe the truſt repoſed in him.

A. D. 1689.] The king, by a proclamation, continued all proteſtants in the offices which they held on the firſt of December. He then choſe his council, and appointed the great officers of ſtate. Nottingham and Shrewſbury were made ſecretaries of ſtate; the privy ſeal was given to the marquis of Halifax; and the earl of Danby was made preſident of the council. Bentinck was firſt commiſſioner on the liſt of privy counſellors, groom of the ſtole, and privy purſe; D'Auverque, maſter of the horſe; Zuyleſtein, of the robes; and Schomberg, of the ordnance. The treaſury, admiralty, and chancery, were put in commiſſion; twelve able judges were choſen for the other courts; and Dr. Burnet, who having incurred the diſpleaſure of the late king, was obliged to retire to Holland, had returned with the prince, and was promoted to the biſhopric of Saliſbury.

That the late ſettlement of the crown might have a legal eſtabliſhment, it was neceſſary it ſhould be ſanctioned by the parliament; but in the preſent ſtate of parties, a new election was deemed too hazardous. The new council therefore reſolved, that the king ſhould by his own authority, in a ſpeech from the throne, change the convention into a parliament. This was accordingly adopted, and in his ſpeech to both houſes, he aſſured them, he ſhould take care to retain their good opinion of his integrity; he informed them, that Holland was in a ſituation that required their immediate aid; and that the affairs of Ireland were too critical to admit of delay in their deliberations.

The king and queen were crowned on the eleventh of April, when they took the new coronation oath. That ceremony was performed by the biſhop of London, inſtead of the primate, who was a mal-content. The next day, the commons, in a body, waited on their majeſties, with an addreſs of congratulation. William, in order to conciliate the eſteem of his new ſubjects, ſignified in a ſolemn meſſage to the houſe of commons, his readineſs to acquieſce in any meaſure they ſhould think proper to take reſpecting the hearth money. This tax was afterwards aboliſhed.

William ſoon after made an attempt to repeal all the laws which enjoined uniformity of worſhip,

worſhip, in order to form an union between the church of England and the diſſenters. Though he could not entirely ſucceed in his deſign, an act was paſſed, by which a toleration was granted to ſuch diſſenters as ſhould take the oaths of allegiance and hold no private conventicles. Although he was biaſſed to calviniſm, the papiſts experienced the lenity of his government, and notwithſtanding the laws againſt them were not repealed, they were not executed with rigour; but all thoſe miniſters who refuſed to take the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of non-jurors.

The money expended by the States of Holland, in William's expedition, amounted to ſeven millions of guilders, or about ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and the commons granted that ſum for the diſcharge of this debt. The next object that engaged their attention, was the revenue. Heretofore there had been no diſtinction between what was allotted for the king's uſe and what was aſſigned for the ſervice of the ſtate. The revenue in the late reigns having been often embezzled and miſapplied, it was now reſolved that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and that the reſt ſhould be employed under the inſpection of parliament. According to this reſolution the commons voted, that a conſtant revenue of one million, two hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of the government in the time of peace; the civil liſt was ſettled at only ſix hundred thouſand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princeſs of Denmark, the judges and marſchal Scomberg, who, in conſideration of his important ſervices to the nation, was complimented with a penſion, beſides the gift of one hundred thouſand pounds, on the pretence of charges and anticipations, which the commons had not time to examine.

The revenue was ſettled by a proviſional act for one year only: and it was plainly the intention of the whigs to grant it from year to year, or at leaſt for a ſhort term, that they might have ſomething more to depend on than the moderation of the ſovereign, and his religious regard to the claim of rights and principles of reſiſtance, on which the revolution was founded. William, not conſidering the dangerous conſequences, which, in limited monarchies, muſt ever attend a perſonal compliment to the ſovereign; complained of theſe reſtraints as marks of diffidence, and even threatened to retire to Holland. The tory faction perceiving that William was tenacious of power as well as his predeceſſors, began to form deſigns to diſappoint the whigs of all the fruits of the revolution. They fruſtrated an attempt for regulating the militia, in a manner which would have rendered it in a great meaſure independant of the king, and they offered to exert their whole ſtrength in favour of the crown, provided they were ſcreened from the perſecution of the whigs by an act of indemnity.

The ſhutting the doors of both houſes againſt thoſe who had been moſt active in the meaſures of the late reign, and depriving them of their votes at elections, was a favourite object of the whigs; becauſe it was the only circumſtance which could enable them to give the balances of the conſtitution their due poiſe, and to model the government to the plan of a well regulated monarchy. It was then with the utmoſt chagrin, that they found the king intereſt himſelf ſo earneſtly for the declared enemies of freedom, as to ſend a meſſage to the commons by Mr. Hampden, in which he recommended a bill of indemnity as the moſt effectual means to put an end to all controverſies, diſtinctions, and occaſions of diſcord. The whigs had the addreſs to defeat the king's deſign for ſome time; but the parties were ſo equally balanced in parliament, that a bill for reſtoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges paſſed by one vote only, with the rejection of two *clauſes* againſt thoſe who were concerned in the ſurrendering of charters.

It being neceſſary to aſcertain the ſucceſſion of the crown, the king having no proſpect of iſſue, a bill was brought into the houſe diſabling papiſts, or thoſe who ſhould marry papiſts, from ſucceeding to the crown; abſolving the ſubject in that caſe from allegiance, and

the princeſs Sophia of Hanover, was nominated in the act of ſucceſſion after the princeſs Anne. But the bill was ſoon after dropt in conſequence of an event which in a great meaſure diſpelled the fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor. The princeſs Anne was on the twenty-ſeventh of July, delivered of a ſon, who was afterwards created duke of Glouceſter.

A war with France was a natural conſequence of the Revolution. By the violation of all treaties, and the laws of every nation, the French king had rendered his power the terror and the ſcourge of Europe. William, whoſe ruling paſſion was military heroiſm, had long and eagerly ſought an opportunity to revenge the inſults and injuries his country had received from the ambitious Lewis: it was at this period that a confederacy which he had *propoſed* among the princes of the empire began to take effect; the Emperor negociated an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the States-General, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power againſt France and her allies. It was ſtipulated that neither ſide ſhould engage in a ſeparate treaty, on any pretence whatever: that no peace ſhould be admitted until the treaties of Weſtphalia, Oſnaburg, Munſter, and the Pyrenées, ſhould be vindicated; that in caſe of a negociation for peace, or truce, the tranſactions on both ſides ſhould be communicated, bona fide; and that Spain and England ſhould be invited to accede to the treaty.

The engaging England as a principal in the confederacy, was a favourite object of William's policy; nor was it long before he was gratified to the full. Mr. Hampden made a motion in the lower houſe for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, with reſpect to France and foreign alliances: the commons unanimouſly reſolved that in caſe his majeſty ſhould think fit to engage in a war with France, they would enable him to carry it on with vigour. In conſequence of this reſolution, an addreſs was drawn up and preſented to the king, deſiring he would ſeriouſly conſider the deſtructive meaſures taken of late years by the French monarch, againſt the trade, quiet, and intereſt of the nation, particularly his ſupporting James and the rebels in Ireland; expreſſing their confidence, that the alliances he might make would be ſufficient to reduce the French king to ſuch a condition, that it ſhould be no more in his power to violate the peace of Europe; and aſſuring him he might depend on the aſſiſtance of parliament. This addreſs being agreeable to the king's inclinations, war was declared againſt France on the ſeventh of May.

The parliament thought it neceſſary to do juſtice to thoſe who had ſuffered by illegal or oppreſſive ſentences in the late reigns. The attainders of lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, alderman Corniſh, and lady Liſle, were now reverſed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the lords, to examine the caſe of the earl of Devonſhire, who in the late reign had been fined thirty thouſand pounds, for aſſaulting colonel Culpepper in the preſence chamber. They reported, that the court of king's bench, in over-ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had been guilty of a manifeſt breach of privilege: that the fine was exceſſive and exorbitant, againſt the great charter, the rights of the ſubject, and the law of the land. The ſentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnſon, chaplain to lord Ruſſel, in conſequence of which he had been degraded, fined, ſcourged, and pilloried, was now annulled, and the commons recommended him to his majeſty for ſome eccleſiaſtical preferment: he received one thouſand pounds immediately, and a penſion of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his ſon, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred a year; but the father never obtained an eccleſiaſtical benefice. Titus Oates petitioned parliament for a reverſal of the judgments given againſt him for perjury. The opinions of the judges were taken on this ſubject, and a bill of reverſal paſſed the commons; but the lords having made ſome amendments, violent heats enſued. Oates, however, was releaſed from his confinement, and both houſes joined in recommending him to his majeſty for a pardon, which he obtained with a comfortable penſion. The committee appointed

to

to enquire into the caſes of the ſtate priſoners found Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief juſtice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the Weſt, after the inſurrection of Monmouth. Death had delivered the execrable Jefferies from the reſentment of the nation. Graham and Burton had acted as ſolicitors in the late illegal proſecutions of thoſe who had oppoſed the court, in the reign of Charles II. theſe were reported guilty of having been inſtrumental in taking away the lives and eſtates of thoſe who had ſuffered the loſs of either, under colour of law, for eight years laſt paſt; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and proſecutions of *quo warranto*, endeavoured the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and the government of the realm, and of having waſted many thouſand pounds of the public money in the courſe of their infamous practices.

William was anxious to carry his ſcheme of comprehenſion into effect; and for that purpoſe, he granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to ten biſhops and twenty dignitaries of the church, who were to make ſuch alterations of the liturgy and canons, and ſuch propoſals for the reformation of eccleſiaſtical courts, as might tend to reconcile all religious differences among the proteſtant ſubjects of the kingdom. But through the violence and intrigues of the high church party, this benevolent intention was defeated, and the diſſenters met with no relief.

The parliament, after a prorogation, was reaſſembled in October, when the king, in a ſpeech of his own compoſing, explained the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war, and concluded with recommending the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his ſubjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimouſly concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. The commons unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad, for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France: for theſe purpoſes they voted a ſupply of two millions. But the whigs employed all their influence in obſtructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for the tories, who were gaining ground in the king's favour. With this view, they revived the proſecution of the ſtate priſoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge againſt Graham and Burton. A bill was ordered to be brought in, to declare the eſtate of the late lord chancellor, Jefferies, forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood; but it met with ſuch oppoſition, that the meaſure was dropped. The commons, however, agreed that the pecuniary penalties incurred by thoſe perſons who had exerciſed offices contrary to the laws againſt popiſh recuſants, ſhould be ſpeedily levied, and applied to the public ſervice. Both houſes concurred in appointing a committee to enquire who were the adviſers and proſecutors in taking away the lives of lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, alderman Corniſh, and others; and who were concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of *quo warranto*, and the ſurrender of charters. This enquiry was levelled at the marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the miniſtry and Charles II. in all theſe ſeverities; he therefore reſigned the privy ſeal, and joined the tories, of whom he became the patron.

The king was very ſolicitous to have his revenues ſettled for life. He ſaid his title was no more than a pageant, and a king without a treaſure, was the worſt of all governments. But the whigs were ſteady in their refuſal, and would not grant the civil liſt for a longer term than one year. The tories continued their ſecret negociations with the court. They took advantage of the difference ſubſiſting between the king and the whigs, and promiſed large ſupplies of money, provided this parliament ſhould be diſſolved and another immediately convoked. The oppoſite party being apprized of their intentions, brought in a bill for reſtoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges. They knew, that their whole ſtrength at elections, lay in theſe corporations, and promiſed his majeſty to manifeſt the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience, ſhould this law be enacted. The tories exerted themſelves with the utmoſt vigour againſt the bill, and

and rejected two ſevere clauſes againſt thoſe who were concerned in the ſurrendering of charters, without which the act paſſed. Both parties now quickened their application to the king, who found himſelf ſo perplexed between two factions, which he equally feared, that he reſolved to go to Holland, and leave the government in the hands of the queen. He communicated this deſign to lord Danby, now created marquis of Caermarthen, the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome other noblemen, who preſſed him to lay aſide this reſolution, and even mingled tears with remonſtrances. He complied with their requeſt, and determined to finiſh the Iriſh war in perſon. His friends dreaded the effects of that climate on his weakly conſtitution; and the well wiſhers of James were afraid of that prince being hard preſſed, ſhould William take the field in perſon. Both houſes therefore, began to prepare an addreſs againſt this expedition. In order to prevent this remonſtrance, the king went to the houſe, and formally ſignified his reſolution. He then prorogued the parliamant, after which it was diſſolved by proclamation, and a new one was ſummoned to meet on the twentieth of March.

General Ludlow, who at the reſtoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of thoſe who had ſat in judgment on Charles I. arrived in England about this time; and offered his ſervice in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was univerſally reputed a conſcientious man, and a good officer. He had received ſome encouragement to come over; and probably would have been employed, had not the commons interpoſed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant, an eſtate which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his poſſeſſion. He obſerved in the houſe, that the nation would be diſgraced, ſhould one of the regicides be ſuffered to live in the kingdom. An addreſs was preſented to the king, deſiring a proclamation might be iſſued, offering a reward for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly publiſhed; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Switzerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years. Thus, through tory influence, the nation was deprived of the ſervices of the brave and virtuous Ludlow, and he was refuſed the ſatisfaction of ſpending the ſhort remainder of life in his own country;—a country, for whoſe welfare he had often bled, and offered the ſacrifice of his life and fortune: while the family of the deteſtable Jefferies, were permitted to enjoy the fruits of his villainy.

Having deſcribed the progreſs of the Revolution in England, we ſhall briefly mention the tranſactions in Scotland during that period. The Scotch convention met on the fourteenth day of March. The duke of Hamilton and the whigs declared for William, but the duke of Gordon maintained the caſtle of Edinburgh for his old maſter; and when the lords and commons met, the biſhop of Edinburgh, who officiated as chaplain, prayed for the reſtoration of King James. The earls of Lothian and Tweedale were deputed in the name of the Eſtates, to require the duke of Gordon to ſurrender the caſtle, which he refuſing, was proclaimed a traitor, and the caſtle was blocked up by the troops of the city. An expreſs arrived from William, and at the ſame time another from James, both profeſſing their eſteem for the Scottiſh nation, and threatening to puniſh ſuch as ſhould ſtand out againſt them. A committee was appointed by the convention, to draw up a reſpectful anſwer to the letter of William; but no regard was paid to James, and his meſſenger was diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer.

A committee of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgeſſes, were appointed to prepare the plan of a new ſettlement. They voted, that James being a profeſſed papiſt, had invaded the fundamental conſtitution of this kingdom, and violated its laws and liberties, whereby he had forfeited his right to the crown, and the throne was become vacant. When this vote was reported to the houſe, it was carried by a great majority. The duke of Hamilton, lord preſident, then propoſed that the vacant throne might be filled by William

liam and Mary, king and queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for ſettling the crown on their majeſties, together with an inſtrument of government for ſecuring the ſubjects from the grievances under which they laboured. This act, with the conditions of inheritance, being approved, was proclaimed at the market croſs, Edinburgh. The convention having ſettled the coronation oath, commiſſioned the earl of Argyle, for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, to repair to London, and inveſt their majeſties with the government. They alſo appointed another committee to take care of the public peace, and then adjourned. The Scottiſh commiſſioners being introduced to their majeſties at Whitehall, preſented the inſtrument, with a paper, containing a recital of the grievances of the nation; and an addreſs, deſiring his majeſty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king promiſed to concur with them in all juſt meaſures for the intereſt of the kingdom; and the earl of Argyle tendered the coronation oath to their majeſties. As the oath contained a clauſe, importing that they ſhould root out hereſy, the king declared, that he did not mean by theſe words, that he ſhould be under an obligation to act as a perſecutor. The commiſſioners replying that ſuch was not the meaning or import of the oath, he deſired them, and others preſent, to bear witneſs to the exception he had made.

On the ſeventeenth of June, duke Hamilton opened the Scottiſh parliament, after the convention had aſſumed that name by his majeſty's authority. The lords of the articles had been ſet aſide in the reign of Charles I. but were revived upon the reſtoration. This body derived their exiſtence indirectly from the king, and no motion could be made in parliament without their permiſſion. By the gradual uſurpations of the crown, they conſtituted an intolerable grievance in a free nation; and the parliament were greatly chagrined, when they found the king had only agreed that the eſtates ſhould chuſe the lords by their own ſuffrages. Though he afterwards indulged the three eſtates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee to be elected monthly or oftener, this conceſſion proved unſatisfactory while the inſtitution itſelf remained. A bill paſſed through all the forms of the houſe for excluding all thoſe who had been concerned in the incroachments of the late reign, but proved abortive for want of the royal aſſent. The king, by virtue of his own prerogative, had appointed the judges; but the oppoſition brought in a bill, declaring the bench vacant, as it was at the reſtoration, aſſerting the right of parliament to examine and approve thoſe who ſhould be appointed to fill it; and that all the clauſes in the ſeveral acts relating to the admiſſion of the ordinary lords of ſeſſion, and their qualifications for that office, ſhould be ratified and confirmed for perpetual obſervation. This bill was carried by a great majority, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the miniſters, who were determined to maintain the king's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary reſolution. The majority, exaſperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbade the judges to open their commiſſions, or hold a ſeſſion, until the king's further pleaſure ſhould be known. On the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the miniſtry, who collected a body of forces in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to ſupport the judges in the exerciſe of their functions.

The lord commiſſioner, alarmed at this ſcene of tumult and confuſion, adjourned the houſe till the eighth of October. The oppoſition drew up a remonſtrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment, while the nation was yet unſettled, recapitulating the ſeveral inſtances of their zeal and affection for his majeſty; explaining their reaſons for diſſenting from the miniſtry; beſeeching him to give his aſſent to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and to take meaſures for redreſſing all the other grievances of the nation. William was ſo touched with the reproaches implied in this addreſs, that in his own vindication, he publiſhed the inſtructions he had given to the commiſſioner. By theſe it

appeared, that the duke might have gone greater lengths than he did, in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment of parliament, they had granted the revenue for life, and raiſed money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for ſupporting the incidental expences of government for ſome months; they alſo paſſed an act for aboliſhing epiſcopacy; but the Scottiſh church remained without any ſettled form of government, in conſequence of the diſputes in parliament; for though the hierarchy was aboliſhed, the preſbyterian diſcipline was not yet eſtabliſhed, and eccleſiaſtical affairs were occaſionally regulated by the privy council.

The ſeſſion being adjourned, Sir John Lancer converted the blockade of Edinburgh caſtle into a regular ſiege, which was proſecuted with ſuch vigour that it ſurrendered on the thirteenth of June. All the hopes of James now centered in the viſcount Dundee, who obtained a victory over general Mackay, but was killed in the battle. Colonel Cannon ſucceeded in command, but all their deſigns miſcarried; ſo that the clans, wearied with misfortunes, laid down their arms and took the benefit of a pardon, which king William offered to thoſe who ſhould ſubmit before a certain day.

By the aſſiſtance of the two laſt kings of England, Lewis had been able to controul all Europe for nearly thirty years; and from motives of policy, as well as perſonal regard, he reſolved, if poſſible to reſtore James to his loſt country and authority. For this purpoſe he ſupplied James with a fleet, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, three fire-ſhips, and a large number of tranſports; and this prince, with one thouſand, two hundred Britiſh ſubjects, and ſeveral of the beſt of the French officers, landed at Kinſale in Ireland, on the twenty-ſecond day of March, 1689. By the attachment of the earl of Tyrconnel, who commanded in Ireland, and who had found means to amuſe William, he was joined on his landing by an army of thirty-eight thouſand men, the whole kingdom, except the city of Londonderry, received him with ſubmiſſion, and he determined on beſieging that place, contrary to the advice of his adherents.

This, however was not the only groſs error in the conduct of this infatuated bigot. By the advice, and with the aſſiſtance of a popiſh parliament, a law was made to repeal the act of ſettlement paſſed in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. nor was any regard paid to ſuch proteſtant owners as had purchaſed eſtates for valuable conſiderations; no allowance was made for improvements; no proviſion for proteſtant widows; the poſſeſſors and tenants were not permitted to remove their ſtock and corn; and, to complete the deſtruction of the party, an act of attainder was paſſed againſt all proteſtants, whether male or female, who were abſent from the kingdom, and likewiſe againſt all thoſe who did not own the authority of king James, or correſponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting them, from the firſt day of Auguſt in the preceding year. The number of proteſtants attainted by name in this bloody preſcription, amounted to about three thouſand, including two archbiſhops, ſeven biſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen; who were declared traitors, and adjudged to ſuffer death and forfeiture. The ſhops of tradeſmen, and the kitchens of burghers were pillaged of all the braſs, to be converted into coin; on which an arbitrary value was ſet, and all perſons were required to take it in payment under ſevere penalties. James impoſed a tax of twenty thouſand pounds a month by his own authority; ſoldiers were permitted to live on free quarters; licenſes and protections were abuſed; and the proteſtants, who had laid out all their braſs money in hides, tallow, wool, and corn, were obliged to ſell theſe commodities at the price fixed on them by the tyrant.

As it was the intention of James and his council to root out proteſtaniſm from Ireland, all vacancies in the public ſchools were ſupplied with popiſh teachers. The penſion allowed from the exchequer to the univerſity of Dublin was cut off; the vice-provoſt, fellows,

lows and ſcholars were expelled, and their furniture, plate, and library ſeized; their college was converted into a garriſon, their chapel into a magazine, and a popiſh prieſt was appointed provoſt. When benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the profits were applied in the maintenance of popiſh prieſts, who in ſeveral places ſeized the proteſtant churches. On the appearance of ſhips in the Bay of Dublin, a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding proteſtants to aſſemble in any place of worſhip or elſewhere, on pain of death; another commanded them to give up their arms, on pain of being treated as traitors; a third, from Luttrel, governor of Dublin, required the farmers to bring in their corn for his majeſty's horſes, on penalty of being hanged before their own doors.

The Iriſh proteſtants now underwent the moſt oppreſſive and cruel indignities. Moſt of thoſe who were attached to the revolution were either obliged to retire into Scotland or England, or hid themſelves, or ſubmitted to accept of written protections from their enemies. The braveſt of them, however, to the number of ten thouſand men, aſſembled at Londonderry, where they reſolved to make their laſt ſtand in defence of their religion and liberty. A few alſo gathered into a body at Inniſkilling, where their number was ſoon increaſed by the acceſſion of others.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, James opened the campaign with the ſiege of Londonderry, a town of ſmall importance in itſelf, but rendered famous by the obſtinate reſiſtance which it made on this occaſion. Though Colonel Lundie had been appointed governor of the town by William, he was ſecretly attached to James, and at a council of war, prevailed upon the officers and townſmen to ſend meſſengers to the beſiegers, with an offer of ſurrender the day following: but the inhabitants, being appriſed of the deſign, roſe in a fury againſt the governor and council, ſhot one of the officers whom they ſuſpected, and boldly reſolved to maintain the place to the laſt extremity. They choſe for their governors one Walker, a diſſenting miniſter, and major Baker, with joint authority. The town was weak in its fortifications, and ſtill weaker in its artillery, there being not upon the works above twenty ſerviceable guns. The batteries of the beſiegers ſoon began to play upon the town with great fury, and ſeveral aſſaults were made, but always repulſed with reſolution. The beſieged, after ſome time, found themſelves exhauſted by continual fatigue: they were afflicted alſo by a contagious diſtemper, which reduced their numbers; and, in addition to their diſtreſs, they ſuffered greatly from want of proviſions; they had even the mortification to ſee ſome ſhips which had arrived with ſupplies from England prevented from ſailing up the river by the batteries of the enemy, and a boom by which they had blocked up the channel. At length a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deſerted his maſter, and been employed in the ſervice of William; but all he could do was to promiſe them ſpeedy relief, and to exhort them to bear their miſeries a little longer, with aſſurances of a happy termination. They had now conſumed the laſt remains of their proviſion, and ſupported life by eating horſes, dogs, and all kinds of vermin, till even this loathſome food began to fail them.

Roſene, James's general, was ſo enraged at their obſtinacy, that he threatened to wreak his vengeance on the proteſtants of the country, by driving them under the walls of Londonderry. Parties of dragoons were ſent on this cruel ſervice, and after having ſtripped all the proteſtants for thirty miles round, drove theſe unhappy people before them like cattle, without ſparing old men, mothers with infants at their breaſts, tender children, women juſt delivered, and ſome even in the pangs of labour. Above four thouſand of theſe miſerable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. The beſieged were ſo exaſperated at this act of inhumanity, that they reſolved rather to periſh than ſubmit to ſuch a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in ſight of the enemy, and ſent a meſſage to the general, importing, that they would hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, unleſs the proteſtants whom they had driven under the

the walls were diſmiſſed; and in conſequence of this threat they were releaſed, after having been detained three days without food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue, and thoſe who lived to return to their habitations found them plundered by the papiſts, ſo that the greater number periſhed through want, or were murdered by ſtraggling parties of the enemy; yet moſt of theſe perſons had received protections from James, to which no reſpect was paid by his general.

The garriſon of Londonderry was now reduced from ſeven to five thouſand men, and they were reduced to ſuch extremity, that they began to talk of killing the popiſh inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. Kirke had hitherto lain inactive, debating with himſelf, between the prudence and neceſſity of his aſſiſtance; but receiving intelligence of the miſerable ſituation to which the garriſon was reduced, he reſolved upon an attempt to throw proviſions into the place, by means of three victuallers, and a frigate to cover them. One of theſe broke the enemy's boom, and all the three, after having ſuſtained a very hot fire from both ſides of the river, arrived in ſafety at the town, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James was ſo diſpirited by the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that they abandoned the ſiege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having loſt above nine thouſand men before the place. Kirke no ſooner took poſſeſſion of the town, than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an addreſs of thanks to king William, for the ſeaſonable relief which they had received.

The Inniſkilliners were no leſs remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perſeverance with which they oppoſed the papiſts. They raiſed twelve companies under the command of Guſtavus Hamilton, whom they choſe for their governor; they proclaimed William and Mary, and reſolved to maintain their title againſt all oppoſition; they compelled lord Gilmoy to raiſe the ſiege of Crom, a proteſtant garriſon; they defeated ſix thouſand Iriſh papiſts at Newton-butler, and took their commander priſoner.

Though the affairs of Ireland were extremely preſſing, and the proteſtants made repeated applications for relief, the ſuccours from England had been ſo unaccountably retarded, that James had been ſix months in arms before any troops were embarked for that kingdom. William, dreading the conſequence of employing the late king's forces to fight againſt him, ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raiſed for that purpoſe. Theſe, with two Dutch battallions, and four of French refugees, with the Inniſkilliners, were allotted for the reduction of Ireland; and Schomberg was appointed to command. This officer was a Dutchman, who had long been the faithful ſervant of William, and had now paſſed a life of eighty years almoſt continually in the field. The method of carrying on the war in Ireland, however, was a mode of operation with which he was entirely unacquainted. He reflected not on the dangers to which his troops were expoſed by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moiſt camp, near Dundalk, without fuel almoſt of any kind; ſo that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, which carried off great numbers. The enemy, however, was no leſs afflicted with ſimilar diſorders. Both camps remained for ſome time in ſight of each other; and at laſt the rainy ſeaſon approaching, they both, as if by mutual agreement, broke up at once, and retired into winter-quarters, without attempting any operation of conſequence.

A. D. 1690.] In England the tories were daily gaining ground in the king's favour, they were not only admitted to his councils, but to gratify them, the earls of Monmouth and Warrington, two ſtaunch whigs, were diſmiſſed from their employment. By the aſſiſtance of the king, the tories obtained ſuch a majority in the new parliament, that Sir John Trevor, a warm partizan of the faction, was choſen ſpeaker. Trevor undertook to procure a majority at the devotion of the court, provided he was ſupplied with the ſums neceſſary for corruption; and William, ſeduced by this criminal propoſal, countenanced the practice of purchaſing votes in parliament. The king, in his ſpeech, deſired the parliament to make a ſettle-

a ſettlement of the revenue, or eſtabliſh it for the preſent, as a fund of credit, upon which the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of government might be immediately advanced. The commons, in compliance with his requeſt, voted a ſupply of twelve hundred thouſand pounds; one million of that ſum to be raiſed on credit; the hereditary exciſe was granted during life, but the cuſtoms for four years only. A poll bill was likewiſe paſſed; other ſupplies were granted; and both parties ſeemed to court his majeſty, by advancing money on thoſe funds of credit. The whigs produced in the upper houſe a bill for recognizing their majeſties as the right and lawful ſovereigns of theſe realms, and for declaring all the acts of the convention parliament valid. The tories were reduced to a perplexing ſituation by this bill; they could not oppoſe it without hazarding the intereſt they had ſo lately acquired, nor aſſent to it without ſolemnly renouncing their former arguments and diſtinctions; they propoſed an amendment, which was rejected, and at length the bill paſſed; but the moſt violent of the faction, with the earl of Nottingham at their head, entered a proteſt againſt it. The ſame party in the houſe of commons, were determined to make a vigorous oppoſition; but their deſign was prematurely diſcovered, by one of them diſputing the legality of the convention, as it was not ſummoned by the king's writ: This was anſwered by Somers, the ſolicitor-general, who obſerved, if *that* was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths enacted by *that* parliament, were guilty of high treaſon; the laws repealed by it were ſtill in force, and it was their duty to return to James. The tories were ſtruck by theſe arguments, and ſuffered the bill to paſs without further oppoſition; but the whigs would not have gained their point, had not the court been concerned in the diſpute, and exerted all their influence.

Another violent conteſt between the two parties occurred on a bill, requiring all perſons in office to abjure king James, on pain of impriſonment. The tories repreſented to the king, that paſſing this bill would make thoſe who oppoſed it, grow ſullen and untractable, ſo as to oppoſe every other meaſure for the king's ſervice; and put him into the hands of the whigs, who would renew their old practices againſt his prerogative. In conſequence of their ſuggeſtions, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to buſineſs of greater importance. But his interference on this occaſion, diſguſted the friends of liberty; and the earl of Shrewſbury reſented it ſo highly, that he inſiſted on reſigning his office of ſecretary of ſtate. The king revered him for his talents and integrity, and ſtrongly ſolicited him to continue in office, but the earl was deaf to all entreaties, and perſiſted in his reſignation.

The act of indemnity, ſo warmly recommended by William, was at length paſſed, with the exception of thirty perſons only; after which, he adjourned the parliament. From this period, the king was enabled to balance parties in ſuch a manner, as to give the prepondering weight to every court meaſure. The tories looked up to him for preferment, and the whigs for ſafety; and both parties vied with each other in adulatory praiſes: nor were the two factions of high and low church much leſs favourable to the power of government. As William was a calviniſt by profeſſion, and a friend to toleration, he had the whole body of diſſenters at his command; who not attending to the intimate connection there is between civil and religious liberty, and the impoſſibility of preſerving one with the loſs of the other, regarded the enlargement of the king's power as a bulwark againſt the encroachments and tyranny of the church.

William, induced by the bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, and the miſerable ſituation of the proteſtants in Ireland, had reſolved to attempt their relief in perſon. Accordingly he ſet out on the fourth of June, and landed at Carrickfergus, where he found himſelf at the head of an army of ſix and thirty thouſand effective men; which was more than a match for the forces of James, though they exceeded this number by about ten thouſand men. William having received intelligence that the French fleet was ſailed for the coaſt of England,

land, haſtened to advance againſt James, who had precipitately quitted Dublin, and ſtationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk. All the meaſures purſued by William were dictated by prudence and valour, while thoſe of his opponent ſeemed to be guided by obſtinacy and infatuation. The adherents of James neglected to harraſs William in his difficult march from the North; they neglected to oppoſe him at the ſtrong paſs at Newry. As he advanced, they fell back, firſt from Dundalk, and then from Ardee, until at laſt they fixed their camp in a ſtrong ſtation on the other ſide of the Boyne. William marched up to the oppoſite ſide of the river to reconnoitre their ſituation; and being perceived by the enemy, ſome field pieces were brought out and planted againſt his perſon immediately. The ſhot killed a man and two horſes cloſe by him, and himſelf was wounded in the ſhoulder. This accident creating ſome confuſion among his attendants, the enemy concluded he was killed, and their whole camp reſounded with acclamations. The report was inſtantly communicated to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the event was celebrated with great demonſtrations of joy. At night William called a council of war, and declared his reſolution to attack the enemy in the morning. The duke of Schomberg attempted to expoſtulate with him upon the danger of the undertaking; but finding the king inflexible, retired to his tent with the appearance of diſſatisfaction.

Early in the morning of the thirtieth of June, William gave orders to force a paſſage over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and, after a furious cannonading, the battle began with great vigour. The Iriſh troops, though reckoned inferior to none in Europe when out of their own country, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they fled with precipitation; leaving the French and Swiſs regiments, which came to their aſſiſtance, to make the beſt retreat they could. William led on his cavalry in perſon, and contributed by his activity and vigilance to the ſucceſs of the day. James was not in the action, but ſtood aloof on the hill of Dunmore, ſurrounded with ſome ſquadrons of horſe; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he ſaw his own troops repulſing thoſe of the enemy, "O! ſpare my Engliſh ſubjects." The Iriſh loſt about fifteen hundred men, and the Engliſh about one-third of that number; among whom was the duke of Schomberg. He was killed by a diſcharge from his own troops, who, not knowing that he had been accidentally hurried into the midſt of the enemy, fired upon the body of men by whom he was encompaſſed, and mortally wounded him. This old ſoldier of fortune, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery under almoſt every power of Europe, was deſcended from a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an Engliſhwoman, daughter of Lord Dudley. The gallant clergyman, Walker, alſo fell in this action.

James, while his troops were yet fighting, quitted his ſtation; and leaving orders to defend the paſs at Duleek, made the beſt of his way to Dublin, deſpairing of any farther ſucceſs. He no ſooner arrived in the capital, than he aſſembled the magiſtrates, and adviſed them to ſecure the beſt terms they could from the victor; after which he ſet out for Waterford, where, in a veſſel fitted for his reception, he embarked for France. Had he poſſeſſed either conduct or ſpirit, he might ſtill have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forſook him with good fortune, and he returned to retrieve his affairs abroad, while he deſerted them in the only place where they might have been maintained.

His adherents, however, were determined to ſupport thoſe intereſts which himſelf had abandoned. Limerick, a ſtrong city in the province of Munſter, ſtill held out for the late king, and braved all the efforts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himſelf at the head of the army which had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country, to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he reſolved to await the enemy. But James, while he would not defend the country himſelf, determined that none but ſuch as

were

were agreeable to him ſhould defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had ſignalized himſelf againſt the Proteſtants in France, to command over Sarsfield; a meaſure which gave the Iriſh univerſal diſcontent, as it ſhowed the king could neither rely on their ſkill or fidelity.

James had no ſooner quitted Dublin, than it was alſo abandoned by the Papiſts. The Proteſtants immediately took poſſeſſion of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was appointed to take charge of the adminiſtration; and an account of theſe tranſactions was ſent to king William. A declaration was publiſhed by the king, offering pardon to the common people who had ſerved againſt him, provided they would lay down their arms by the firſt of Auguſt, and return to their dwellings; but the deſperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, invited over the French, authoriſed the vile depredations committed on the proteſtants, and rejected the king's firſt declaration of pardon, were left to the event of war. By another proclamation, the time for ſurrendering was prolonged to the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and extended to perſons of ſuperior rank, whether natives or foreigners; but the influence of the prieſts was ſo great, that it produced little effect. William having conſtituted lord Sidney and Thomas Coningſby, lords juſtices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count Solmes, returned to England in September. The earl of Malborough arrived in Ireland with five thouſand men about the latter end of the ſame month; and being ſtrengthened by detachments from the grand army, in thirty days he reduced Cork and Kinſale, when he returned to England, where the fame of this exploit added to his reputation.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen as regent conducted herſelf with great prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to ſail from Breſt; lord Torrington hoiſted his flag in the Downs, and was joined by a Dutch ſquadron. Their united force amounted only to fifty-ſix ſhips; while the French force conſiſted of ſeventy-eight ſhips of war, beſide twenty-two fire-ſhips. The two hoſtile fleets came in ſight of each other off Plymouth; and after remaining in a ſtate of inaction for five days, on the thirteenth of June, lord Torrington bore down on the enemy. The Dutch ſquadron formed the van, and began the engagement at nine in the morning; about half an hour after the rear of the Engliſh were engaged with the rear of the French; but the centre, which was commanded by Torrington in perſon, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; ſo that the Dutch were almoſt ſurrounded, and though they fought with great valour, ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At length the Admiral's diviſion drove between them and the French, and in that ſituation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle, and in the night weighed anchor. That they might not be retarded in their retreat, the diſabled ſhips were deſtroyed; but they were purſued as far as Rye. In this engagement the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two captains, and four hundred men: but the Dutch were more unfortunate; ſix of their great ſhips were deſtroyed; Dick and Bracker, rear admirals, were ſlain, beſides a great number of officers and ſeamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption, into the mouth of the Thames; but he was deprived of his command, and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court martial, and acquitted; but the king diſmiſſed him from his ſervice. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French made a deſcent, burnt the village of Teignmouth, and then returned to Breſt.

The parliament was aſſembled by proclamation in October, when the king in his ſpeech, mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the courage of his troops, and expreſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who had been guilty of miſmanagement in the fleet; he repreſented the neceſſity of proſecuting the war with vi-

gour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and to enable him to pay off the arrears of the army. Both houſes preſented addreſſes of congratulation to the king aud queen, commending his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and ſagacity at the helm. The commons, purſuant to an eſtimate of the next year's expences, voted four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and the funds were ſettled for that purpoſe. They propoſed to raiſe one million on the forfeited eſtates in Ireland; but as they had been promiſed to the king's favourites, the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed; and though it paſſed the commons, by the influence of the miniſtry, it was delayed in the lords. Two bills were paſſed for granting to their majeſties the duties on goods imported for five years; and a conſiderable ſupply was voted for building ſome additional ſhips of war. On the fifth of January the king put an end to the ſeſſion, when he thanked them for the repeated inſtances of their affection to his perſon and government, and told them it was neceſſary he ſhould go to Holland, as the affairs of the Continent required his attendance. The houſe was then adjourned to the thirty-firſt day of March. The place of Secretary of ſtate which had remained vacant, ever ſince the reſignation of Shrewſbury, was now filled by lord Sidney, and ſir Charles Porter was appointed one of the juſtices of Ireland in his room.

A. D. 1691.] The marquis of Caermarthen, preſident of the council, received information that ſome perſons had hired a veſſel to go over to France. He communicated this intelligence to the king in council; and orders were given to watch the veſſel, and ſecure the paſſengers. Lord Preſton, Mr. Aſhton, a ſervant of the late queen, and one Elliot, were found on board, with a bundle of papers, ſome of which were ſcarcely intelligible. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king to aſſiſt James in reaſcending the throne on certain conditions. Preſton and Aſhton were tried at the Old Bailey, for compaſſing the death of their majeſties, king William and Queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on without any regard to their petition for delay. They made a very able defence, but were brow-beaten by the judge, and on very imperfect evidence were found guilty by the jury. Aſhton ſuffered death with great courage and decorum; he put a paper into the hands of the ſheriff, in which he owned his attachment to king James; he witneſſed the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers committed to his charge; complained of the hard meaſure he had received from the judge and jury, but forgave them in the ſight of heaven. Lord Preſton had not the ſame reſolution: upon an offer of pardon, he betrayed his aſſociates, the principal of whom were the duke of Ormond, lord Clarendon, lord Dartmouth, and the biſhop of Ely.

William embarked for Holland on the ſixteenth of January, and in a congreſs of the confederates, ſettled the plan of operations againſt France for the enſuing campaign. On the thirteenth of April he returned to England, when he prepared inſtructions for general Ginckle, who at this time had the chief command in Ireland. Having appointed the queen regent, he again went over to Holland; and began to make preparations for taking the field in perſon.

In Ireland, there had been many ſkirmiſhes between different parties, which always terminated to the diſadvantage of the Iriſh. General Ginckle having taken Ballymore, in June, led his army towards the Shannon, in order to paſs that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable was at Athlone, a ſtrong walled town, built on both ſides of the river, and defending that important paſs. The part of the town on the hither-ſide of the river was quickly taken, ſword in hand, by the Engliſh; but that on the oppoſite bank being defended with great vigour, was for ſome time thought impregnable. At length it was reſolved in a council of war, that a body of troops ſhould ford the ſtream in the face of the enemy. This ſervice being performed with great reſolution, the forces of the enemy were driven from their works, and the town

ſurrendered

ſurrendered at diſcretion. St. Ruth ma rche his army to their aſſiſtance; but receiving intelligence of what had happened, he inſtantly changed his courſe, and took poſt at Aughrim, at the diſtance of ten miles; where he determined to await the Engliſh army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow.

Ginckle, having put Athlone in a poſture of defence, paſſed the Shannon, and marched towards the enemy, with the reſolution of giving them battle, though his forces, which amounted to eighteen thouſand men, were inferior by ſeven thouſand. The Iriſh were poſted in a very advantageous ſituation, upon a riſing ground, having in their front a moraſs, which, to appearance, was paſſable only in two places. Their right was fortified by entrenchments, and their left ſecured by the caſtle of Aughrim. Ginckle, having obſerved their poſition, gave the neceſſary orders for the attack; and, after a furious cannonading, the Engliſh army at twelve o'clock began to force the two paſſages of the moraſs, in order to occupy the ground on the other ſide. The enemy received them with great intrepidity, and the horſe were ſeveral times repulſed; but at length the troops on the right, by the help of ſome field-pieces, were enabled to force their paſſage. At ſix o'clock in the evening the left wing of the Engliſh army was advanced to the right of the Iriſh, and at length obliged it to give way. Meanwhile, a more general attack was made upon the centre, where St. Ruth being killed by a cannon ball, his troops were ſo diſpirited that they alſo gave way on all ſides, and after having loſt above five thouſand of the flower of their army, retreated to Limerick. Here they for ſome time made a brave defence; but ſeeing the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge, and that themſelves were entirely ſurrounded, they determined to capitulate. A negociation was immediately begun, and ſoon after concluded. By this capitulation the Roman catholics were reſtored to the enjoyment of thoſe liberties in the exerciſe of their religion, which they had poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. All perſons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. In conſequence of this, about fourteen thouſand of thoſe who had fought for king James, went over into France, having tranſports provided by government for conveying them thither. On their arrival in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by James, who told them that they ſhould ſtill fight for their old maſter: and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new cloathed, and put into quarters of refreſhment.

The war in Ireland, coſt above five millions; and the Iriſh proteſtants were much diſſatisfied with the treaty of Limerick, by which ſuch conceſſions were made to vanquiſhed rebels, while themſelves were neglected, and obliged to ſit down with their loſſes. But general Ginckle had received orders to finiſh the war at any rate, that the king might be able to direct all his attention to the affairs of the continent.

William returned to England the nineteenth of October, and opened the parliament on the twenty-ſecond. In his ſpeech he inſiſted on the neceſſity of ſending a ſtrong fleet to ſea early in the ſeaſon, and of maintaining a conſiderable army to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from invaſion; for which purpoſe, he ſaid, ſixty-five thouſand men would be barely ſufficient. Each houſe voted an addreſs of congratulation on his majeſty's ſafe return to England, and the reduction of Ireland. They promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt in proſecuting the war againſt France. At the ſame time they drew up addreſſes to the queen, acknowledging her prudent adminiſtration during the king's abſence.

Thanks were alſo voted to general Ginckle for his great ſervices, and the king created him earl of Athlone.

Notwithſtanding this appearance of cordiality, a ſpirit of diſcontent prevailed in both houſes of parliament, and a great part of the nation. Many individuals who wiſhed well to their country, could not, without reſentment, behold the intereſt of the nation ſacrificed to foreign connections. They obſerved that inſtead of contributing as allies to the war on the continent, they had embarked as prin-

cipals, and bore the greateſt part of the burden, though they had the leaſt ſhare of the profit. That the number of forces the king demanded was greater than ever had been paid by the public, even in the time of danger; and that ſuch a ſtanding army was more calculated to make him abſolute at home than to render him formidable abroad. They dwelt upon the king's proud reſerve, his imperious diſpoſition, his partiality to his countrymen, and his baſe ingratitude to the earl of Marlborough, whom he had diſmiſſed from all his employments immediately after the ſignal exploits he had performed in Ireland. They complained, that the arts of corruption were employed to obtain a majority in parliament; that the king was as tender of his prerogative as any of his predeceſſors; and that he admitted jacobites into his council, becauſe they were the known tools of arbitrary power. Theſe reflections alluded to the earls of Rocheſter and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had lately been created privy counſellors. Rocheſter entertained very high notions of regal authority, and recommended ſeverity as the beſt ſupport of government. Ranelagh had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. enjoyed the office of paymaſter to the army under James; and maintained the ſame footing under William. Seymour had oppoſed the court with the greateſt acrimony, and queſtioned the king's title; but he became a proſelyte, and was brought into the treaſury.

Three millions, four hundred and eleven thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds were voted by the commons for the uſe of the enſuing year. They next took into conſideration the miſcarriage of the fleet during the ſummer. Admiral Ruſſel had ſailed in queſt of the French fleet, but could not bring them to an engagement. Having ſcoured the channel and ſecured the homeward bound fleet, he returned to Torbay. The miniſtry fooliſhly gave him orders to put to ſea again, notwithſtanding his repeated remonſtrances againſt expoſing large ſhips to the ſtorms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He put to ſea, but was ſoon overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which obliged him to return to Plymouth with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips. The commons ſubjected him to an enquiry, but on examining his orders, they found he had ſtrictly obeyed them, and they thought proper to drop the proſecution out of tenderneſs to the miniſtry. The parliament was afterwards adjourned.

It will now be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of the affairs of Scotland. Colonel Cannon having made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts in behalf of the late king, retired to Ireland, and the Highlanders choſe Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. James aſſiſted them with clothes, arms, and ammunition; together with ſome officers, amongſt whom was colonel Bucan, appointed as chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the ſhire of Murray, in hopes of being joined by other malcontents, but he was ſurpriſed and routed by Sir Thomas Livingſtone; ſo that the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and conceal themſelves among their hills and faſtneſſes.

The friends of James, deſpairing of ſucceſs in the field, converted their attention to the proceedings in parliament; and took the oaths without reſerve. But as they were compoſed of different parties, who mutually hated and diſtruſted each other, ſome of them retracted rather than ſink with a falling cauſe; others diſcloſed their negociation with James, to Melvil, ſecretary of ſtate, then came to England, and threw themſelves on the queen's mercy. This diſunion of the conſpirators left Melvil a great majority in parliament; and contrary to the intentions of William, he yielded up eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy and patronage to the preſbyterians. All the laws in favour of epiſcopacy were aboliſhed. Sixty of the preſbyterian miniſters, who had been ejected at the reſtoration, were ſtill alive, and thoſe the parliament declared the only ſound part of the church. The power of it was lodged in their hands, with authority to admit ſuch to their aſſiſtance as they ſhould think proper. To qualify this, the parliament indulged the king with a tax of hearth money; and impoſed a teſt on all perſons in office and in parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful

lawful ſovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of king James.

The preſbyterians, in their turn, acted with rigour towards the epiſcopolians, who promiſed to enter heartily into the intereſts of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and ſerve king William, provided he would balance the power of Melvil and his partizans, in ſuch a manner as to ſecure them from oppreſſion. The king reliſhed the propoſal, and young Dalrymple, ſon of lord Stair, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate with Melvil. He undertook to bring over the jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the ſame time they maintained a correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, by the connivance of which, they ſubmitted to William, that they might be able the more effectually to ſerve James.

The king having determined to admit the epiſcopolians to a ſhare of the adminiſtration, Johnſton was made joint ſecretary with the maſter of Stair, and earl Melvil, who had declined in his importance, was made lord privy ſeal. Tweedale was conſtituted lord chancellor; Crawford continued preſident of the council; and Lothian was appointed high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly. The epiſcopal clergy were admitted to a ſhare of the church government; and the parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth of April, becauſe it was not yet compliant enough to be aſſembled with ſafety. Theſe meaſures ſerved only to inflame the animoſities of the two parties. The epiſcopolians triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagoniſts with inſolence and ſcorn. The preſbyterians were incenſed to ſee their friends diſgraced, and their enemies diſtinguiſhed by the royal indulgence. They inſiſted upon the authority of the law, which was on their ſide, and refuſed to concur with the epiſcopolians, or abate any thing in their diſcipline. The general aſſembly was diſſolved, without any time or place being fixed for the next meeting. But the preſbyterians claimed an independant right of meeting annually, even without a call from his majeſty; they therefore adjourned themſelves, after having proteſted againſt the diſſolution. The king reſented this as an inſolent invaſion of his prerogative, and conceived an averſion to them, while they in their turn, began to loſe all reſpect for his perſon and government.

This general diſcontent was increaſed by another circumſtance, which excited both their terror and indignation. A maſſacre the moſt cruel that ever ſtained the hiſtory of this country, was perpetrated about this time. As the Highlanders were not yet totally ſubdued, the earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over by diſtributing money among their chiefs, and fifteen thouſand pounds were remitted for that purpoſe. During former hoſtilities, the lands of Breadalbane had been plundered by Macdonald, laird of Glencoe, and Breadalbane inſiſted that Macdonald ſhould indemnify him for the loſſes, out of his ſhare of this money. Macdonald not only refuſed to acquieſce in theſe terms, but by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole ſcheme, and the earl in revenge, devoted him to deſtruction. King William had by proclamation, offered pardon to all who had been in arms againſt him, provided they would ſubmit and take the oath of allegiance before the firſt of January following; and threatened military execution to thoſe who ſhould hold out beyond that time. Macdonald repaired to Fort William to take the oath, but he deferred it till the laſt day of December. On his application to colonel Hill, the governor of that fort, he refuſed to adminiſter the oath, becauſe he was not a civil magiſtrate. Macdonald immediately ſet out for Inverary, the county town of Argyleſhire; and though the weather was intenſely cold, the roads bad and covered with ſnow, he travelled with ſuch diligence, that he arrived there next day. He applied to Sir John Campbell, ſheriff of the county, who, in conſideration of his diſappointment at Fort William, was prevailed on to adminiſter the oath to him and his adherents; when they returned home in full confidence of being protected by the government.

But Breadalbane had repreſented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel; he obſerved that

that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and propoſed to extirpate him and his family by military execution. This advice was ſupported by the other Scottiſh miniſters, and the king ſigned a warrant for the deſtruction of theſe unfortunate people, though probably without knowing of Macdonald's ſubmiſſion. Orders were accordingly ſent to Livingſtone, who commanded the troops in Scotland, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the ſword; and that the ſcene might be more terrible, he was charged to take no priſoners.

In February, Captain Campbell marched to Glencoe, with a company of ſoldiers, under pretence of levying ſome taxes; he was received by Macdonald with the moſt cordial hoſpitality, and lived fifteen days with the men in the valley, in all the appearance of unreſerved friendſhip. At length the fatal period approached, Macdonald and Campbell having paſſed the day together, parted about ſeven in the evening, with mutual profeſſions of the warmeſt friendſhip. The younger Macdonald perceiving the guards doubled, ſuſpected ſome treachery, and went out with his brother to make farther obſervations. They overheard the ſoldiers ſay, they liked not the work, they would willingly have fought the Macdonalds in the field, but held it baſe to murder them in cool blood. The youths haſtened back to appriſe their father of his danger, but found the houſe already ſurrounded; they heard the diſcharge of muſkets and the ſhrieks of women and children; and being deſtitute of arms, fled for their own ſafety. Campbell had entered with a party of ſoldiers, who ſhot the old man through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died the next day diſtracted with horror. The Laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's gueſt, who had ſubmitted to the government in due time, and had a protection in his pocket, was killed without a queſtion. A boy of eight years old, who fell at Campbell's feet imploring mercy, was ſtabbed to the heart by one Drummond. Thirty-eight perſons ſuffered in this manner, moſt of whom were ſurprized in their beds. The deſign was to murder all the males that lived in the valley, amounting to about two hundred, but ſome of the detachments did not arrive time enough to ſecure the paſſes, ſo that one hundred and ſixty eſcaped. Campbell having maſſacred all the men he could find, ordered the houſes to be burned; made a prey of all the cattle and effects; and left the women and children naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or ſhelter, in the dead of the night, and in the midſt of the ſnow, which covered all the country, ſix long miles from any inhabited place, and diſtracted with grief and horror, ſo that many of them periſhed before they could be relieved. This barbarous maſſacre excited the indignation of all thoſe who had not renounced every ſentiment of humanity, and produced ſuch an averſion to the government, as all the arts of miniſtry could never totally ſurmount. The particulars were publiſhed at Paris, with many exaggerations: and the jacobites made it the ſubject of general converſation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raiſed, diſmiſſed the maſter of Stair from his employment of ſecretary, and pretended that he had ſigned the order amidſt a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not ſeverely puniſh thoſe who had made his authority ſubſervient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation ſtuck faſt to his character.

A. D. 1692.] William having ſettled the domeſtic affairs of the nation, and equipped a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth of March. While he was employed in promoting the meaſures of the grand confederacy, the French king reſolved to invade England in his abſence; and ſeemed heartily engaged in the intereſt of James. One Parker came over to England, and acquainted the jacobites with the intended deſcent. He aſſured them, that their lawful ſovereign would once more viſit his dominions at the head of thirty thouſand men; and therefore exhorted them to be ſpeedy and ſecret in their preparations, that they might effectually co-operate in his reſtoration. James alſo employed his emiſſaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing, that the French king had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown, he exhorted the people to join his ſtandard;

ſtandard; and offered an indemnity to thoſe who had acted againſt him, with an exception of certain perſons. He ſolemnly proteſted, that he would protect and maintain the church of England, and that he would uſe his influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. He concluded with declaring his reſignation to the divine will; and that thoſe who ſhould appear in arms againſt him, would be anſwerable for all the blood that ſhould be ſpilt through their deſperate and unreaſonable reſiſtance. While this declaration operated variouſly on the minds of the people, colonel Parker, with ſome other officers, enliſted men privately, for the ſervice of James, in the counties of York, Lancaſter, and the biſhopric of Durham. Fountaine and Holeman were at the ſame time employed in raiſing two regiments of horſe in London. An account was tranſmitted to James of the number of ſhips in the Engliſh fleet; and he was exhorted to uſe his influence with the French king, that the count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they were joined by the Dutch ſquadron. In conſequence of this advice, Lewis ordered Tourville to fall on the Engliſh fleet, without waiting for the Toulon ſquadron, commanded by the marquis d'Etrees. James had by this time repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, conſiſting of a body of French troops, ſome Engliſh and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been tranſported from Ireland, by virtue of the treaty of Limeric.

Admiral Carter informed the queen that he had been tampered with, and ſhe inſtructed him to amuſe the jacobites: ſome of the agents of James alſo betrayed his cauſe; and by theſe means the miniſtry was acquainted with every particular. Mary iſſued a proclamation, commanding all papiſts to depart from London and Weſtminſter. The parliament was required to meet on the twenty-fourth of May, that ſhe might avail herſelf of their advice. Warrants were iſſued for apprehending ſeveral perſons on ſuſpicion of high treaſon, in aiding and aſſiſting the king's enemies. The earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were ſent to the Tower; Ridley, Knevitt, Haſtings, and Ferguſon, were impriſoned in Newgate; the biſhop of Rocheſter was confined in his own houſe. The earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forreſter, were found in a quaker's houſe, and committed to priſon, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. Several other noblemen and gentlemen eluded the ſearch. The queen ordered out the train bands of London and Weſtminſter, and reviewed them in perſon. William, when he received intimation of the projected deſcent, detached three Engliſh regiments from Holland, and haſtened the naval preparations of the Dutch, ſo that their fleet was ready for ſea ſooner than expected.

Admiral Ruſſel was ordered to put to ſea, and being joined by the Dutch ſquadron, his force amounted to ninety-ſix line of battle ſhips, beſides frigates and fire ſhips. On the eighteenth of May, he ſailed from St. Helens to the coaſt of France, and next morning diſcovered the enemy near La Hogue, under the command of Tourville, whoſe fleet only conſiſted of ſixty-three ſhips of the line. The French admiral had received poſitive orders to fight the Engliſh, in expectation that he would meet with them before they were joined by the Dutch; and being to windward he might have eaſily avoided an action, but he determined to obey his inſtructions at all events. Accordingly the engagement began between the two admirals with great fury; and the reſt of the fleet on each ſide ſoon followed the example. This memorable engagement laſted ten hours, and all James's hopes depended on the event. Victory at laſt declared on the ſide of the confederates; and the French, having loſt four ſhips in the action, fled towards Conquet-road. The purſuit continued for two days following: three French ſhips of the line were deſtroyed the next day; and eighteen more, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue, burned by Sir George Rooke. Thus the preparations made by the French, were entirely fruſtrated; and ſo deciſive was the blow, that from that time, France would not hazard another battle with the Engliſh by ſea during the war.

James was now reduced to the loweſt ebb of deſpondence; and nothing was left his friends but the hopes of aſſaſſinating the monarch on the throne. Thoſe baſe attempts, however, all proved unſerviceable to his cauſe, and only ended in the ruin of thoſe who attempted to execute them. Not that this unhappy prince was privy to the deſign of murdering his ſon-in-law, but he was amuſed by the French court with the hope of ſeizing him alive. From this time until he died, which was about eight years after, James continued to reſide at St. Germains, a penſioner on the bounty of Lewis, and aſſiſted by occaſional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the ſixteenth day of September, in the year 1700, and was interred in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines at Paris.

William, upon his arrival in Germany, was choſen commander in chief of the confederate army againſt the French; and he attempted to raiſe the ſiege of Namur, which was beſieged by Lewis in perſon: but that ſtrong place was taken notwithſtanding all his efforts to ſave it. In July the allies fought the French near Steenkirk, and were defeated. The Engliſh loſt the earl of Angus, general Mackay, and other gallant officers, with about three thouſand men. The French loſt about the ſame number of men, with the prince of Turenne, and many other officers of diſtinction. King William retired unmoleſted to his camp, imputing much of his defeat to the miſconduct of count Solmes, who commanded in the centre; and having ſettled the winter quarters of the army, he returned to England in October.

The king opened the ſeſſion of parliament in November, with a ſpeech, in which he magnified the power of the French, and repreſented the neceſſity of maintaining a great armament to oppoſe them. The Lords began with great warmth to aſſert their privileges, which had been invaded in the caſes of the earl of Marlborough and other noblemen, who had been committed to priſon on the information of one Robert Young, a priſoner in Newgate, who had forged their ſignatures to the ſcheme of an aſſociation in favour of king James, and were not tried as they ought to have been by virtue of the habeas corpus act. The judges were ordered to attend to ſhew cauſe why they were not tried; and their anſwers not being ſatisfactory, the conteſt became ſo warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and the noblemen were diſcharged. But a formal entry was made in the journals of the lords, that the diſpute ceaſed in conſequence of the noblemen being diſcharged.

The commons were ſtill more untractable. Inſtead of immediately proceeding to the ſupplies, they inſiſted upon peruſing the treaties, public accounts, and eſtimates, that they might be able to adviſe, as well as aſſiſt his majeſty. Theſe papers being granted, they began to concert articles of advice. They complained loudly of the partiality ſhewn to foreign generals, and particularly reflected on the inſolence and miſconduct of count Solmes, at Steenkirk. They deſired that the chief command of the Engliſh forces ſhould be given to an Engliſhman, and that all vacancies among general officers ſhould be filled by natives. They enumerated many grievances, and complained of the miſmanagement of the war, and the waſte of public money. They inveighed bitterly againſt cabinet councils, as a novelty in the Britiſh ſyſtem of government, by which the privy council was joſtled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vicious principles of the miniſtry, and reſolved to adviſe his majeſty to prevent ſuch evils for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity.

The court agents however interpoſed, and ſecured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The commons no longer inſiſted upon their points of advice; they granted two millions for the maintenance of thirty-three thouſand ſeamen, building ſome ſhips of war, and finiſhing Plymouth-dock; and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, to ſupply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The miniſtry demanded fifty-four thouſand men for the land ſervice. Many members declared their averſion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate

diate concern, and very little proſpect of ſucceſs: but miniſterial influence ſurmounted all oppoſition. The houſe voted the number of men demanded, and ſuch was their ſervile complaiſance, that when they examined the treaties by which the Engliſh and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that notwithſtanding theſe treaties, Britain bore two thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant inſtance of partiality, and enabled the king to pay this proportion. So much altered were their maxims againſt employing foreign generals, that they aſſented to a motion for augmenting their pay. Finally, they voted above two millions for the ſubſiſtence of the land forces, and defraying the expences of the war on the continent, including ſubſidies to the electors of Hanover and Saxony. For raiſing the ſupplies, a rate of four ſhillings in the pound, for one year, was charged on all lands, according to their yearly value, as alſo upon all perſonal eſtates, and all offices of profit, except in the army and navy; and the king was empowered to borrow money on the credit of this act at ſeven *per cent.* The commons farther enabled him to raiſe one million on the credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. The quarterly poll was renewed; new duties were laid on ſeveral articles of merchandiſe, and old ones continued; new impoſitions were laid on the capital ſtock of the India, African, and Hudſon's-bay companies; and his majeſty was empowred to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds on theſe funds.

The queſtion of giving advice to his majeſty was debated with conſiderable warmth in the houſe of lords, where it was moved, that the taſk of digeſting the articles of advice ſhould be undertaken by a joint committee of both houſes: but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of biſhops, except Watſon, of St. Davids, were marſhalled to oppoſe this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve. The minority, however, entered a proteſt; and after much wrangling, the houſe agreed in an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to give the chief command of the Britiſh forces to an Engliſhman; to remedy the practice of preſſing men for the fleet; and that ſuch officers as were guilty of it might be caſhiered and puniſhed. This addreſs was received very coldly by the king, who ſaid he would take it into conſideration.

The undue influence of the court was exerted in ſuch an open ſcandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the commons. In the midſt of all their condeſcenſion, a bill was brought in, by which it was intended to diſable all perſons enjoying places of truſt and profit from holding ſeats in parliament; and was particularly levelled at the officers of the army and navy, who had inſinuated themſelves into the houſe in ſuch numbers, that this was generally called *the officers' parliament.* This bill paſſed the commons; but the miniſtry exerted their whole ſtrength againſt it in the lords, where it was rejected by a majority of two voices. The earl of Shrewſbury now brought in a bill for triennial parliaments. The immediate object of this bill was the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, which had ſat three ſeſſions, and began to be formidable to the people by its conceſſions to the miniſtry. Notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the court, it was carried through both houſes, but the king refuſed his aſſent.

Great complaints were made by ſome gentlemen from Ireland of the arbitrary adminiſtration of lord Sidney and his colleagues, who governed that country. Both houſes having made enquiry into the grounds of their complaint, preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, beſeeching him to redreſs theſe abuſes. The king promiſed to pay a particular regard to all remonſtrances that might come from either houſe of parliament; but no material ſtep was taken to relieve the people of Ireland, and his guilty miniſters eſcaped with impunity.

The Eaſt India company narrowly eſcaped diſſolution. Petitions and counter petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons, the pretenſions on both ſides were carefully examined, and the public expected to ſee the affair brought to a ſpeedy iſſue; but the company had recourſe to the ſame expedients which

which had proved ſo ſucceſsful in the hands of the miniſtry. Thoſe who had been the moſt warm in detecting their abuſes, ſuddenly cooled, and the affair began to languiſh. Not but that the houſe preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, praying he would diſſolve the company upon three years warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would conſider their addreſs; and they did not farther urge their remonſtrance. On the fourteenth of March, 1693, the king put an end to the ſeſſion, after having thanked them for their ſupplies, and declared his intention of again heading the army.

The meaſures of the government were in many inſtances ſo arbitrary, and in others ſo oppoſite to the true intereſts of the nation, that the people could not fail to be diſcontented, and began to think they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. So many perſons of character and diſtinction had been impriſoned upon ſuſpicion, that they affirmed the *habeas corpus* act was either inſufficient to protect the ſubject from falſe impriſonment, or had been ſhamefully miſuſed. They expatiated upon the loſs of ſhips which had fallen a prey to the enemy; the conſumption of ſeamen; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was ſupplanted by her rivals, as well as invaded by her enemies; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury in paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the ſlaughter of the beſt and braveſt of our countrymen, whoſe blood had been laviſhly ſpilt in ſupport of connections with which we ought to have had no concern. They dwelt upon miniſtry's want of conduct; and inveighed againſt their ignorance, inſolence, and neglect, which was as pernicious to the nation, as if they had formed a deſign to bring it to the loweſt ebb of diſgrace and deſtruction. They obſerved, that the ſtructure of parliaments was deficient in point of ſolidity, as they exiſted entirely at the pleaſure of the crown, which would uſe them no longer than they ſhould be found neceſſary in raiſing the ſupplies for the uſe of government. The people were divided into three parties, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and thoſe who did not think the revolution had gone far enough. Theſe factions took all opportunities to thwart, and expoſe to ridicule, the meaſures and principles of each other. The practice of bribing a majority in parliament had a pernicious effect upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the loweſt borough elector. Public virtue was become the object of ridicule, the whole kingdom was overſpread with immorality and corruption, and every man purſued his own intereſt at the public expence. The expedient of eſtabliſhing funds of credit, for raiſing ſupplies to defray the expences of government, threw large premiums aud ſums of money into the hands of low, ſordid uſurers, brokers, and jobbers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of the *Monied intereſt*. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the magnificence of their ſuperiors, but being deſtitute of ſentiment, they laid aſide all decorum, became lewd, inſolent, intemperate, and riotous; their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle was gradually baniſhed, talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of profligacy. William had learned from the fate of his predeceſſor, that parliaments were not to be compelled into his meaſures, and therefore introduced the ſyſtem of corruption, which, with all its miſerable conſequences, has been entailed upon poſterity.

A. D. 1693.] The king, after viſiting the fleet and fortifications at Portſmouth, left the adminiſtration to the queen, and ſailed to Holland in March. Lewis had already taken the field, and after reviewing his army, he gave the command of his forces to the duke of Luxembourgh: this general knowing the inferiority of the allied army, reſolved to attack them in their camp. William hearing the whole French army was marching againſt him, drew up his forces in order of battle at Neer Winden, near Liege. Early in the morning on the twenty-ninth of July, the cannon of the allies began to play with good ſucceſs, but after various changes of fortune they were overpowered by numbers. The king diſplayed great courage and conduct, but was obliged to retreat; count Solmes was killed, and the duke of Ormond wounded and taken priſoner.

This

This campaign produced nothing more remarkable, except the reduction of Charleroy. The Engliſh were as unſucceſsful at ſea as the allies had been by land; the Engliſh and Dutch fleets having joined in May, the commanders differed, but at laſt it was reſolved that they ſhould accompany the trade fifty leagues to the weſtward of Uſhant, and that from thence ſir George Rook, with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſhips, ſhould conduct them to their reſpective ports, after which the grand fleet returned to Torbay. But the folly of the fleets ſeparating ſoon appeared, for when Rook entered the ſtraits, he diſcovered the enemy's fleet, amounting to eighty ſail, under de Tourville. When calling a council of war, it was determined that the merchantmen ſhould endeavour to ſave themſelves in the neighbouring ports, while the admiral kept up a running fight. One Engliſh and two Dutch ſhips of war, with about eighty merchantmen, were taken and deſtroyed. The French admiral afterward made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Cadiz, bombarded Gibraltar, burned ſome Engliſh and Dutch ſhips at Malaga and Alicant, and at laſt returned in triumph to Toulon.

The diſcontents ariſing from this misfortune were increaſed by the failure of an expedition to the Weſt Indies, commanded by ſir Francis Wheeler, who made an unſucceſsful attempt on Martinico and St. Domingo. He then ſailed to Boſton to form a plan for attacking Quebec; but the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and his fleet returned to Portſmouth in a very ſhattered condition. Theſe misfortunes aroſe partly from the corruption of parliament, which occaſioned an exceſſive waſte of the public money; partly from the great expence of the war on the continent; and partly from a divided miniſtry: the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, had acquired great credit with the queen, and from their hatred to the whigs, neglected or betrayed the intereſts of the nation. The navy in particular was neglected, and the gallant officers ſent out with forces very inferior to the enemy. But the French were miſerable in the midſt of all their victories; they laboured under a dreadful famine, through bad ſeaſons, and the war, which had not left hands ſufficient to cultivate the ground. Lewis ſaw his ſubjects exhauſted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition, and ſolicited the northern powers to engage as mediators for a general peace. He offered to make conſiderable conceſſions; but the terms were rejected by William, whoſe ambition and revenge were not yet gratified.

Nothing reflected more diſgrace on this reign than the trial and execution of Anderton, the ſuppoſed printer of ſome tracts againſt government. He was proſecuted for high-treaſon, and notwithſtanding the inſults and diſcouragements he met with from a partial bench, he made a vigorous defence. As nothing but preſumptions appeared againſt him, the jury refuſed to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled by judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain recourſe was had to the queen's mercy: he ſuffered death at Tyburn, and left a paper behind him, proteſting ſolemnly againſt the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning Heaven to forgive his penitent jury. This and ſeveral other proſecutions, inflamed the diſcontent of the people, and the jacobites did not fail to retort thoſe arts upon the government which had been ſo ſucceſsfully employed in the late reign; they inveighed againſt the adminiſtration for encouraging informers and falſe witneſſes: unfortunately, theſe accuſations were too juſt.

The king having prevailed on the States to augment their forces, returned to England in October, and to appeaſe the people, he changed his miniſters. The parliament met in November, when he demanded forty thouſand men for the navy, and a hundred thouſand for the army; but the parliament only granted eighty thouſand for the land ſervice. To ſupport the war, they voted five millions and a half, to be raiſed by a land tax, a lottery, and various duties on ſalt, beer, hackney coaches, ſtamps, &c. Harley, Foley, and

Harcourt, preſented to the houſe a ſtate of the receipts and iſſues of the revenue, with two reports from the commiſſioners of accounts, concerning ſums iſſued for ſecret ſervices, and to members of parliament. This was a diſcovery of the moſt ſcandalous practices in the myſtery of corruption, equally exerciſed on the individuals of both parties, in occaſional bounties, grants, places, penſions, equivalents, and additional ſalaries. The malcontents, therefore, juſtly obſerved, that the houſe of commons was ſo managed that the king could baffle any bill, quaſh all grievances, and ſtifle all accounts.

The Eaſt India company having neglected to pay the tax on their ſtock, within the time limited by act of parliament, the public imagined the miniſtry would ſeize this opportunity of diſſolving a monopoly, againſt which ſo many complaints had been made; but the company, inſtead of being diſſolved, obtained the promiſe of a new charter. This was no ſooner known, than the merchants, clothiers, and other dealers, preſented addreſſes againſt it; they undertook to prove that the company had been guilty of the moſt unjuſt and unwarrantable actions, tending to the ſcandal of religion, the diſhonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppreſſion of the people, and the ruin of trade. They obſerved, that two private ſhips had exported in one year, three times as many cloths as the company had exported in three years. They offered to ſend more cloth, and other Engliſh merchandize to India in one year, than the company had in five; and to furniſh the government with five hundred tons of ſalt-petre at leſs than half the uſual price. In ſpite of all theſe remonſtrances, the new charter paſſed the great ſeal. This indulgence was privately purchaſed of the miniſtry, and became productive of a loud outcry againſt the government. The merchants petitioned the houſe of commons to confirm their liberty of trading to the Eaſt Indies; and the company preſented another petition, praying their charter might receive a parliamentary ſanction. Both parties made private applications to the members, and at length it was reſolved, that all the ſubjects of England have an equal right to trade to the Eaſt Indies, unleſs prohibited by act of parliament.

The bank of England was eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion, chiefly with a view to aſſiſt the government with money upon ſudden emergencies. A certain number of merchants ſubſcribed twelve hundred thouſand pounds to anſwer current demands, and on the credit of this capital they were to iſſue notes payable on demand, beſides bills payable after a certain time ſpecified in the bill: theſe notes and bills were to be thrown into circulation by diſcounting private bills for the merchants, and accommodations to government. After the plan had been properly digeſted in the cabinet, and a majority ſecured in parliament, the undertakers for the court introduced it into the houſe of commons; and expatiated largely on the advantages which muſt accrue to the nation from ſuch a meaſure. The project was violently oppoſed by a ſtrong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engroſs the whole money of the kingdom; that as it muſt infallibly be ſubſervient to the views of government, it might be employed to the worſt purpoſes of arbitrary power; that inſtead of aſſiſting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in ſtock-jobbing; that it would produce a ſwarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithſtanding theſe objections, the bill paſſed both houſes, empowering his majeſty to incorporate the ſubſcribers, under the names of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. While the notes which were iſſued did not greatly exceed the money ſubſcribed for their ſecurity, the public could be in no great danger of their failure; but the bank notes now in circulation, not only far exceed the money in the bank, but in the opinion of many intelligent men, amount to much more than all the money in the nation. The government is the principal debtor to the bank, and they are obliged by mutual intereſts to ſupport the credit of each other; but

but if any public calamity ſhould ſtop the circulation of bank notes, the government could not ſupply them with caſh, and the utmoſt diſtreſs would be the conſequence.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, Sir Francis Wheeler was ſent to protect the trade to the Mediterranean; but was loſt, with all his crew and ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron, in the bay of Gibraltar.

A. D. 1694.] The king having prorogued the parliament, embarked for the continent in May, and determined to paſs the Scheldte, but was prevented by the rapid march of the French. Nothing of importance happened this campaign, except the reduction of Huy, which ſurrendered to the allies after a ſiege of ten days. William, not being able to bring the French to an engagement, returned to England in November.

A deſcent on the coaſt of France was attempted by admiral Berkley and general Ptolemache; but the French had received intelligence of the deſign, and taken ſuch precaution, that a great number of the Engliſh troops were killed in the open boats before they reached the ſhore, from new erected batteries; and thoſe that landed were repulſed. Seven hundred ſoldiers were killed in this unſucceſsful expedition, beſides thoſe that fell on board the ſhips, and the general was mortally wounded. Dieppe and Havre-de-grace were afterwards bombarded, and great part of them reduced to aſhes. Attempts were alſo made on Dunkirk and Calais, but without effect. The French having beſieged Barcelona, admiral Ruſſel was ſent to relieve it; at his approach, Tourville, the admiral, retired to Toulon, and Noailles, the general, abandoned his enterprize.

William opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the twelfth of November, and demanded ſuch ſupplies as would enable him to carry on the war with vigour. The commons voted four millions and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and to raiſe this ſum, they continued the land tax, renewed the tonnage and poundage, and impoſed duties on different commodities. The bill for triennial parliaments was again introduced, and kept pace with the ſupplies. Though it had been once negatived by the king, and another time rejected by the peers, the bill now paſſed: and it was thought William bargained to give his aſſent, on condition of their granting him the ſupplies he wanted. This bill enacted, that the parliament ſhould be diſſolved and re-elected every three years at leaſt, leaving to the king the power of diſſolving them ſooner if he thought proper.

While this bill was depending, died Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury; a prelate of great abilities, learning, and virtue; deeply regretted by the king and queen, particularly the latter. The queen did not long ſurvive her favourite prelate: ſhe died of the ſmall pox on the eighth of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. Mary poſſeſſed great natural abilities, was tall and handſome, a zealous proteſtant, ſincere, generous, and charitable; ſo averſe to flattery, that upon one of her courtiers inveighing againſt the ſeverity of hiſtorians, who had treated the memory of ſome princes with great rigour; ſhe replied, that if they were ſuch as the hiſtorians had repreſented them, they deſerved to be ſo treated; that truth, though it might for a time be ſuppreſſed, would prevail in the end. She has been cenſured for aſcending the throne of her father during his life, and for treating her ſiſter Anne as a ſtranger; but from the firſt of theſe charges it is eaſy to defend her. She ſaw her father was endeavouring to overthrow the religion and liberty of her country, and it was a virtue in her to ſacrifice all private regards on ſuch an occaſion. With reſpect to her ſiſter, we may obſerve, that family connections are often influenced by a variety of circumſtances not generally known, and of which delicacy forbids a public explanation. The king appeared to be deeply affected by her death, and the nation have ever entertained the higheſt reſpect for her memory.

WILLIAM,

WILLIAM, ALONE.

A. D. 1695.] This period is considered as the commencement of William's reign singly, but in reality his authority was greatly abridged: the power of rejecting such bills as he disapproved after they had passed in parliament, and which constituted the whole of his legislative authority, was lost for ever. He rejected the bill for triennial parliaments, but the firmness of the commons, in withholding the supplies, obliged him at last to accede to it; and since that time, no king has ventured to exercise this power, although they still continue to claim it. If the sovereign cannot throw a bill out of one of the houses by his influence, he feels himself obliged to pass it into a law. William was at first tenacious of his prerogative, but being anxious to prosecute the war against France with vigour, and tired of contending with parliament, he gave entirely into the system of corruption. The effects of this soon became manifest to the nation, nor did the opposition members suffer it to pass without severe animadversion; indeed some instances were so flagrant, that the majority, corrupt as they were, could not pass them over with impunity. Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, with some others, had been employed as court agents for securing a majority in parliament; and they were charged with it so severely, by the opposition, that the courtiers could not screen them. Foley was chosen speaker in the room of Trevor, who, with Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee, was expelled the house of commons. It being suspected that corrupt means had been employed to acquire the new charter which the East India company had obtained contrary to the sense of the nation, their books were examined, and it appeared that ninety thousand pounds had been paid in the course of one year, by the company, to bribe members of parliament. When the king went to the house to sign some bills, he endeavoured to discourage this enquiry; but notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both houses appointed a joint committee to lay open this complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. The marquis of Caermarthen, now duke of Leeds, lord president, was impeached by the commons of high crimes and misdemeanors, in having received bribes; but such arts were used, as all at once checked the prosecution, and the enquiry was dropped, but the scandal stuck fast to the duke's character. The king, being desirous to put a stop to deliberations of this nature, prorogued the parliament; and embarked for Holland in May, after having left the administration of affairs in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, Somers, lord-keeper of the great seal, and others; without taking any notice of the princess Anne or her husband, which gave offence to the greater part of the nation.

During this session one Lunt, an Irishman, informed sir John Trenchard, secretary of state, that he had been sent from Ireland with commissions from king James to divers gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire; that he had assisted in buying arms, and enlisting men to serve that king in his projected invasion of England; and that he had been twice dispatched by those gentlemen to the court of St. Germains. His testimony was confirmed by other infamous emissaries, who received but too much countenance from the court. Blank warrants were issued, and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the treasury, who, with messengers, accompanied Lunt and his associates to Lancashire, under the protection of a body of Dutch horse-guards. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons, according to their pleasure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppression. The persons against whom these measures were taken, being apprised of their danger, in general quitted their habitations; some however, were taken and imprisoned. A few arms were secured, and in the house of Mr. Standish, was found the draught of a declaration to be published by king James on his landing.

landing. As this profecution ſeemed calculated to revive the honour of a ſtale conſpiracy, and the evidences were perſons of abandoned character, the friends of thoſe who were proſecuted, found no great difficulty in rendering the ſcheme odious to the nation. Ferguſon, who had been concerned in the Ryehouſe-plot, publiſhed a letter to ſir John Trenchard, on the abuſe of power; wherein he expoſed a great number of flagrant inſtances, in which the court had countenanced the vileſt corruption, perfidy, and oppreſſion. This production was in the hands of every one, and had ſuch an effect upon the people, that when the priſoners were brought to trial at Mancheſter, the populace would have put the witneſſes to death, if they had not been prevented by the friends of the accuſed. Lunt's chief aſſociate in the myſtery of information, was one Taaffe, a wretch of the moſt profligate principles, who, finding himſelf diſappointed in his hope of reward from the miniſtry, was privately gained over by the agents for the priſoners. Lunt, in pointing out to the court the perſons whom he had accuſed, committed ſuch a miſtake as greatly invalidated his teſtimony; and Taaffe declared before the bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himſelf and Lunt, to procure money from the government. The priſoners were immediately acquitted, and the miniſtry incurred a heavy load of odium, as the authors or abettors of knaviſh contrivances to enſnare the innocent. This affair at length came before the commons, who having examined all the papers and circumſtances relating to this pretended plot, reſolved, that there was ſufficient ground for the proſecution of the gentlemen at Mancheſter; and that there was a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the king and government; the lords concurred in the ſame opinion. Notwithſtanding theſe deciſions, of a corrupt parliament, the accuſed gentlemen proſecuted Lunt, and two of his accomplices, for perjury, at the Lancaſter aſſizes; and they were all three found guilty.

In Scotland, a parliament was called by the marquis of Tweedale, who was appointed commiſſioner; and finding the Scots much incenſed, on account of the maſſacre of Glencoe, and tired of contributing to the expence of a war, from which they could derive no advantage, he thought proper to cajole them with the promiſe of ſome national indulgences. He expatiated on his majeſty's firm purpoſe to maintain the preſbyterian diſcipline in the church of Scotland; and promiſed if they would paſs an act for eſtabliſhing a colony in Africa, America, or any part of the world, where a colony might be lawfully planted, he would grant them all ſuch rights and privileges as had been granted in ſuch caſes to the ſubjects of England. Finally, he exhorted them to conſider ways and means for maintaining their land forces, and for providing a competent number of ſhips of war to protect their commerce. The parliament immediately granted one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by a land tax, a poll tax, and exciſe. Enquiry was made into the affair of Glencoe; but though the commiſſioners reported that the men of Glencoe were perfidiouſly murdered, the actors in that tragedy, ſo far from being puniſhed, were preferred in the ſervice.

The committee of trade, in conſequence of the king's promiſe, by his commiſſioner, reſpecting colonial ſettlements, contrived the ſcheme for a ſettlement upon the iſthmus of Darien, in ſuch a manner as to carry on a trade between the South Sea and the Atlantic, and even to the Eaſt Indies. A great number of merchants in England as well as Scotland, were eager to engage in ſuch a company.

The ſettlement at Darien was effected, but through the oppoſition of the Spaniards, and the jealouſy of the Engliſh, who dreaded having the Scots for rivals in trade, the king was induced to diſown this company, and their ſettlement failed, with the ruin of ſome of the aſſociates.

Ireland was infected with the ſame factions which had broke out in England. Lord Capel, the lord deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppreſſing the Iriſh papiſts without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model a parliament, in ſuch a

manner, that they ſhould comply with all the demands of the miniſtry; and he ſucceeded in his endeavours, by making ſuch arbitrary changes in office as beſt ſuited his purpoſe. He expatiated on their obligations to king William, and exhorted them to make ſuitable returns to ſuch a gracious ſovereign; then finiſhed his ſpeech in the manner ſuch harangues are uſually concluded, with requiring a large ſum of money. The parliament underſtood their buſineſs, and granted one hundred and ſixty three thouſand pounds to be raiſed by a poll tax, cuſtoms, and exciſe. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, to court popularity, inveighed againſt the ſeverity of the adminiſtration, and raiſed up a party in parliament to thwart Lord Capel's meaſures. Nevertheleſs, at the end of the ſeſſion, they ſent over an addreſs, which bore teſtimony to the mild and juſt adminiſtration of the lord deputy.

William had embarked for Holland about the middle of May, fully determined to make ſome great effort in the Netherlands, in order to humble the power of France, which was already much exhauſted. The famous duke of Luxembourg was dead, and the command of the French army was given to Mareſchall Villeroy. Boufflers commanded a ſeparate army, though ſubject to the orders of the former. William arrived at the camp in July, and having by falſe motions drawn the French forces on the ſide of Flanders, directed baron Heyden, and the earl of Athlone, who commanded forty ſquadrons from the camp of the elector of Bavaria, to inveſt Namur. But Boufflers threw himſelf into it with ſuch a reinforcement, as made the whole garriſon amount to about fifteen thouſand men. This place was very ſtrong, both by nature and art. Prince Vaudemont was left at Roſilare, and took poſt with his left near Grammen, with a view to meet the enemy; but perceiving Villeroy's deſign was to ſurround him, he retreated to Ghent. Villeroy then inveſted Dixmuyde and Deynſe, both which places were delivered up to him without reſiſtance; for which the governor of the former was ſhot, and of the latter caſhiered: prince Vaudemont ſent to demand the garriſons, according to agreement, but was refuſed. Villeroy, after ſeveral marches, appeared before Bruſſels, bombarded the town, and ſet it on fire in ſeveral places with red hot bullets; but on the fifteenth the French retired to Enghien.

During theſe tranſactions, the ſiege of Namur was proſecuted with great ardour, under the eye of king William, while the garriſon defended the place with great ſpirit: the conteſt was obſtinate and bloody, and the king was ſo well pleaſed with the behaviour of the Britiſh troops, that during an aſſault which they made on the enemy's advanced works, he exclaimed to the elector of Bavaria, "See my brave Engliſh." Boufflers, after making divers furious ſallies, formed a ſcheme for breaking through the confederates' camp, but was prevented by the vigilance of William. Villeroy advanced to relieve Namur, but finding prince Vaudemont ſtrongly encamped at Maſſy, he retired in the night, and the garriſon being reduced from fifteen to five thouſand men, ſurrendered on the fifth of December. The garriſon capitulated for their liberty, but Boufflers was arreſted in going out, becauſe the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe were detained: however, on a promiſe that theſe garriſons ſhould be reſtored, he was ſet at liberty. William, after this retired to his houſe at Loo, and thus ended the campaign in Flanders. Nothing of moment was done on the Rhine, the emperor was ſo dilatory in his preparations. Lord Paget was ſent to attempt a pacification between the Turks and the emperor of Germany, but in vain; and the Turks defeated the Germans in ſeveral actions.

The French maintained a ſecret negociation with the duke of Savoy, who undertook the ſiege of Caſal. This place, though very ſtrong, capitulated in fourteen days. This was a ſacrifice, by which the French court obtained the duke's forbearance during the remainder of the campaign. In Catalonia the French could ſcarſely preſerve the footing they had gained. Admiral Ruſſel commanded the Mediterranean fleet, and was ordered to cooperate with the Spaniards; but they did not act with ſincerity, either by ſea or land.

The

The admiral complained that they had made no preparations for the campaign, and neglected to fulfil their engagements with their fleet, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland. Lord Berkley, who commanded the Engliſh fleet in the channel, bombarded St. Maloes and Granville. He afterwards made an attempt upon Dunkirk with ſome curious machines, under the direction of one Meeſters, a Dutch engineer. But Meeſters having received ſome offence, withdrew his machines, and the French had taken ſuch precautions as rendered the whole ſcheme abortive. A ſquadron was alſo ſent to the Weſt Indies, under captain Wilmot and colonel Livingſtone, to co-operate with the Spaniards againſt the French in Hiſpaniola; but Wilmot plundered the country for his own private advantage, while the ſea and land officers differed ſo much, that the expedition came to nothing, and Wilmot died in his way home. The trade ſuffered extremely from privateers, notwithſtanding the great efforts the nation had made to ſupport a powerful navy. The marquis of Caermarthen, who was ſtationed with a ſquadron off Scilly, was guilty of flagrant miſconduct; and the merchants renewed their clamour for the loſs of their ſhips. The chief ſource of theſe calamities, was the intelligence tranſmitted to France by the malcontents of England.

William returned to England in October, and ſoon after called a new parliament, as it was feared the old one would proceed in its enquiries into corruption, and other grievances. The whig intereſt generally prevailed in the elections, and at the opening of parliament, the king as uſual, mentioned the great preparations the French were making to take the field early, and ſolicited large ſupplies. But the members in the lower houſe reſolved that the crown ſhould purchaſe the ſupplies with ſome conceſſion in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the ſo long conteſted bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon; and conſidering the critical ſituation of affairs, the court was afraid of obſtructing ſo popular a meaſure. The bill enacted, that perſons indicted for high treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be furniſhed with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial, and indulged with two councellors to plead in their behalf; that no perſon ſhould be indicted but upon the oaths of two witneſſes, ſwearing to overt-acts; that in two or more treaſons of divers kinds, alledged in the ſame bill of indictment, one witneſs to one, and another witneſs to another, ſhould not be deemed two witneſſes; that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for any ſuch crime, unleſs the indictment was found within three years after the offence was committed, except in caſe of a deſign or attempt to aſſaſſinate or poiſon the king, which ſhould not be ſubject to this limitation; that perſons indicted for treaſon or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be furniſhed with copies of the pannels of jurors two days at leaſt before their trial, and have proceſs to compel their witneſſes to appear; that no evidence ſhould be admitted of any overt-acts, not expreſsly laid in the indictment; and that this act ſhould not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majeſty's coin, his great ſeal, privy ſeal, ſign manual, or ſignet.

The commons then proceeded to examine the accounts and eſtimates, and voted above five millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They next began to examine the ſtate of the coin, which, by the fraudulent arts of clippers, was now ſhamefully debaſed, and after a long debate, reſolved to proceed to a new coinage. In leſs than one year the current coin of England, from the worſt, became the beſt coin in Europe; ſo great was the expedition uſed in the recoinage. But this meaſure was attended with great loſs to individuals, and produced much diſcontent.

A. D. 1696.] The nation was at this time agitated by the diſcovery of another plot. Certain individuals, whoſe zeal for James overſhot their diſcretion, formed a deſign to ſeize the perſon of king William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in caſe of reſiſtance. They had ſent emiſſaries to the court of St. Germains, to demand a commiſſion for that purpoſe, which was refuſed. The earl

earl of Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, and others, were the contrivers of this project. Charnock was ſent with a propoſal to James, that he ſhould procure a body of horſe and foot from France, to make a deſcent on England; and that they would not only engage to join him on his landing, but to replace him on the throne. Theſe offers being declined by James, the earl of Ayleſbury went over to France, and had a perſonal interview with Lewis, in which the ſcheme of an invaſion was actually concerted. The duke of Berwick came privately to England, where he conferred with the conſpirators; aſſured them that James was ready to make a deſcent, diſtributed commiſſions, and gave directions for providing men, horſes, and arms, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition; the troops were drawn to the ſea ſide, the tranſports were aſſembled at Dunkirk, and a ſquadron of men of war appointed as their convoy. The jacobites, in the mean time, were aſſiduouſly employed in England, and had formed ſeveral regiments of horſe. While one party of them proceeded againſt William in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an inſurrection, another, conſiſting of the moſt deſperate conſpirators, formed a deſign of aſſaſſination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had ſerved as an officer in James's army, a man of undaunted courage, and zealous attachment to the church of Rome, undertook the bold taſk of ſeizing or aſſaſſinating the king. This project he imparted to Harriſon, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved. After various conſultations, it was reſolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the ſcene of their ambuſcade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. To ſecure ſucceſs, it was agreed that their number ſhould be increaſed to forty horſemen; and the conſpirators began to engage proper perſons to aſſiſt in this dangerous enterprize. When their number was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action; but in the mean time, ſome of the under-actors, prompted by fear or remorſe, reſolved to prevent the execution by a timely diſcovery. One Pendergraſt, an Iriſh officer, gave information of the plot, but refuſed to name the perſons who were concerned as aſſociates in the undertaking. His information was at firſt diſregarded; but it was ſoon confirmed by one Le Rue, a Frenchman, and ſtill more by the flight of ſir George Barclay. This deſign and the projected invaſion, proved equally abortive. William received intelligence of the purpoſed deſcent; and admiral Ruſſel with a fleet of fifty ſail of the line, ſtood over to the French coaſt. On his appearance, the enemy drew into ſhallow water out of reach; but the deſign was ruined by their being cooped up in their harbours, and the troops were ſent back to the garriſons from which they had been drafted.

The night ſubſequent to the intended day of aſſaſſination, a number of the conſpirators were apprehended, and the whole diſcovery was communicated to the privy council. Pendergraſt became an evidence for the crown, and the conſpirators were brought to their trial. The firſt who ſuffered, were Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the proteſtant religion, lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of treaſon, and executed at Tyburn. Sir John Freind and ſir William Perkins, were next arraigned; and, notwithſtanding they made a very good defence, lord chief-juſtice Holt influenced the jury to find them guilty. They both ſuffered at Tyburn with great conſtancy, denying their charge, and teſtifying their abhorrence of the aſſaſſination. In the courſe of the month, Rookwood, Cranbourne, and Lowic, were tried by a ſpecial commiſſion as conſpirators; and being found guilty, ſhared the fate of the former. But the caſe of ſir John Fenwick was conſidered as one of the greateſt ſtretches of power exhibited during this reign. This gentleman, whoſe name had been mentioned among the conſpirators, was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence againſt him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. It

It is true, he offered to discover all he knew of a conspiracy against the king; but when he came to enter into the detail, he so managed his information, that it could affect no individual concerned. William, therefore resolved, that unless the prisoner would make more material discoveries, he should be brought to his trial. The only essential evidences against him were Porter and Goodman; but of these, lady Fenwick having secreted the latter, there remained only a single witness, which, by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. The house of commons, however, resolved to inflict upon him that punishment which the laws were unable to execute. As he had in his narrative made very free with the names of many persons in that house, one of them in particular, admiral Russel, insisted that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his own character. Sir John Fenwick was ordered to the bar of the house, and there exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery. On his refusal they preferred against him a bill of attainder, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, allowed counsel at the bar of the house, and the counsel of the crown was called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, in which passion and revenge were rather attended to than reason, the bill was committed, and sent up to the house of lords, where sir John Fenwick was found guilty, by a majority of only seven voices. The prisoner solicited the intercession of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The lords gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend on the fullness of his discourses. He would have previously stipulated for pardon, but they insisted on his trusting to their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death. At last, he chose to undergo the latter, and suffered beheading on Tower-hill, with great composure.

This stretch of power in the parliament was, in some measure, compensated by their diligence in restraining the universal corruption which seemed at that time to prevail over the kingdom. They were assiduously employed in bringing to justice those who had grown wealthy by public plunder, and increasing the number of those laws which restrained the arts of peculation. Nor were they less active in their endeavours for restraining the prerogative of the crown. William, on his part, became at length fatigued with opposing the laws, by which the parliament circumscribed his authority; and he gave up the contest, upon the condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France.

The French had taken the field early in the spring, and William went over to the continent in May; but no transaction of consequence distinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine, or in Flanders. The scheme of Lewis was still defensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of William were defeated by the want of money. The French king having exhausted the wealth and patience of his subjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to treat separately with the allies. He sent Callieres to Holland, with proposals for settling the preliminaries of a peace; and he met with a favourable reception from the States, though not without the concurrence of William. To quicken the effect of this negociation, Lewis pursued offensive measures in Catalonia. In Piedmont, the face of affairs were quite changed. The duke of Savoy had been for some time engaged in a treaty, and at length made a separate peace with France, by which was obtained the neutrality of Italy. Nothing of consequence was done by the navy this summer, except bombarding a few towns on the coast of France, by lord Berkley.

The king being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the elector of Bavaria, in August, and repaired to his palace at Loo, from whence he returned to England in October. The domestic œconomy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this time, from the sinking of public credit, and the stagnation that unavoidably attends a recoinage. When the king opened the parliament, he observed, that overtures had been made by France for a negociation;

but that the beſt way of treating with them would be ſword in hand. He therefore deſired they would be expeditious in raiſing ſupplies for the enſuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted; and that they would contrive the beſt expedients for the recovery of the national credit. The commons voted an addreſs in a very lofty ſtrain, declaring, that notwithſtanding the blood and treaſure of which the nation had been drained, they would not be diverted from their firm reſolution of obtaining by war a ſafe and honourable peace. They, therefore, renewed their aſſurances, that they would ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies at home and abroad. The houſe of lords delivered another addreſs, to the ſame purport. The commons, in the firſt tranſports of their zeal, ordered two ſeditious pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. They deliberated on the eſtimates, and granted above ſix millions. They reſolved, that a ſupply ſhould be granted for making good the deficiency of parliamentary funds; and appropriated ſeveral duties for that purpoſe. A ſecond bill was alſo paſſed for remedying the ill ſtate of the coin. The credit of the bank began to fail, and their notes were at twenty *per cent.* diſcount; but as the government had received conſiderable aſſiſtance from this inſtitution, vigorous methods were uſed to recover it from its languiſhing ſtate. The commons reſolved to ingraft upon the capital, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, by new ſubſcriptions, at the rate of eight *per cent.* intereſt, to be paid by tallies and bank notes. A million was ſubſcribed in a few days; and from this time, the credit of the bank recovered ſo rapidly, that their notes, which bore no intereſt, were equal to money, and thoſe that bore intereſt were in higher eſtimation.

In order to raiſe the ſupplies of the year, the commons reſolved to tax all perſons according to the true value of their real and perſonal eſtates, their ſtock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, penſions, and profeſſions. A duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all perſons not receiving alms. A farther impoſition of one farthing in the pound, per week, was fixed upon all ſervants whoſe wages amounted to four pounds per annum, and upwards, to eight pounds; and thoſe who received from eight to ſixteen pounds, were taxed at one halfpenny per pound. An aid of three ſhillings in the pound, for one year, was laid upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without ſpecifying particulars, we ſhall obſerve in general, that no one member of the commonwealth, who was ſuppoſed able to bear his part of the public burden, was exempt. Various other duties were laid on wrought plate, paper, paſteboard, vellum, and parchment; hawkers and pedlars, were obliged to take out licences at ſtated prices; and an additional tax of one ſhilling in the pound was laid on land. The treaſurer was enabled to borrow one million and a half at eight *per cent.* and to circulate exchequer bills to the amount of as much more. Proviſion was made for raiſing one million, four hundred thouſand pounds by lottery. The treaſurer was empowered to iſſue an additional number of exchequer bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thouſand pounds; every hundred pounds bearing intereſt at the rate of five-pence a day, and ten *per cent.* for circulation. The commons having received a meſſage from the king, reſpecting the civil liſt, reſolved, that a ſum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds, ſhould be granted for the ſupport of the civil liſt for the enſuing year, to be raiſed by a malt tax, and additional duties on ſweets, mum, cyder, and perry. The ſums of money granted for the proſecution of the war with France were incredible; and the parliament, not content with furniſhing ſuch ſubſidies as could be raiſed by the taxes of the year, mortgaged thoſe taxes, and laid the foundation of a debt, which the nation has never ſince been able to diſcharge. The experiment of mortgaging the funds ſucceeded ſo well, that ſome miniſters have proceeded in the ſame ſyſtem, impoſing burden upon burden, as if they thought the ſinews of the nation could never be overſtrained. Nor is it poſſible at this time, to conſider

conſider without indignation, the enormous fortunes that have been raiſed, from the diſtreſſes of their country, by the ſubſcribers to theſe loans.

A. D. 1697.] The earl of Ayleſbury, who had been impriſoned on account of the conſpiracy, was liberated on bail; but this privilege was denied to lord Montgomery, who had been impriſoned in Newgate, for the ſame offence. The earl of Sunderland, who had ſecretly influenced the king's councils, was now brought into public employment, appointed lord chamberlain, and ſworn of the privy-council. Somers was created a baron, and appointed lord chancellor; and admiral Ruſſel was created lord Orford. The king having appointed a regency, embarked for Holland in April, that he might be at hand to manage the negociation for a general peace. The plenipotentiaries met in a palace of king William's, at Ryſwick, where the conferences were opened in February, and continued till September. The war at length was brought to a concluſion; and terminated for this country as all continental wars ever have. Great Britain found her intereſts in the general pacification entirely overlooked; and for all her blood and treaſure, ſhe only received in return an acknowledgment that the people of England had a right to chuſe their own government, and to confer the crown on William. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that William ſhould pay a yearly penſion of fifteen thouſand pounds to queen Mary D'Eſte, wife of James, which during her reſidence in England, had been ſettled as her jointure.

It is almoſt characteriſtic of the Engliſh, never to ſee the folly of a war till it is concluded. They are either continually terrified by alarms or amuſed with bonfires. It is alſo to be lamented, that the oppoſition to government, was not conducted upon liberal and public principles; it was in general the expreſſion of diſſatisfaction in diſappointed courtiers, and not the ardour of patriots exerted to ſave their country from that greateſt of miſchiefs that have affected our government, continental wars and continental connexions.

Among the individuals who correſponded, and even entered into engagements, with the late king, are to be found the names of Sunderland, Godolphin, Halifax, Marlborough, Ruſſel, &c. and almoſt all thoſe who had acted for and againſt his government. Almoſt every year produced a conſpiracy, which was the more dangerous becauſe patronized by thoſe who were at the head of William's council; and indeed nothing but a ſtrange concurrence of untoward accidents could have prevented James from remounting that throne, which his perverſeneſs and puſillanimity had alone cauſed him to vacate.

The nation in general, groaned beneath the burthens under which they crouched; parliaments were ſtigmatized, and but too juſtly, as partial, venal, and treacherous; till at length the commons, rouſed by the ſpirit of an almoſt univerſal diſcontent, began to exert that power which the conſtitution had veſted in them, to check the dangerous ambition of their king.

William opened the parliament in December. In his ſpeech from the throne, he informed them, that the war into which he had entered, by the advice of his people, was now terminated in its object, an honourable peace; he expreſſed his ſorrow, that his ſubjects could not find at firſt that relief from the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, which either he could have wiſhed or they have expected: the funds intended for the preceding year had failed; there was a debt on account of the fleet and the army; the revenues of the crown were anticipated for the public uſe, and, as he was wholly deſtitute of means to ſupport the civil liſt, he truſted that the parliament would provide for him during his life, in a manner ſuitable to his honour and the dignity of his government. The increaſe of the navy, he added, ſince his acceſſion to the crown, had proportionably augmented his charge; the intereſt and reputation of England rendered neceſſary a great force at ſea; the circumſtances of affairs abroad were ſuch, that England could not be ſafe without a land force; and for theſe obvious reaſons, he hoped, his faithful lords and commons would not give the enemies of the nation an opportunity

to

to effect, under the notion of peace, what they could not accompliſh by a war. The king's ſpeech was deemed imprudent; nay, haughty and inſolent in its whole ſtrain; and the ſame parliament, who through every ſeſſion had maintained an uninterrupted complaiſance to all the demands of the crown, now almoſt unanimouſly rejected thoſe inſidious propoſals, which would have ſtripped them of a great part of their conſtitutional power, and entirely have compleated their unpopularity with the people: inſtead of thoſe enormous ſupplies, which had been yearly voted as ſoon as demanded, it was reſolved in the lower houſe, that a ſum not exceeding ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed on the credit of the exchequer, ſhould be transferred to the ſupplies of the next ſeſſions of parliament; and in the diſcuſſion of that part of the king's ſpeech which related to a ſtanding army, it was reſolved, without a diviſion, that all the land forces raiſed ſince the twenty-ninth of September, 1680, ſhould be paid and diſbanded, and the peace eſtabliſhment was reduced to ten thouſand men. The king was extremely mortified at theſe reſolutions, and his diſpleaſure was aggravated by the reſentment expreſſed againſt Sunderland, who was ſuppoſed to have adviſed the unpopular meaſure of retaining a ſtanding army. This nobleman was hated by one party, for his tyrannical meaſures in the reign of the late king, and by the other, for his treachery to his maſter; and dreading the vengeance of parliament, he reſigned the office of ſecretary, and retired from court.

The commons voted ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the civil liſt, out of which the king was to pay the penſion of fifty thouſand pounds to Mary D'Eſte, and the ſame ſum to maintain a court for the duke of Glouceſter, ſon of the princeſs Anne, now in the ninth year of his age; but he never paid the penſion to Mary, nor would he allow more than fifteen thouſand pounds per annum to the duke. A gratuity was voted to the common ſoldiers, and half pay to ſuch officers as were natural born ſubjects of England. A ſupply was voted for diſcharging part of the enormous load of debt, which had been contracted during the war; and for the ſervice of the enſuing year, a ſupply of near five millions was granted.

The Eaſt India company had been ſounded about advancing a ſum of money for the public ſervice by way of loan, in conſideration of a parliamentary ſettlement; and they offered to raiſe ſeven hundred thouſand pounds on that condition. But Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, had concerted a ſcheme againſt them, and, under his auſpices, another body of merchants offered to lend two millions at eight *per cent.* provided they might be gratified with an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies. This propoſal was very well received by a majority in the houſe of commons, and a bill was brought in for this purpoſe. A petition was preſented by the old company, repreſenting their rights and claims under ſo many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thouſand families intereſted in the ſtock; they alledged they had expended above a million in fortifications; that they had loſt twelve ſhips during the war; the great ſervices they had rendered to government on many preſſing occaſions, and their large contribution to the revenues. No regard being paid to their remonſtrance, they undertook to raiſe the loan of two millions, and immediately ſubſcribed two hundred thouſand pounds as the firſt payment. The two propoſals being conſidered by the houſe, the majority declared in favour of the bill, which was ſent up to the lords. There the old company preſented another petition; but the bill was carried, though not without much oppoſition. By this act the old company was diſſolved, and unjuſtly ſuperſeded by the new, with privileges more injurious to the commercial intereſts of the country, as the Eaſt India trade has ever ſince been conſidered by many an excluſive monopoly.

The commons preſented a ſolemn addreſs to his majeſty, repreſenting the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beſeeching him to command all his judges, and other magiſtrates, to put the laws in execution againſt profaneneſs and immorality. The king profeſſed himſelf well pleaſed with this remonſtrance, and promiſed to give immediate

directions

directions for a reformation. In the midſt of this immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the goſpel in foreign countries; and miſſionaries, with books of inſtruction, were ſent to America. About this period, a ſociety for the reformation of manners, was formed, under the king's countenance and encouragement. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, the king prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved the parliament.

A. D. 1698.] William embarked for Holland in July, under pretence of retiring for a while from public buſineſs; but his real intention was to treat with the French king about the ſucceſſion to Spain, on the death of its preſent ſovereign, remote from the obſervation of thoſe who might have penetrated into the nature of his negociation, which, in violation of all laws, human and divine, tended to divide a kingdom, without conſent of the people. Having ſettled this buſineſs with count Tallard, the French miniſter, he returned to England in December.

The new elections had been conducted without regard to any particular party, but in general, men of revolutional principles were choſen. When the king opened the parliament, he reiterated all the reaſons which he had lately given for eſtabliſhing a large ſtanding force. Though he had been granted in the laſt ſeſſions of the laſt parliament, two millions, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, for the purpoſe of paying off arrears, he recommended to the commons to make a farther progreſs in the endleſs buſineſs of diſcharging the debts, which he ſaid had been contracted in the war. As William had formed hopes of finding a new parliament favourable to his views, he had evaded the execution of the act paſſed for the reduction of the army; and this circumſtance, with the continuation of the military eſtabliſhments in Scotland and Ireland, and his freſh demand for an increaſe of their number in England, incenſed the lower houſe to ſuch a degree, that, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, they voted no addreſs. Seven thouſand men were propoſed as a ſufficient eſtabliſhment for guards and garriſons; a reſolution paſſed, that all the land forces in England, in Engliſh pay, ſhould be forthwith paid and diſbanded; and alſo, all the forces in Ireland, excepting twelve thouſand, and theſe natural-born ſubjects. In the firſt enacting clauſe to the bill which followed theſe reſolutions, it was provided, that the army in England and Wales ſhould, on or before the twenty-ſixth of March, be diſbanded.

The firm parliamentary oppoſition which William met with to his favourite meaſure, together with the current of the public opinion, which ran very high againſt a ſtanding army, produced alternate fits of reſentment and deſpondency in the king's mind: it is reported that he ſometimes ſeriouſly determined to abandon the kingdom; and that a ſpeech was prepared, in which he was to requeſt of the two houſes to name ſuch perſons as they ſhould think fit to manage the government. Theſe wild reſolutions, formed in the alternate fits of paſſion and deſpair, the miniſtry found no difficulty to overcome; and as the report of the intended abandonment neither alarmed the fears of the people, nor ſoftened the firmneſs of the parliament, William reſolved to comply, with a good grace, with what it would not have been in his power long to have reſiſted. In the ſpeech he made on the occaſion, he told the two houſes, that though in the preſent ſtate of affairs, there appeared great hazard in diſbanding ſo large a number of troops, and though he might think himſelf unkindly treated, in being deprived of thoſe guards who had come along with him from Holland to the aid of England, and who had attended him in all the actions in which he had been engaged, yet, convinced of the fatal conſequences which might ariſe from any jealouſies between him and his people, he was reſolved, for that reaſon only, to give way to the bill. As William in this ſpeech ſtrongly inſiſted that the nation was left too much expoſed, an increaſe of fifteen thouſand men was added to the eſtabliſhment at ſea: but the commons ſo pertinaciouſly adhered to their reſolutions, in regard to the land forces, that though the king, in a letter written with his own hand, aſſured them that he ſhould conſtrue

ſtrue it into an act of great kindneſs, if, out of conſideration to him, they ſhould find means to continue the Dutch guards longer in his ſervice, they refuſed to liſten to his ſolicitation; and the queſtion being put for the appointment of a day for taking the king's meſſage into conſideration, it was carried in the negative.

A. D. 1699.] The parliament was prorogued in May, and William again viſited his native country. During his reſidence at Loo, he had frequent conferences with the grand penſionary of Holland, and count Tallard, the French ambaſſador, upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The firſt plan of the ſucceſſion being defeated by the death of the young prince of Bavaria, they found it neceſſary to concert another, and began a private negociation for that purpoſe. The court of Spain, appriſed of their intentions, ſent a written remonſtrance to Mr. Stanhope, the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, deſiring that a ſtop might be put to thoſe intrigues, as the king of Spain would take the neceſſary meaſures to preſerve public tranquillity, in caſe he ſhould die without heirs of his body. A repreſentation of the ſame kind was made to the miniſters of France and Holland. The marquis De Canales, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, preſented a memorial againſt this tranſaction, to the regency, and ſignified his intention of appealing from the king to the parliament. This memorial was no ſooner tranſmitted to the king, than he ordered Canales to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own houſe till the time of his departure. The court of Spain juſtified what their miniſter had done, and in return, ordered Mr. Stanhope to quit their dominions. Theſe remonſtrances, however, did not interrupt the negociation.

William returned to England in October, and the parliament was aſſembled in November. Some changes had taken place in the miniſtry before their meeting; but the oppoſition William had experienced, did not ſtop with the mortifying circumſtance of ſending away his Dutch guards. Seven commiſſioners had been appointed by the laſt parliament to inquire into the ſtate and grants of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland: a report of the inquiry was now called for; it appeared that three thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-one perſons had been outlawed ſince the thirteenth of February, 1689; that all the lands belonging to the forfeited perſons amounted to more than one million of acres; that the annual rent of theſe lands amounted to two hundred, eleven thouſand, ſix hundred and twenty-three pounds; that ſome of the lands had been reſtored to the old proprietors by the articles of Limerick, and others by a corrupt reverſal of outlawries, and by royal pardons, obtained by the favourites of the king; that ſixty-five grants and cuſtodiums had paſſed the great ſeal of Ireland; and that the moſt conſiderable of theſe grants had been made to perſons born in foreign countries, who had been all dignified with peerages, in one or the other of the two kingdoms. After the examination of this report, it was reſolved unanimouſly, that a bill ſhould be brought in to apply all forfeitures from the thirteenth of February, 1689, to the uſe of the public; and a clauſe was ordered to be inſerted for erecting a judicature for determining claims touching the ſaid forfeitures. To ſecure the ſucceſs of the bill of reſumption, it was called a bill of ſupply; it was tacked to that of the grants of the year; and the money to be raiſed by the ſale of the lands was appropriated to the diſcharge of the tranſport debts, the arrears of officers, the ſums due for cloathing, the intereſt upon tallies, orders, and exchequer bills.

In the king's anſwer to the addreſs of the commons on theſe reſolutions, after having juſtified himſelf for ſhewing favour to ſuch as he ſaid had ſerved him well, he endeavoured to diſſuade them from their reſolution of paying the debts of the nation by the method of reſumption. This was ſo highly reſented by the commons, that they paſſed a reſolution, that whoever had adviſed the anſwer to their addreſs, had uſed the utmoſt endeavours to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the king and his people; and meeting great oppoſition in the houſe of lords, they threatened an impeachment of the two court favourites,

favourites, the earls of Portland and Albemarle, and reſolved to addreſs the king that no perſon, not a native of his dominions, except prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted to his councils either in England or Ireland. William finding that the lower houſe was determined to purſue, if neceſſary, harſh means to force him into a compliance, gave up the point in contention, and ſent a private meſſage to his friends among the lords, to ſuſpend their oppoſition; the bill was immediately paſſed without amendment; and William, coming ſuddenly into the houſe, gave his aſſent to the act, and prorogued the parliament without a ſpeech from the throne.

A. D. 1700.] During this ſeſſion, the old Eaſt India company petitioned the parliament that they might be continued for the remaining part of the time preſcribed in their charter. The new company drew up an anſwer to this remonſtrance; but as the influence of Mr. Montague, their great patron, was now vaniſhed, and the miniſtry were unwilling to irritate the commons, who ſeemed to be propitious to the old company, a bill was paſſed in their favour; ſo that for a certain term, there were two rival companies trading to the Eaſt Indies.

William had occaſionally changed from one party to another, according to the circumſtances of his affairs, and the oppoſition he encountered; and now he lent a willing ear to the tories, who undertook to manage the parliament, provided he would part with ſome of his miniſters. Their anger was chiefly directed againſt the lord chancellor, Somers, the moſt active leader of the whigs, and they demanded his diſmiſſion. The king made this ſacrifice, though he was an excellent chancellor, and the ſeals were beſtowed on Nathan Wright, by the title of lord keeper, a man indifferently qualified for the office. The parliament was diſſolved, and William ſeemed altogether attached to the tories.

The king having appointed a regency, embarked for Holland in July. On the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, the duke of Glouceſter died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. He was the only remaining child of ſeventeen, which the princeſs Anne had borne; and his death was lamented by the greater part of the Engliſh nation, as it left the ſucceſſion undetermined.

The ſecond partition treaty was brought to perfection in London, by Tallard, the French miniſter, in conjunction with the earls of Portland and Jerſey, and ſigned in February, after which it was tranſmitted to Holland, and ſubſcribed by Briord, the French envoy, together with the plenipotentiaries of the States-General. This treaty was at firſt concealed from public notice; but when communicated to the other powers of Europe, it met with a very unfavourable conſtruction. The Spaniards were exaſperated at the inſolence of three foreign powers, who pretended to parcel out their dominions. In England, it was condemned by the moſt intelligent part of the people, who obſerved that the ſcheme was unjuſt, hazardous in the execution, deſtructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the intereſts of this country; they moreover complained, that ſuch an important affair ſhould be concluded without advice of parliament.

In October the king returned to England, and ſoon after received advice of the death of the king of Spain. Philip IV. father of Charles II. the laſt king of Spain, had by his will, left his crown to the emperor's children; but the dauphin of France, according to the laws of primogeniture, was the next heir to Charles, who had no iſſue, as he was ſon of Maria Thereſa, daughter of Philip; Lewis, however, had renounced his claim. The electoral prince of Bavaria was grandſon to another daughter of Spain; ſo that on the death of Charles, there were three competitors for the crown. Under pretence of preſerving the peace of Europe, William, Lewis, and the States of Holland, undertook to parcel out the Spaniſh dominions among the claimants, without conſulting the people or the reigning monarch. By the firſt treaty, the dauphin, in conſideration of his right to the crown of Spain, was to poſſeſs in Italy, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuſcan ſhore, the marquiſate of Finale, and the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the Spaniſh territories on the French

ſide

ſide of the Pyrenees; the duchy of Milan was ſettled on the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor; and the kingdom of Spain, with the Netherlands, and its other dependencies, was to deſcend to the electoral prince of Bavaria. The electoral prince dying, a new partition treaty was adopted: the archduke Charles was put in his place, as heir of the kingdom of Spain and the Indies; Naples, Sicily, the marquiſate of Finale, the province of Guipuſcoa, and the iſlands on the Italian ſhore, together with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which their native prince was appointed to exchange for the duchy of Milan, were to fall to the ſhare of the dauphin. But theſe ſchemes were baffled by the wiſe conduct of the king of Spain, who determined to prevent a diviſion of his territory, and therefore, by his laſt will, he nominated the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin, the ſole heir of all his dominions. In caſe this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity. To prevent an alarm in Europe, by the union of the crowns of France and Spain in the perſon of the dauphin, his ſecond ſon was choſen, and till this prince ſhould arrive at Madrid, and attain the age of twenty-one, a council of regency, with the queen at their head, was appointed for the adminiſtration of affairs.

In the partition which had been made by the contracting powers, it is obvious the ambition of the king of France was more fully gratified by the extenſion of his own dominions, than by the nomination of his grandſon; but as the courier, which on the demiſe of Charles, brought the will to France, had been ordered, in caſe of a refuſal, to proceed to Vienna, with a tender of the throne to the archduke; Lewis foreſaw that a war would be the inevitable conſequence of adhering to the treaty; he therefore wiſely dropped it, and agreed to the will. After the will was accepted, Lewis ſaid to the duke of Anjou, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king. The grandees demand you; the people wiſh for you; and I give my conſent. Remember only, you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and to render yourſelf worthy of the throne you are going to aſcend." On the fourth of December, the new king ſet out for Spain.

The emperor was diſſatisfied with the treaty of partition, but he exclaimed againſt the will as more iniquitous, and threatened to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. The Spaniards apprehending that a league would be formed between the emperor and the maritime powers, for ſetting aſide the ſucceſſion of the duke of Anjou, reſigned themſelves to the protection of France; accordingly, French troops were admitted into the garriſons, in the Spaniſh Netherland and the duchy of Milan; one ſquadron of French men of war anchored in the bay of Cadiz, and another was detached to the Weſt Indies. The States of Holland began to be alarmed, and reſolved to acknowledge the king of Spain. However diſſatisfied William might be with the king of France, for having accepted the will, he reſolved to conceal his chagrin, till he ſhould have ſounded the other powers of Europe, and ſeen how far he could depend upon his new miniſtry. He repoſed his chief confidence in the earl of Rocheſter, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; the ſheriffs were changed, and a new parliament was called.

A. D. 1701.] The parliament met in February, and Robert Harley, who had undertaken the management of the commons, was choſen ſpeaker. The king obſerved, in his ſpeech, that the death of the duke of Glouceſter rendered it neceſſary for them to make farther proviſion for the ſucceſſion to the crown in the proteſtant line; and that the death of the king of Spain, had made ſuch an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature deliberation. The reſt of the ſpeech turned on the uſual topics of demanding ſupplies for the enſuing year. The elections had gone moſtly in favour of the tories; but never was the infamous practice of bribing electors ſo flagrant, as in the choice of repreſentatives for

for this parliament. Tories and whigs, placemen and patriots, in defiance of law, juſtice and common decency, openly and avowedly outbid each other, and bought votes, as men would buy cattle in a common market. An enquiry being ſet on foot in the houſe of commons, ſeveral of the elections were declared void; and divers perſons, who had been illegally returned, were expelled the houſe, and afterwards committed to priſon. But the proſecutions were carried on with ſo much partiality by the tories, who formed the majority, that they ſtrengthened themſelves by confirming their own party, and rejecting the whigs.

A great body of the commons had reſolved to addreſs his majeſty, deſiring he would acknowledge the king of Spain; and the motion in all probability would have been carried, had not one Mr. Monckton, in the heat of debate, ſaid, he ſuppoſed the next vote would be for owning the pretending prince of Wales. Though there was no affinity between theſe two caſes, a great many members were ſtartled at the inſinuation, and the meaſure was dropped. The king laid before the houſe a memorial he had received from the States-General, in which they informed him, that they had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; that France had agreed to a negociation, in which they might ſtipulate the neceſſary conditions for ſecuring the peace of Europe; and that they were reſolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majeſty and their other allies: they therefore begged he would ſend a miniſter to the Hague, with full powers to co-operate in this negociation; and that in caſe it ſhould prove ineffectual, or Holland be ſuddenly invaded, they relied on the aſſiſtance of England, and hoped his majeſty would prepare the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty. The commons deſired that the treaties between England and the States ſhould be laid before their houſe. Theſe being peruſed, they reſolved upon an addreſs, to deſire his majeſty would enter into ſuch negociations with the States-General, and other potentates, as might conduce to the mutual ſafety of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to the preſervation of the peace of Europe, and to aſſure him of their ſupport. This reſolution, however, was not carried without great oppoſition, from thoſe who were averſe to the nation's involving itſelf in another war on the continent.

The commons having taken into conſideration the ſucceſſion to the throne, it was reſolved, That further proviſion ſhould be made for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, That ſome conditions of government might be ſettled as preliminaries, before they ſhould proceed to the nomination of the perſon, that their ſecurity might be complete. Accordingly they deliberated on this ſubject, and agreed to the following reſolutions: That whoever ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhall join in communion with the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed: That in caſe the crown and imperial dignity of this realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament. That no perſon who ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, without conſent of parliament. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this act ſhall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy council by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, ſhall be tranſacted there; and all reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be ſigned by ſuch of the privy-council as ſhall adviſe and conſent to the ſame: That after the limitation ſhall take effect, no perſon born out of this kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized and made a denizen, (except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents) ſhall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either houſe of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of truſt, either civil or military, or to have any grants of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the crown to himſelf, or to any others in

truſt for him: That no perſon who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a penſion from the crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as member of the houſe of commons: That after the limitation ſhall take effect, judges' commiſſions ſhall be made, quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint, (i. e. as long as they behave well;) and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but, upon the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the great ſeal of England, be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament. Having ſettled theſe preliminaries, they reſolved, that the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in ſucceſſion to the crown of England, in the proteſtant line, after his majeſty, and the princeſs, and the heirs of their bodies reſpectively: and, that the further limitation of the crown, be to the ſaid princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, being proteſtants. A bill being formed on theſe reſolutions, was ſent to the lords, where it met with ſome oppoſition, but paſſed without amendment; and received the royal aſſent.

Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-general, was empowered to treat with the miniſters of France and Spain, according to the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament. But his demands were ſo lofty, that count D'Avaux, the French miniſter, could not help ſaying, "They could not have been higher, if his maſter had loſt four ſucceſſive battles;" Lewis was filled with indignation at the inſolent ſtrain of theſe propoſals, which he conſidered as a ſure mark of William's hoſtile intentions. William certainly had no expectation that France would cloſe with his propoſals; but he was not without hope that her refuſal would warm the Engliſh nation into a concurrence with his deſign. He communicated to the houſe of commons the demand which had been made by him and the States-general; and gave them to underſtand, that he would, from time to time, make them acquainted with the progreſs of the negociation. The commons, ſuſpecting that his intention was to make them parties to a congreſs which he might conduct to a different end from that which they propoſed, reſolved to ſignify their ſentiments in the anſwer to his meſſage. They called for the treaty of partition; which being read, they voted an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for his declaration that he would make them acquainted with the progreſs of the negociation; but they ſignified their diſapprobation of the partition treaty, ſigned with the great ſeal of England without the advice of parliament, which was then ſitting, and productive of ill conſequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it aſſigned over to the French king ſuch a large portion of the Spaniſh dominions. The debates on this treaty were exceedingly violent. The diviſion that had been made of the Spaniſh territories, was compared to a robbery on the high-way; and one member called it a felonious treaty, an expreſſion at which the king was ſo enraged, that he declared he would demand perſonal ſatisfaction for this inſult to his honour, if it was not for the diſparity of their condition. The treaty was debated with equal warmth by the peers; but after much virulent alteration, they agreed to an addreſs, in which they condemned the partition treaty, as a ſcheme inconſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the intereſts of Great Britain.

William communicated to the houſe of commons the declaration of the French king, that he would grant no other ſecurity than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick: ſo that the negociation ſeemed to be at an end. He likewiſe preſented a memorial from the States-General, relating to the ſhips they had equipped, with a view to join the Engliſh fleet, and the ſuccours ſtipulated in the treaty of 1677, which they deſired might be ſent with all expedition. The houſe having conſidered this meſſage, unanimouſly reſolved to deſire his majeſty would carry on the negociation in concert with the States, and take ſuch meaſures therein as might moſt conduce to their ſafety: they aſſured him they would effectually enable him to ſupport the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to aſſiſt them with ten thouſand men, and twenty ſhips of war, in caſe they ſhould be attacked. Though the king

king was nettled at this addreſs, which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their diſapprobation of any new confederacy, he diſcovered no ſigns of emotion, but thanked them for the aſſurance they had given, and told them he had ſent orders to his convoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the courts of France and Spain. On the fourteenth of March, the marquis de Torcy delivered to the earl of Mancheſter, at Paris, a letter from the new king of Spain to his Britannic majeſty, notifying his acceſſion to that throne, and expreſſing a deſire of cultivating a mutual friendſhip with the king and crown of England. However averſe William might have been to any correſpondence of this ſort, the earl of Rocheſter and the new miniſters importuned him in ſuch a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their intreaties, and ſent a civil anſwer to his moſt catholic majeſty.

The commons impeached the earls of Portland, Orford, and Halifax, and lord Somers, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, for the ſhare which they had in the partition treaty. According to the conſtitutional rule in impeachments, they inſiſted that the peers whom they had accuſed, ſhould abſtain from voting in the upper houſe; and that a committee from each of the houſes ſhould meet, to adjuſt the time, manner, and order in the intended trials. The lords refuſed to comply with the demand; they aſſerted, that as the ſole right of judicature was in themſelves, they had alſo the ſole right to appoint the time, manner, and order of all trials in impeachments. Two months paſſed in altercation; at length the lords appointed a day for the trial. The commons, to preſerve the dignity of their houſe, refuſed to appear; and, conſequently the impeached noblemen were acquitted.

Ever ſince the beginning of this ſeſſion, the whigs had employed their emiſſaries in exciting a popular averſion to tory miniſters and members: they even inſinuated that the court of Verſailles had found means to engage a majority of the commons in its intereſt. By theſe artifices, a clamour was raiſed for a new war with France, notwithſtanding the country was ſmarting under the effects of the laſt. Had the two houſes been united in one plan of oppoſition, they might have reſiſted theſe ſenſeleſs clamours, and convinced the advocates for war, that it could be of no advantage to this country; but the court had ſecured a majority among the peers, and the commons, dreading popular reſentment, thought fit to change their meaſures with reſpect to this object. When the king went to the houſe to ſign ſome bills, he obſerved, that the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the poſture of affairs abroad required his preſence: he therefore recommended diſpatch of the public buſineſs, eſpecially of thoſe matters which were of the greateſt importance. The commons, in an addreſs, declared they would ſupport him in ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit to make, in conjunction with the emperor and the States-general, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. They proceeded to the ſupply, and voted funds, for raiſing two millions, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, to defray the expences of the enſuing year. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved that ten thouſand troops ſhould be tranſported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries ſtipulated in the treaty of 1677 with the States. The funds were conſtituted of a land tax, certain duties on merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the exciſe, ſo as to reduce the civil liſt to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as the duke of Glouceſter was dead, and the allowance refuſed to James's queen. They paſſed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament during the intermediate prorogations; their laſt ſtruggle with the lords, was concerning a bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts. The perſons nominated for this purpoſe, being violent tories, were extremely obnoxious to the peers; when the bill, therefore, was ſent up to the lords, they made ſome amendments, which the commons rejected. The former animoſity between the two houſes was beginning to revive, when the king interrupted the diſpute by proroguing the parliament on the twenty-fourth of June.

The

The command of the troops deſtined for Holland, was given to the earl of Marlborough; and the king himſelf went over in July. After having met the aſſembly of the States, he made a progreſs round the frontiers, to examine the ſtate of the garriſons, and gave ſuch directions as he judged neceſſary for the defence of the country. Meanwhile, D'Avaux, the French miniſter, being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the States from the French king, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected; but he aſſured them, it wholly depended upon themſelves, whether they ſhould continue to receive marks of his ancient friendſhip for their republic. The letter was accompanied with a memorial, to which the States gave a ſpirited anſwer. As they expected nothing now but hoſtilities from France, they repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, hired auxiliaries, and made every preparation for defence. William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the king of Denmark, who undertook to furniſh a certain number of troops, in conſideration of a ſubſidy.

The emperor, in ſupport of his claims, had raiſed an army, the command of which was given to prince Eugene. This prince entered Italy by Vicenza, defeated a body of five thouſand French, and took poſſeſſion of the Mantuan territory, all but the capital, which he blockaded. During the ſummer, the French coaſts were overawed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of ſir George Rooke; and admiral Benbow was detached with a ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies. In order to deceive the French king with reſpect to the deſtination of this fleet, king William demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours, as if his deſign had been to ſend a ſquadron to the Mediteranean; but he met with a repulſe, while the French ſhips were admitted.

The king of England, the States of Holland, and the emperor, concluded a league on the ſeventh of September, at the Hague, known by the name of the Triple, or Grand Alliance. The objects propoſed, were to procure ſatisfaction to the emperor in the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, ſecurity for the dominions and commerce of the allies, the recovery of the Netherlands as a barrier between France and Holland; and to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of Milan, Naples, Sicily, and the Iſlands of the Tuſcan ſhore belonging to Spain. But in order to reconcile the Engliſh to the vaſt expence they were about to incur for the emolument of others, it was ſtipulated that the king of England and the States-general ſhould retain for themſelves whatever lands and cities they could conquer from Spain in both Indies. Thus to gratify the pride and ambition of two or three individuals the flame of war was to be lighted up, not only all over Europe, but in every quarter of the world; and Engliſhmen, who had ſo bravely maintained their own independence, were made the inſtruments of deſtroying the independence of another nation.

On the ſixteenth day of September, king James expired at St. Germains. After the miſcarriage of his laſt attempt for the recovery of his throne, he laid aſide all thoughts of worldly grandeur; and though he could not prevent his queen from planning new ſchemes of reſtoration, he was beſt pleaſed when detached from ſuch chimerical projects. His pride and arbitrary temper vaniſhed with his greatneſs, and he became affable and kind. His attention was wholly given up to the concerns of his ſoul, and nothing could be more harmleſs than the life which he led. In his laſt illneſs, he conjured his ſon to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and recommended to him the practice of juſtice and chriſtian forgiveneſs, declaring that he himſelf heartily forgave the prince of Orange, and all his enemies. Before his death the French king promiſed he would own his ſon as king of England; this promiſe was extorted from him by James's queen, through the influence of madame de Maintenon and the dauphin. Lewis might alſo be exaſperated at the laſt treaty of alliance formed againſt him, or in hopes to awe William into terms of accommodation. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed,

claimed king of England, and treated as ſuch at the court of Verſailles.

The king of England complained of this as a violation of the treaty of Ryſwick; and ordered the earl of Mancheſter, his ambaſſador at Paris, to return without taking an audience of leave. Lewis, in vindication of his conduct, diſperſed a manifeſto through all the courts of Europe, in which he affirmed, that in owning the prince of Wales as king of England, he had not infringed the treaty of Ryſwick: he acknowledged that by the fourth article, he had promiſed not to diſturb the king of Great Britain in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions, and declared his intention was to obſerve that promiſe: he obſerved, that his generoſity would not allow him to abandon the prince of Wales; nor could he refuſe him a title which was due to him by birth: that he had more reaſon to complain of the king of Great Britain and the States-general, whoſe declarations and preparations in favour of the emperor, might be regarded as real contraventions of treaties. The court party in England, and all the whigs, repreſented this as a freſh inſult againſt the liberty and independence of the Engliſh nation. Addreſſes were preſented to the lords of the regency, from all parts of the kingdom, which breathed the warmeſt ſentiments of loyalty to the king, and reſentment againſt France.

William having ſettled the plan of operations, and concluded a ſubſidiary treaty with the king of Pruſſia, returned to England on the fourth of November. The rage of party was at this time extremely violent; and the two factions reviled and calumniated each other in all the bitterneſs of rancour, both in ſpeeches and publications. The king, finding ſome leading members of the old parliament, whom he had cloſeted, not ſufficiently complying, he called a new one for the thirtieth of December. Every means were employed by both parties to influence the elections. Corruption was reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and had not the people, or at leaſt the electors, been ſo univerſally venal and profligate, that no ſenſe of ſhame remained, the victors muſt have bluſhed for their ſucceſs. It is ſaid, that the whigs obtained the majority; but Mr. Harley, a tory leader, was choſen ſpeaker: moſt probably the two factions were nearly equal.

A. D. 1702.] A conjuncture of opinions and circumſtances ſo favourable to the king's views, was not overlooked in his ſpeech to the parliament, which was received with univerſal applauſe; printed in the Engliſh, Dutch, and French languages; and hung up as an article of furniture in moſt houſes. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated on the indignity offered by the court of France, to himſelf and the whole kingdom, in acknowledging the pretended prince of Wales as king of England: he earneſtly recommended to the parliament, to conſider what farther effectual means might be uſed to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line; he demanded ſupplies for a great ſtrength at ſea, and a force at land, proportionable to that of their allies; he preſſed the commons to ſupport the public credit, which could not be preſerved without keeping ſacred that maxim, that thoſe who truſt to a parliament ſecurity ſhall never be loſers; he repeated his wiſhes that they would lay aſide parties and diviſions, ſo as that no diſtinctions ſhould be heard amongſt them, but of thoſe who were friends to the proteſtant religion and preſent eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who wiſhed for a popiſh prince and a French government; and concluded his ſpeech by affirming, that if they did in good earneſt deſire to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and be at the head of the proteſtant intereſt, it would appear by their improving the preſent opportunity.

When the copies of the treaties and conventions were laid before the commons, they met with univerſal approbation. A large ſupply, without one diſſenting voice, was immediately voted: the throne was addreſſed, that no peace ſhould be concluded with France, till reparation ſhould be made to the king and the nation, for his owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England. This addreſs was followed with a bill for the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales;

and another for the further ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line.

In the treaty of peace which William had concluded with the French king, he had bound himſelf to the payment of fifty thouſand pounds a year, for the ſupport of James's queen; on the pretence that Lewis had not complied with a ſecret article in the treaty, reſpecting the removal of the late king to St. Germain's, the annuity was never paid; and now the lords, in the heat of their zeal, paſſed a bill for the attainder of this unfortunate princeſs: it was, however, neglected by the lower houſe, where the tory party, in exerting all their ſtrength, carried the rejection of a bill for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and ſwearing to the king and his heirs, by the title of rightful and lawful king. Another bill of abjuration, which included an obligation to maintain the government in king, lords, and commons, and to ſupport the church of England, together with a toleration for diſſenters, and which was to be obligatory on all perſons who enjoyed employments in the church and ſtate, was carried by the majority of one voice only. The bill met with the ſame oppoſition from the tories in the upper houſe as it had met with from the commons; and when, after long debates, it had with difficulty paſſed, ten lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as an unneceſſary and ſevere impoſition.

This was not the only ſtruggle which, during this ſeſſion, was made by the party: they complained of the petitions and addreſſes which had reflected on the proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons, and particularly of the Kentiſh petition; and they complained that the lords had denied the commons juſtice in the matter of the late impeachments. Warm debates enſued; it was, however, carried by a ſmall majority, that juſtice had not been denied; and it was determined to be the undoubted right of the people of England, to petition or addreſs the king, for the calling, ſitting, or diſſolving of parliaments, and for the redreſſing of grievances; and that every ſubject under any accuſation, either by impeachment or otherwiſe, had a right to be brought to a ſpeedy trial.

In the caſe of a controverted election at Maidſtone, between Bliſſe and Culpepper, both parties, forgetting for a time their animoſity, joined to aſſert the authority and defend the privileges of the houſe: it was reſolved, that Culpepper had been not only guilty of corrupt, ſcandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himſelf to be elected a burgeſs, but likewiſe being one of the inſtruments in promoting and preſenting the ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious petition, commonly called the Kentiſh petition, to the laſt houſe of commons, was guilty of promoting a ſcandalous, villainous, and groundleſs reflection upon that houſe, by aſperſing the members with receiving French money, or being in the intereſt of France. It was ordered that Culpepper, for this offence, ſhould be committed to Newgate, and be proſecuted by the attorney-general.

It was alſo reſolved, that to aſſert that the houſe of commons is not the only repreſentative of the commons of England, tends to the ſubverſion of the rights and privileges of the houſe of commons and the fundamental conſtitution of the government of this kingdom: That to aſſert that the houſe of commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the houſe of commons: That to print or publiſh any books or libels reflecting on the proceedings of the houſe of commons, or any members thereof, for or relating to his ſervice therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the houſe of commons. Whilſt the commons were thus vindicating their authority, from the inroad of popular reſentment, and the tories making feeble efforts to defend their conduct, and juſtify their principles, the buſineſs of the court went on without interruption. It was reſolved, that the proportion of land forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, ſhould be forty thouſand men; and forty thouſand ſeamen were voted to be maintained for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

William, after long ſtruggles, had now gained

gained a complete victory over all oppoſition; but was ſnatched away by the unrelenting arm of death, in the hour of triumph and ſucceſs. His health, it is ſaid, had been declining for above a year; a circumſtance which, inſtead of abating his ardour for war, occaſioned him to redouble his efforts to engage England beyond the power of a retreat. To prevent any interruption to the concluſion of the grand alliance, all intelligence of his real ſituation was carefully concealed from the people, and reports of his recovery induſtriouſly ſpread. Though in a weak and languiſhing ſtate, he ſtill continued the diverſion of hunting, and in this exerciſe got a fall from his horſe, by which he broke his collar bone, and by which, it is thought, he accelerated his death: ſeven days after this accident, the gazette declared, in expreſs terms, that the king was recovered. On the ſame day a meſſage was ſent to both houſes, concerning a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and the bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales was paſſed by commiſſion: this was the laſt act of William in his political capacity. Two days after, his aſthma increaſed, and feveriſh ſymptoms appeared; he languiſhed ſix days, and died about five in the morning, on Sunday, the eighth of March, 1702.

Thoſe paſſions and prejudices, which divided the opinions of mankind on the character and conduct of William during his life, were, if poſſible, increaſed after his death; and it is at this time a queſtion among parties, whether he was the deliverer of England, or the ſubverter of all the ſound principles which remained in the conſtitution? A change in the ſucceſſion, and this on the beſt principles of freedom, it muſt be owned, was a great point obtained for the people. The crown was no longer regarded as private property, nor the right of one family to govern, except by a few political bigots, reſpected as ſacred and unalienable. The people, inſtead of being conſidered as beaſts of burthen, and live ſtock on a farm, tranſferrable from father to ſon, were now looked up to as the only legal ſource of ſovereign authority; and it was confeſſed, that the ſame laws which limited the privileges of the ſubject, limited the prerogative of the prince. In conſidering the queſtion, however, whether upon the whole, the revolution was advantageous or diſadvantageous to the liberties of the empire, it muſt be remembered, that the change in the ſyſtem of foreign politics, which took place after the ſucceſſion of William, involved theſe kingdoms in connexions, wars, and debts, which, as it has been often foreboded, ſo it may now be pronounced, muſt end in univerſal calamity. It was to ſupport this ſyſtem of politics, that a parliamentary ſanction was obtained for that unconſtitutional engine of deſpotiſm, a ſtanding army: and it was to ſupport this ſyſtem of politics, that all the increaſed powers of corruption were employed in ſuch a manner as almoſt to deſtroy all principle, and debauch the manners of the whole people.

To this period belongs the introduction of that irreparable national injury, the funding ſyſtem, by which all the national reſources are anticipated. From this reign alſo, we muſt date the commencement of the national debt, and ſurely a greater curſe could not have been inflicted upon this country. The deſtruction which it muſt finally effect, is not the only ill conſequence reſulting from it, ſince the encouragement which the practice of funding has afforded to miniſters to enter into unneceſſary wars, and the corruption of morals which it has produced, are evils of perhaps a ſtill more extenſive nature. Among other miſchiefs, the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds, neceſſarily produced a brood of uſurers, brokers, and ſtock-jobbers, who preyed upon the vitals of their country; and from this fruitful ſource, venality overſpread the land; corruption, which under the government of bad princes had maintained a partial influence in the adminiſtration of public affairs, from the period of the revolution, was gradually formed into a ſyſtem, and inſtead of being regarded with abhorrence, and ſeverely puniſhed, as in former times, received the countenance of the whole legiſlature; and every individual began openly to buy and ſell his intereſt in his country, without either

the

the fear of ſhame or penalty. In addition to this national evil, all the ſources of juſtice were ſo groſsly polluted by the partiality of party, that every miſdemeanor of a public nature eſcaped both cenſure and puniſhment: whig and tory reciprocally lending their aſſiſtance to the cauſe, to protect the individuals of their party from the juſt reſentment of their country, and the proſecution of the adverſe faction.

William III. was in his perſon of the middle ſtature, a thin body, and by reaſon of an immature birth, of a delicate conſtitution, ſubject to an aſthma and a continued cough, from his infancy. He had an acquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave aſpect. His converſation was dry, and his manners reſerved, except in battle, when he was free, ſpirited, and animating. In courage, fortitute, and equanimity, he rivalled the greateſt warriors of antiquity; and his natural ſagacity made amends for the defects in his education. He was religious, temperate, generally juſt and ſincere, and a ſtranger to violent tranſports of paſſion. But the diſtinguiſhing criterion of his character was ambition; and to this he ſacrificed every principle of honour, and the true intereſts of England. After he had eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne of his father-in-law and uncle, he aſpired to be the arbitrator of Europe; and to gratify his chimerical notions of the balance of power, he involved this country in connexions, wars, and expences, which have nearly proved its ruin. He was not leſs imperious than his uncle and grandfather, but he had learned from their fate, that the free ſpirit of Engliſhmen was not to be ſubdued by force, and therefore he employed all the engines of corruption. To ſum up his character, in the words of Dr. Smollett: "William was a fataliſt in religion, indefatigable in war, enterpriſing in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent huſband, a diſagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious ſovereign."

Obſervations on the Revolution of 1688.

The Norman Engliſh, with all the old governments of Europe, having been founded in violence, the people muſt have always a right to reform or change them if they find it neceſſary: and as the chiefs in theſe expeditions never extended to give liberty to the people, how could ſuch governments expect to be permanent? The Engliſh inherited from their Saxon anceſtors, a ſtronger attachment to liberty than their neighbours on the continent; and they were eaſily excited to inſurrection when they were told it was in danger. But they were only made the dupes of contending factions, and if any conceſſions were made them, when their aſſiſtance was neceſſary, they were never afterwards regarded. The ſucceſſion to the crown, which during the Saxon times, was clearly elective, was after the Norman conqueſt either elective or hereditary, or an incoherent mixture of both, as it happened to ſuit the views of the contending parties. The great barons were ever ſtriving to arreſt the power from the king, except it was employed for their particular emolument; and the blood of the people was ſhed in fruitleſs conteſts between monarchy and ariſtocracy,

The craft of Henry the ſeventh, by aboliſhing the cuſtom of great men keeping a hoſt of armed attendants, broke the power of the ancient nobility, and ſo humbled the houſe of lords, that for ſeveral reigns we find them of no weight in the government. The critical ſtate of religion, and the cruel impetuous temper of Henry the Eighth, ſo terrified the commons, that they complied with every thing he demanded; and even went ſo far as to admit that his proclamations ſhould have the force of laws. He impriſoned men without trial, condemned them by packed juries, and the privileges of the people were completely overthrown. His ſucceſſors endeavoured to preſerve the prerogatives which he had uſurped, but the times were not equally favourable. Elizabeth maintained them in a high degree by her moderation in the exerciſe of them, and her great abilities. James affected to maintain them, but always gave way when he found ſtrong oppoſition. Charles, on the contrary, was too weak to uſe them with moderation or judgment, and too obſtinate to relinquiſh them with a decent grace; even

even when he could hold them no longer.

Inſtead of the king againſt the lords, it was now the king againſt the commons; for the lords having no power of themſelves, always joined with the king. The ſyſtem of court influence not being ſo well underſtood then as it has been ſince, the old tyranny of ſtar-chamber courts, packed juries, and arbitrary impriſonments were enforced; and when parliaments could not be made ſufficiently compliant, by any or all of theſe means, they were diſſolved in great anger, and every means attempted to raiſe money without them. But the public mind was now more enlightened; the enthuſiaſm of divine right and paſſive obedience was almoſt gone, and the parliament very naturally expecting to be ſupported by the people, were not to be terrified into ſubmiſſion. Yet there was no ſafe mode of oppoſition marked out by the conſtitution, and ſo important a defect could do no other than produce the moſt fatal conſequences.

The method of puniſhing kings for evil adminiſtration, pointed out in the great charter, was evidently impracticable; and it was ever found impoſſible to bring them to reaſon, without ſetting up a competitor for the throne; even this, far from remedying the grievance, only produced a bloody civil war, which, by raiſing up two or more rival families, was handed down to poſterity. The prerogatives of the king, although at firſt admitted only that he might protect the people againſt the great barons, were now claimed as an inalienable right; and however they might have been abuſed, to diſpute them, even in the houſe of commons, was little ſhort of treaſon. The judges were held in a baſe dependance on the crown, and juries were fined and impriſoned, if they preſumed to give a verdict contrary to his directions. Barbarous, vague, and oppreſſive as this government was, it is a conſtant theme of panegyric; and the ignorant or venal friends of adminiſtration, are ever inſulting our underſtandings about our ancient, venerable, and glorious conſtitution.

Great as theſe evils were, they might have exiſted much longer, if the extreme weakneſs or wickedneſs of James II. had not alarmed ſome of the moſt powerful men in the kingdom with apprehenſions for their own ſafety. Notwithſtanding they contrived to expel that fooliſh tyrant, they were far from intending to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of liberty. But as James had a ſtrong party continually plotting to reinſtate him on the throne, the friends of William found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to amuſe the people with ſome new ſecurity for their liberty and property, partly to attach them to the new government, but chiefly to render the king dependent on the proprietors of boroughs. Whether theſe ſecurities were real or only ſpecious, and whether they have aboliſhed the old methods of oppreſſion or only confirmed them under new forms, is the ſubject of our preſent enquiry.

The firſt and greateſt grievance of which the people had to complain, was the power which the kings had aſſumed of calling parliaments only when they wanted money, and continuing ſuch as they found ſufficiently venal, as long as they pleaſed. To correct this abuſe, it was enacted that the parliament ſhould be diſſolved every three years; and in order that the king ſhould be obliged to call the parliament every year at leaſt, they reſolved not to grant more money than was neceſſary for the ſervice of one year. But this regulation, ſo ſalutary in appearance, was of no avail to the public, for by this time, the boroughs who appointed a majority of the houſe of commons, were gone to decay, and become ſubject to the crown or a few individuals; ſo that the appointment of the commons reſted with the proprietors of boroughs and miniſters. It was of little conſequence to the people how often they were elected, ſince the perſons who betrayed their intereſts the moſt notoriouſly, or others equally obnoxious to them, were ſure to be rechoſen by the dependent or venal electors; neither did the neceſſity which the king was now laid under, of a frequent application to parliament for money, afford the public any ſecurity; on the contrary, it kept the king in a conſtant dependence on the parliament, and conſequently under the neceſſity of beſtowing the public money more frequently on the miniſterial

members, in order to obtain what was wanted for the neceſſary purpoſes of government; nor is it likely they would complain of too frequently opening the public purſe, who expected to ſhare in the ſpoil. William felt the frequent demands of theſe honeſt repreſentatives very ſeverely, and once, in great indignation, ſaid, he wiſhed they would make all their demands at once; that he might know if the whole kingdom was ſufficient to ſatisfy them.

The uſual modes of corrupting the parliament in former periods, was by giving all places of profit to the members or their dependants: this abuſe had been carried to ſuch a ſcandalous extent, by creating new and uſeleſs places, that to ſatisfy the people on this head, it was enacted, that none who held places of a new creation, ſhould be eligible to ſit in the houſe of commons. This, like all the other proviſions for the ſecurity of the people, was quickly evaded. When the old places were found inſufficient to ſecure a majority, they were divided and ſubdivided, ſo that in ſome caſes, a ſingle place was converted into a whole board, each member of which had a great ſalary, and generally was a member of parliament. But all the places proving inſufficient, thoſe who had been a few years in lucrative offices, were, for their proſtitution of honour, gratified with a large penſion, upon which they retired from buſineſs, although they ſtill held their ſeat in parliament, or were created lords; and the place they vacated, was given to ſome new and unprovided member, by which means the public were burthened with both a ſalary and a penſion, until the place and penſion liſt became multiplied and magnified to ſuch a degree, that the moſt ſhameleſs effrontery could ſcarcely increaſe it more. Notwithſtanding all this, ſome time after the revolution, the continental wars, and other unpopular and impolitic meaſures rendered a vaſt increaſe of the peerage neceſſary, and made the commons ſo conſequential, and of courſe, ſo rapacious in their demands, that the place and penſion liſt, large as it was, could not ſatisfy them. Likewiſe, to amuſe the people, it had been enacted, that when the miniſter was diſpoſed to give a place to ſome member of the houſe of commons, the member ſhould previouſly reſign his ſeat and go to his conſtituents to be re-elected, which, when the electors poſſeſſed any degree of independence, would have been an expenſive, and ſometimes a dangerous meaſure. Therefore a new and ſecret ſyſtem of influence was adopted, conſiſting chiefly of riderſhips, contracts, patronage, and douceurs. The former ſignifies a penſion paid annually by ſome perſon holding a place under government, but who cannot be a member of either houſe of parliament; ſuch as the head-keepers of the priſons, commiſſioners of exciſe and cuſtoms, &c. &c. The perſons receiving theſe penſions were called riders on the placemen; and were generally biſhops, judges, magiſtrates, or other perſons, who could not decently receive a direct penſion from the crown: we have heard, that one of the judges had a penſion of fifteen hundred pounds per annum, from the keeper of the king's bench. Many reports of this ſort are in circulation, and although we do not aſſert them as facts, there ſeems to be too much ground for ſuſpicion. The hiſtory of the boroughs, ſhews us how this ſyſtem of riderſhip is eſtabliſhed in the ſupport of corrupt elections. The borough of Seaforth, and ſeveral others on the coaſt, being chiefly inhabited by exciſemen, were always obliged to return a miniſterial candidate. This abuſe grew at length ſo enormous, that it was expoſed in parliament, and a bill was paſſed, commonly called Mr. Crewe's bill, becauſe it was brought in by that gentleman, by which exciſemen were prohibited from voting. The people thought they had gained a victory, but their triumph was of ſhort duration. Thoſe who were entitled to vote, were no longer made exciſemen, but the ſalaries of the exciſemen were greatly increaſed, and the electors were made riders, or had penſions from the exciſemen in theſe boroughs. Thus was the corruption continued as before, and with double the expence to the public. Hence we may account for the enormous ſalaries which are frequently annexed to places of little labour or importance; and

and the connivance at impoſitions, which are too notorious to eſcape the knowledge of men who have power to puniſh them. All ſorts of impoſitions muſt be ſubmitted to, all neglect connived at; vices ſuffered with impunity, incapacity overlooked, profligacy muſt be encouraged, perjury rewarded, and in fine, every thing muſt be endured, rather than the influence of the court candidate ſhould be weakened, or the majority of the miniſter in parliament put in danger of being diminiſhed.

A bill, to exclude all ſorts of placemen from the houſe of parliament, has been long a favourite wiſh of the people; but it is evident that ſuch a bill, if paſſed, would have no other effect than to enlarge the emoluments of the placemen, in order that the members of parliament might be put upon them as riders. Many of the inferior officers in the eccleſiaſtic, civil, and municipal departments, and even in the great trading companies, are nothing but riders on their ſuperiors, who are obliged to retain more than they want, in order to ſupport their own conſequence with the miniſter, and in the appointment are ſure to pay a great regard to election intereſt and tory principles. The conduct of the bank, the India houſe, the courts of juſtice, &c. afford ſignal inſtances of this; and the conduct of a biſhop, who was tried for a riot, in having attempted by violence to turn a perſon out of his office, who held an employment under him, becauſe he had given a vote contrary to his inclination, ſhews how zealous even ſome biſhops are, to make all their dependants concur in ſecuring a majority to the miniſter.

Contracts and loans are a very powerful ſpecies of ſecret influence, which has ariſen ſince the revolution. Before this period, the government contracts and loans were very inconſiderable; but the continental connexions introduced by foreign kings, having produced ſo many continental wars and alliances, the contracts for ſupplying prodigious armies, both Engliſh and foreign, have been ſo extenſive as to produce immenſe fortunes to the contractors. Almoſt all the contracts for ſupplying the army with cloaths, corn, and other neceſſaries, inſtead of being publicly advertiſed to find the cheapeſt offer, are given to members of parliament, or their friends, to ſecure their intereſt in parliament, and upon ſuch terms as the miniſter finds moſt convenient to his party. Frequently the contracts have been given to perſons who were not dealers in the article contracted for, and who made a large profit, by giving the contract to others. Alderman Harley, who was a wine merchant, while he held a ſeat in parliament for London, had a contract for cloathing a part of the army. The loans have alſo been made a pillar of influence. Inſtead of being given to thoſe who would lend their money for the loweſt intereſt, the miniſter has always bargained for them with ſome of his ſelect friends, who have parcelled them out again to others for a conſiderable profit: in all theſe tranſactions, great care is taken to gratify the miniſter's party in parliament.

The qualification for a ſeat in parliament having conſiſted in the poſſeſſion of three hundred pounds a year in land, occaſioned a complaint, that the landed men had all the power of parliament, to the excluſion of the merchants, who had diſtinct intereſts, and were now become very numerous and opulent. In the year 1696, it was enacted, that merchants might be elected, who would ſwear they were worth five thouſand pounds. This regulation was certainly juſt and neceſſary, but the corruption that then prevailed rendered this ſalutary law of no effect, except to open the way for government contractors to get into parliament. The expence and trouble of obtaining a ſeat there, was much too great for a merchant worth five thouſand pounds or little more, to engage in, except he was ſupported by government, and conſequently devoted to them; and the cuſtom of borrowing a landed qualification is now ſo common, that the mercantile one is ſeldom thought of.

Patronage was ſo vaſtly extended by the continental wars and connexions, introduced by the revolution, that it became alſo a powerful ſource of corruption. All preferments in the army, the navy, the law, the public offices,

offices, the moſt valuable appointments in the church, &c. being in the gift of the crown, were rendered ſubſervient to the procuring a majority in parliament. The diſpoſal of theſe places, far from being diſcretionary in the power of the king, are little more than nominally ſo: ſuch places as were not ſuitable for the members themſelves, were neceſſarily beſtowed according to the ſolicitation of ſome of them, and they have made an immenſe profit by ſelling their intereſt with the miniſter. So publicly is this buſineſs carried on, that we frequently ſee advertiſements in the newſpapers, offering large premiums for recommendations. It is often a great difficulty for the miniſtry to determine whoſe recommendation to prefer. The merits of the candidate are ſcarcely ever conſidered, but the conſequence of the perſon who recommends, and the neceſſity of obliging in turn all thoſe who can command a ſeat in parliament; by reaſon of which, very unfit perſons are often preferred. In order to render the places in public offices more valuable, the hours of attendance are not uſually more than half the time of labour in other occupations; conſequently double the number of perſons neceſſary are employed; and the public are often ſubjected to great inconvenience by the government offices being always ſhut at two of the clock, and the great number of holidays.

Douceurs, were ſums of money privately given, to procure the votes of members who were not otherwiſe provided for. They were the ſupernumerary forces of the miniſter, and were ſent for when his regular partizans were in danger of being overpowered. Country gentlemen have been known to come to the houſe of commons, and boaſt of their independency, with the preſent of the miniſter in their pockets. The douceur may be from one hundred up to many thouſand pounds, according to the importance of the occaſion, and the abilities of the receiver. Secret as theſe tranſactions are, (as all cannot be obliged,) ſome of the diſappointed members, in the moment of chagrin, have expoſed it to the public. The late Mr. Gibbon, author of the Roman hiſtory, tells us in his memoirs, that he voted with the miniſterial party in hopes of reward; but though his vote was reckoned in the day of battle, he was omitted in the diviſion of the ſpoil: and we may add, that a friend of the writer, having waited by appointment on a member, to receive a debt, found him greatly vexed; he ſaid he had loſt a thouſand pounds by coming to town a day too late: this was near the cloſe of the American war, when the miniſter was ſcarcely able to maintain himſelf in his ſituation. It may be aſked, how theſe ſums are accounted for to parliament? We anſwer, the money allowed for ſecret ſervice, (i. e. to ſpies) is an immenſe ſum, far beyond what is really paid for intelligence; and the government accounts in general, are ſo vaſt and complicated, that no committee appointed by parliament to examine them, could ever go through it with ſufficient accuracy to detect fraudulent entries. It has been ſuppoſed, that even the private purſes of the kings have been rendered ſubſervient to this purpoſe. A letter from Sir Robert Walpole to the French miniſter, has been publiſhed, in which he tells him, the only way to prevent a war between England and France, is to ſend over here ſome money, to diſtribute amongſt the members of parliament, becauſe the king's money was not ſufficient for that purpoſe.

In the ſeventh year of William, a law was made to prohibit the candidates for a ſeat in parliament from giving bribes, or even meat and drink, to the electors; and the moſt ſolemn oath is taken that no ſuch thing has been received. Yet the moſt ſhameful bribery, drunkenneſs, and debauchery of every kind, are practiſed at elections, under the eye, and too often, by the encouragement of the magiſtrates. In fine, notwithſtanding ſo many laws were made in the reign of William for limiting the power of the king, and ſecuring the integrity of parliament, they have been ſo artfully evaded, that not one of them has had any other effect than to increaſe the ſyſtem of corruption, and render government more expenſive to the people. Even the Habeas Corpus act, which was intended as a ſacred

cred and inviolable ſecurity for perſonal liberty; and the act by which the judges hold their places during life and good behaviour, that they may be independent of the crown, have been rendered of little or no value, in caſes where ſuch a ſecurity is moſt wanted. The Habeas Corpus act is ſuſpended on every trifling appearance of diſcontent in the people, inſtead of enquiring into the cauſe of the diſcontents; and for the independence of the judges, the late earl Camden obſerved in the houſe of lords, that the judges have yet many reaſons to be partial on the ſide of government. They are advanced by gradation, from the loweſt to the higheſt ſeat on the bench, and they have families and friends whom they expect to be provided for by the miniſter.

Hence it appears, that however ſucceſsful the commons were in abridging the power of the crown, all they took from it under the name of prerogative, they reſtored under the ſyſtem of influence, and with this moſt important diſadvantage to the people, that in the firſt caſe, the king could gratify his inclinations without any extraordinary expence, whereas, under the ſyſtem of influence, a majority in parliament muſt be purchaſed at a very great coſt, all which ultimately falls as an additional burthen on the people.

Hence alſo it happens, that continental wars have been ſo much encouraged ſince the revolution; the more unwiſe and unpopular they are, the more a venal repreſentative of the people will naturally expect for his concurrence; and however unſucceſsful they prove, ſtill the places, contracts, douceurs, &c. muſt greatly enrich thoſe who are connected with the adminiſtration. The prodigious expence of every war ſince the revolution, and which is continually increaſing, is an unqueſtionable proof that many new branches of expence have been added to this dreadful ſcourge of mankind; and we have reaſon to believe, that while war is ſo profitable to the adminiſtration, we ſhall never be long in peace, till the people at large, either chooſe their repreſentatives, or are completely ruined by them.

CHAPTER II.

Acceſſion of Queen Anne---War with France---Duke of Marlborough appointed General---Gibraltar taken by Admiral Rooke---Invaſion of Spain---Union of England and Scotland---Trial of Dr. Sacheverel---Proſecution of the Duke of Marlborough, and Mr. Walpole---Peace of Utrecht---Death and Character of Queen Anne.

A. D. 1702. ANNE, princeſs of Denmark, aſcended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general ſatisfaction of all parties. She was the ſecond daughter of James, by his firſt wife, the daughter of chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon. The firſt meaſure of the new queen was to put the adminiſtration of public affairs into the hands of her favourites, the tories: the lords Somers and Halifax, together with other leaders of the whigs, were excluded from the new privy council, and their places ſupplied by eminent tories: the marquis of Normanby, remarkable for his attachment to hereditary right, was raiſed to the office of lord privy ſeal; and the ſtaff of lord high treaſurer of England was put into the hands of the earl of Godolphin. George, prince of Denmark, the queen's huſband, was appointed generaliſſimo of all her forces by ſea and land, and afterwards lord high-admiral.

By virtue of an act paſſed in the late reign, the parliament continued to ſit after the king's death. Seven days after her acceſſion, the queen went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity; and in her ſpeech to the two houſes, declared it her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies, in humbling the power of France;

ſhe obſerved to the commons, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government was expired; told them ſhe relied entirely on their affection, for its being ſupplied in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt ſuitable to the honour and dignity of the crown; added, that her heart was entirely Engliſh: and, according to the example of her father, made large profeſſions of her concurrence in all things which ſhould be for the happineſs and proſperity of England, and that the parliament ſhould always find her a ſtrict and religious obſerver of her word. The whigs had the mortification to ſee their rivals in poſſeſſion of all the lucrative advantages which they expected from the war; but they could not, without expoſing themſelves to the higheſt cenſure, oppoſe a ſovereign who diſcovered an eagerneſs to adhere to their avowed ſyſtem of policy. The buſineſs recommended from the throne was proſecuted by the commons with a ſhew of unanimity and zeal; and as both parties were too earneſtly engaged in the purſuit of their ſeveral views to attend to the real concerns of their country, they ſettled upon her majeſty, during life, the revenue poſſeſſed by the late king for the ſupport of the civil government. When the queen came to the houſe of lords to give the royal aſſent to the act for eſtabliſhing her own revenue, ſhe told the two houſes, that though the funds for the civil liſt might greatly fall ſhort of what they formerly produced, ſhe would give directions that one hundred thouſand pounds of her own revenue ſhould be applied to the public ſervice of the year.

The tories and high churchmen, having now gained a complete victory over their adverſaries, purſued their advantages with an indecent triumph. The whigs were openly accuſed of aiming at the eſtabliſhment of a common-wealth; and even the late king, who was as little of a republican as any prince of his time, was involved in this cenſure. A book, reflecting on Charles I. by a vote of both houſes, was declared to be a ſcandalous and villainous libel, which tended to the ſubverſion of monarchy; as ſuch it was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The nonſenſical doctrine of a divine and indefeaſible right was canted in the pulpits, and founded in the two houſes of parliament; and hardly any veſtiges remained of the revolution but an additional load of taxes, and the large increaſe of corruption and venality it produced in the nation.

The late king, whoſe whole life had been ſpent in one continued oppoſition to the king of France, had left England at the eve of a war with that monarch. The preſent ſovereign was upon this occaſion urged by oppoſing counſels; a part of her miniſtry being inclined for war, while the other no leſs ardently declared for pacific meaſures. At the head of thoſe who oppoſed a war with France, was the earl of Rocheſter, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and firſt couſin to the queen. He propoſed in council that the Engliſh ſhould avoid a declaration of war with France, and at moſt act only as auxiliaries. In ſupport of his opinion he urged the impoſſibility of England's reaping any advantage by the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs upon the continent; and expoſed the folly of involving the nation in debts to increaſe the riches of its commercial rivals. The chief of thoſe who declared for proſecuting the late king's intentions of going to war with France, was the earl, ſince better known by the title of the duke of Marlborough. This nobleman, though he had deſerted James at the Revolution, had ſtill a ſecret partiality for the tories, and during the whole of the proceeding reign, had paid the utmoſt attention to the preſent queen; to whoſe favour and eſteem he had alſo further pretenſions. He married a lady who was the queen's particular confidante, and who had an unbounded influence over her. By this canal Marlborough directed the queen in all her reſolutions, and was enabled ſucceſsfully to oppoſe the meaſures of his rivals in the cabinet.

Marlborough was not without private motives for wiſhing the proſecution of the war. It not only afforded him an opportunity of oppoſing the counſel of Rocheſter, whoſe influence he deſired to leſſen; but he had hopes of being appointed general of the forces which ſhould be ſent over to the continent; a com-

mand

mand of a nature moſt flattering to his ambition and other views. He therefore obſerved in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and that France could never be reduced within due bounds unleſs England would engage as a principal in the confederacy. The queen, therefore, embracing his advice, communicated her intention to the houſe of commons, by which being approved, war was proclaimed accordingly. The plan of operations had been ſo nicely concerted between the court of Vienna, the court of England, and the States-general, that their ſeveral declarations of war were publiſhed in one day. In the queen's proclamation, the king of France was taxed with the having ſeized the greater part of the Spaniſh dominions, with deſigning to invade the liberties of Europe, to obſtruct the freedom of navigation and commerce, and with having offered an unpardonable inſult to the queen and kingdom, by taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland and Ireland.

As England did not pretend to lay claim to any part of the Spaniſh or French dominions, nor had ſuſtained any real injury, or ſerious provocation from the king of France, the declared end of the war was to put the houſe of Auſtria in the poſſeſſion of the throne of Spain, and to procure a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands. Thus, before the nation had been able to recover itſelf in any manner from the ruin of an expenſive war in Ireland and on the continent, England was again involved as a principal in a war, which, as its object was the wreſting of a whole kingdom from the poſſeſſion of a powerful family, threatened to be long, expenſive, and bloody; and this for the ſole emolument and advantage of other ſtates, and the idle pretence of fixing a balance of power, which would have been better ſettled had ſhe not interfered.

Marlborough was immediately appointed general of the Engliſh forces, as he was likewiſe ſoon afterwards of the allied army. He repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himſelf at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men, well provided with neceſſaries, and long diſciplined by the beſt officers of the age. He was oppoſed on the ſide of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandſon to the king; a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army; but the real acting general was the marſhal Bouffiers, an officer of courage and activity.

Wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retreat before him, leaving all Spaniſh Guelderland at his diſcretion. The duke of Burgundy, unable to brook the mortification of this indignity, returned to Verſailles, and left Bouffiers to aſſume the nominal, as well as continue the real command. This general, confounded at the rapidity of the enemies' progreſs, retired towards Brabant, whither Marlborough had no deſign to purſue. The latter was contented with ending the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which was found an immenſe treaſure, and a great number of priſoners.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, was received with every public mark of approbation. He was thanked for his ſervices by the houſe of commons, and created a duke by the queen. The glory which he had acquired on the continent, ſeemed to conſole the nation for ſome unſucceſsful expeditions at ſea. Sir John Munden had permitted a French ſquadron of fourteen ſhips to eſcape him by taking ſhelter in the harbour of Corunna, for which he was diſmiſſed the ſervice by prince George. An attempt was alſo made upon Cadiz, by ſea and land, Sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces; but this enterprize likewiſe miſcarried. The Engliſh arms, however, were crowned with ſucceſs at Vigo, where the duke of Ormond landed with five and twenty hundred men, at the diſtance of ſix miles from the city. While the fleet forced their way into the harbour, the French fleet, which had taken refuge in it, was burned by the enemy, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Engliſh. Eight ſhips were thus deſtroyed or ran aſhore; but ten ſhips of war were taken, beſides eleven galleons, and above a million of money in ſilver.

The

The advantage acquired by this expedition, was counter-balanced by the baſe conduct of ſome officers in the Weſt Indies. Admiral Benbow had been detached thither the preceding year with a ſquadron of ten ſail, to diſtreſs the enemies' trade. At Jamaica, he received intelligence that M. Du Caſſe, the French admiral, was in thoſe ſeas with a force not inferior to his own. Benbow, therefore, reſolved to attack him; and ſoon after diſcovered the enemies' ſquadron near St. Martha, ſteering along the ſhore. He immediately formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. The reſt of his fleet, having taken ſome diſguſt at his conduct, permitted him, almoſt alone, to ſuſtain the whole fire of the enemy. The engagement, however, continued until night, and he determined to renew it next morning; when he had the mortification to perceive that all his ſhips had fallen back except one; which joined him in urging the purſuit of the enemy. For four days ſucceſſively did this intrepid ſeaman, aſſiſted only by one ſhip, purſue and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a diſtance behind, remained ſpectators of his activity. His laſt day's battle was more furious than all the former. While alone, and unſuſtained, he engaged the whole French ſquadron, his leg was ſhattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they ſhould place him in a cradle upon the quarter-deck, where he obſtinately maintained the fight as before, until at laſt his ſhip being quite diſabled, was unfit to continue the chace any longer. When one of his lieutenants expreſſed his ſorrow for the loſs of the admiral's leg, "I am ſorry for it too," ſaid Benbow, "but I had rather have loſt both my legs, than ſee the diſhonour of this day. But do you hear, if another ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." This valiant admiral ſoon after died of his wounds. His cowardly aſſociates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and ſentenced to be ſhot. Hudſon died before his trial. Conſtable, Vincent, and Fogg, eſcaped with ſlighter puniſhment.

Though the continuance of the parliament was limitted to ſix months after the king's deceaſe, the queen diſſolved it by proclamation before that time was expired; and iſſued writs for electing another, in which the tory intereſt predominated through court influence. The new parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker. The commons voted forty thouſand ſeamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies. It was never conſidered how little neceſſary theſe great efforts were, either to the happineſs or protection of the people. They were exerted againſt the French; and that, in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, was a circumſtance ſufficient to juſtify them. A ſhort time after, the queen gave the houſe of commons to underſtand, that ſhe was preſſed by the allies to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as ſhe to demand, and it was reſolved that ten thouſand more men ſhould be added to the army on the continent; but upon condition that the Dutch ſhould break off all commerce with France and Spain; a requeſt with which the former complied without heſitation.

The queen, according to the cuſtom of her predeceſſor, complained that the fund aſſigned by the laſt parliament, had not produced the ſums granted, nor would the hundred thouſand pounds which ſhe had given up to the public ſervice, make up the deficiency; and ſhe demanded liberal ſupplies for carrying on the war. The commons granted eight hundred and thirty-three thouſand, eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds, for the ſupport of the army; beſides three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for guards and garriſons; ſeventy thouſand, nine hundred, and ſeventy-three pounds for the ordnance; and fifty-one thouſand, eight hundred, and forty-three pounds for ſubſidies to the allies. A meſſage was ſent to the houſe by the queen, recommending further proviſion for the prince, her huſband, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her; when it was moved and carried, that the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon the prince, if he ſhould ſurvive her majeſty. Five thouſand pounds a year, for life, was alſo ſettled on the duke of Marlborough,

by

by the queen, from the revenues of the poſt-office.

A commiſſion had been granted, both in the preceding and preſent reign, to examine the public accounts, and to detect and puniſh thoſe individuals, who, in every office and contract, ſhamefully pillaged their country. But the villainy was ſo complicated, the vice ſo general, and the delinquents ſo powerfully ſcreened by artifice and intereſt, as to elude all inquiry. In the midſt of a conteſt between the two houſes on this ſubject, the queen interpoſed by a meſſage to the lords, deſiring they would diſpatch the buſineſs in which they were engaged. Notwithſtanding the diſpute was continued, till both ſides deſpaired of an accommodation, and publiſhed an account of their proceedings, the queen having come to the houſe of peers, after giving her aſſent to the bills which were ready, thanked them for their zeal and affection; declared ſhe would encourage and maintain the church, as by law eſtabliſhed; deſired they would conſider of ſome further laws for reſtraining the great licence aſſumed of publiſhing ſcandalous pamphlets and libels; and aſſured them, that her ſhare of the prizes which might be taken during the war, ſhould be applied to the public ſervice. The parliament was then prorogued by the lord keeper.

The earl of Rocheſter was by this time entirely removed from the queen's councils, through the intrigues of Marlborough and Godolphin; and was ſucceeded in the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the duke of Ormond. The parties were ſo nearly matched in the houſe of lords, that the queen, to inſure a majority of tories in the next ſeſſion, created four new peers, who had ſignalized themſelves by the violence of their ſpeeches, in the houſe of commons; and the marquis of Normanby was created duke of Buckingham.

A. D. 1703.] The duke of Marlborough croſſed the ſea in the beginning of April, and aſſembling the allied army, reſolved that the campaign ſhould commence with the ſiege of Bonne, which was accordingly inveſted. The place held out but a ſhort time againſt the ſucceſſive attacks of the prince of Heſſe Caſſel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. The duke next retook Huy, the garriſon of which, after a vigorous defence, ſurrendered priſoners of war. Then followed the ſiege of Limburg, which alſo ſurrendered in two days. By the conqueſt of this town, the allies ſecured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne from the deſigns of the enemy. The arms of the king of France, and the elector of Bavaria, were more ſucceſsful on the Upper Rhine and in Italy, where the imperialiſts were defeated and ſeveral places taken.

The Hungarians were fleeced, and barbarouſly oppreſſed, and at the ſame time a cruel perſecution raged againſt the proteſtants. Deriving courage from deſpair, they ſeized this opportunity, when the emperor's councils were diſtracted, and his forces divided, to exert themſelves in defence of their liberties. Under the auſpices of the prince Ragotzki, they flew to arms, and ſecured ſeveral ſtrong places. They demanded that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and privileges reſtored. In their revolt they were encouraged by the king of France and the elector of Bavaria, who promiſed them protection and aſſiſtance. The emperor's proſpect, however, was ſoon mended, by two incidents of great conſequence to his intereſt. He had agreed with the allies, that his ſon, the archduke Charles, ſhould aſſume the title of king of Spain, and demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage. Mr. Methuen, the Engliſh miniſter at Liſbon, made a treaty with the king of Portugal, by which he acceded to the grand alliance. To this he was allured by the ſplendour of the match between the infanta and the archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and king of the Romans, promiſed to transfer all their pretenſions to the Spaniſh crown. By this treaty, concluded at Liſbon, between the king of Portugal, the emperor, the queen of England, and the States-general, it was ſtipulated, That king Charles ſhould be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thouſand ſoldiers, with a great ſupply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he ſhould be joined immediately upon his

landing, by an army of twenty-eight thouſand Portugueſe. The other incident ſo favourable to the imperial intereſt, was a treaty between the duke of Savoy and the court of Vienna, by which he acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain. The duke of Savoy, on very lucrative terms, had united his arms to the fortune of France, but foreſeeing how much his own territory would lie expoſed to the French king, ſhould he get poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, and that Lewis was not in a ſituation any further to gratify his ambition, he deſerted his intereſt. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his ſelfiſh diſpoſition, ſent an ambaſſador to Turin, to aſſure him of her friendſhip and aſſiſtance.

The emperor, having declared his ſecond ſon Charles, king of Spain, that prince came to England, in his way to Portugal. After having been magnificently entertained ſome days, he proceeded to Liſbon with a fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of troops, under the duke of Schomberg; but when he arrived, he found that capital overſpread with ſorrow at the death of the infanta, his intended conſort.

The parliament met in October, when the queen in her ſpeech, took notice of the declaration of the duke of Savoy, and treaty with Portugal, as circumſtances favourable to the alliance. The commons having peruſed the treaty with Portugal, voted forty thouſand men for the ſea ſervice, and a like number of land forces, beſides the additional ten thouſand. Sums were granted for theſe great armaments, as well as for ſubſidies payable to the allies, and funds appointed equal to the occaſion.

The nation was at this time diſturbed by a plot, ſaid to be hatched by the jacobites of Scotland. Simon Fraſer, lord Lovat, a man of deſperate enterprize, ruined fortune, and abandoned morals, who had been outlawed for having raviſhed the ſiſter of the duke of Athol, was the perſon to whom this plot owed its origin. He repaired to the court of St. Germains, where he undertook to aſſemble a body of twelve thouſand highlanders, to act in favour of the pretender, if the court of France would aſſiſt them with ſome troops, officers, arms, ammunition, and money. The French king ſeemed to liſten to the propoſal; but as Fraſer's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, ſent back to Scotland with two or three perſons, to ſound the diſpoſition of the clans, and to endeavour to engage ſome of the nobility in his deſign. Fraſer no ſooner arrived, than he privately communicated the whole tranſaction to the duke of Queenſberry, and delivered to him a letter from the widow of the late king James, addreſſed to the marquis of Athol. It was couched in general terms, and ſuperſcribed in a different character, ſo that in all probability, Fraſer had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the marquis, who had proſecuted him for the injury done to his ſiſter. The duke gave him a paſs to ſecure him from proſecution, while he made a progreſs through the highlands, to ſound the chieftains; after which he returned a ſecond time to France to make further diſcoveries.

From the teſtimony of the perſons who were examined, there appeared little foundation for this conſpiracy. Ferguſon who had been concerned in the Rye-houſe and other plots, affirmed, that Fraſer had been employed by the duke of Queenſberry to decoy ſome perſons, whom he hated, into a conſpiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin, and by the diſcovery eſtabliſh his own credit, which began to totter. There appears too much reaſon to believe it to have been a fabrication of Fraſer's, and encouraged by Queenſberry. Among the perſons apprehended at this time, was a Mr. Lindſay, who had been ſecretary to the earl of Middleton. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the benefit of the queen's pardon, under ſhelter of which he came to England, thinking himſelf ſecure from proſecution. He proteſted he knew of no deſigns againſt the queen or her government; and that he did not believe ſhe would ever receive any moleſtation from the court of St. Germains. He was, however, tried, and ſentenced to die; but he perſiſted in denying any knowledge

knowledge of the conſpiracy, and ſcorned to ſave his life by giving falſe information. In order to intimidate into a confeſſion, he was conveyed to Tyburn, where he ſtill rejected life upon the terms propoſed; he was then taken back to Newgate, where he remained ſome years, and was at length baniſhed. The miniſtry ſeem to have given but little credit themſelves to this conſpiracy, and were ſo languid in their proſecutions, that the whigs loudly exclaimed againſt them as diſguiſed Jacobites. The diſcovery of the conſpiracy was no ſooner known in France, than Lewis ordered Fraſer to be impriſoned in the Baſtile.

When the peers were acquainted with the conſpiracy, they demanded all the papers relating to it, and to examine witneſſes. The commons conſidered this as an improper interference with the executive government, and violent heats enſued. A bill was ſent up to the lords for continuing the commiſſion on the public accounts, to which they made ſome amendments: theſe were rejected by the commons; but the peers adhering to their alterations, the bill was dropped, and the commiſſion expired. The parliament was afterwards prorogued.

A. D. 1704.] Nothing could be more deplorable than the ſituation to which the emperor was reduced in the beginning of the ſeaſon. The malecontents of Hungary had rendered themſelves formidable by their ſucceſs, and the elector of Bavaria poſſeſſed all the ſtrong places on the banks of the Danube; they even threatened Vienna, which muſt have been loſt, if the Hungarians and Bavarians had acted in concert. The emperor implored the aſſiſtance of her Britannic majeſty, and the duke of Marlborough explained the neceſſity of her undertaking his relief. In the beginning of the year, the duke viſited Holland, to ſettle the plan of operations with the States. In May the allied army of Dutch and Engliſh croſſed the Rhine at Coblentz, and at Mandleſheim were met by prince Eugene of Savoy; when, advancing toward the Danube, they were joined by the Imperialiſts at Weſterſtetten, and thence marched to Brentz, and fixed their camp within two leagues of the elector of Bavaria's army. On the ſecond of July they forced the enemy's intrenchments at Donawert, and paſſed the Danube without reſiſtance; but they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria; a battle therefore could alone ſave them the mortification of retreating without having gained one important point.

For the enemy to hazard an engagement in ſuch circumſtances was very injudicious; and the elector was guilty of a great overſight in forming the line of battle: his army lay encamped with the Danube on their right, whilſt their left was covered with a thick wood, from which ran a rivulet along their front into the Danube; this rivulet, as it paſſed through the plain, formed a moraſs, which rendered the paſs difficult to the enemy: inſtead of taking advantage of this circumſtance, when the elector perceived that the duke of Marlborough was preparing to give battle, he formed his line at a conſiderable diſtance from the moraſs, and threw twenty-eight battalions of foot and eight ſquadrons of dragoons into the village of Blenheim, and eight battalions of foot into Lutzingen, a village ſituated towards the centre of the army: it was deſigned that theſe parties ſhould fall upon the rear of the enemy when they had paſſed the brook, and ſo place them between two fires; but ſuch a deſign could not take place againſt a general of equal abilities with the duke of Marlborough. By the injudicious arrangement of the army in oppoſition, he had full opportunity to paſs the brook without interruption, and perceiving that the line of the enemy, conſiſting chiefly of cavalry, was conſiderably weakened by large detachments, he ordered the villages to be attacked by the infantry, and himſelf led the cavalry againſt the French horſe, commanded by marechal de Tallard; whilſt prince Eugene, who commanded on the right, attacked the elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Marzin. After ſeveral charges, the courage of the French horſe began to abate; they were at length totally ſubdued, and driven

into

into the Danube, where moſt of thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword were drowned; ten battalions of foot were at the ſame time charged on all ſides, and cut to pieces. The horſe, led by the elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Marzin, for a conſiderable time ſtood their ground againſt the repeated attacks of prince Eugene: at length, intimidated by the ſlaughter of their friends, they threw themſelves into three ſquadrons, and quitted the field with ſuch dexterity and regularity, that it would have been in their power either to have recovered, or at leaſt to have ſaved the detached parties, by falling on the flank of the enemy, deeply engaged in pillaging count Tallard's camp; but, terror prevailing in their minds, they neglected the opportunity, and the twenty-eight battalions of foot, and eight ſquadrons of dragoons, ſurrendered at diſcretion; thoſe ſtationed at Lutzingen found means to eſcape in the confuſion.

The loſs of the French and Bavarians in this battle amounted to near one half of their army; they loſt their camp, their equipage, their baggage, and artillery; marechal de Tallard was taken priſoner; the elector of Bavaria was reduced to the neceſſity of deſerting his country, and flying with the remains of the routed army to the Rhine, where he joined the marechal de Villeroy, and returning with this general, took ſhelter in France. The elector of Bavaria being obliged to abandon his dominions, they were ravaged by the Imperialiſts. The allies re-croſſed the Rhine, entered Alſace, and before the end of the year made themſelves maſters of Landau and Trearbach.

In Italy the French met with no oppoſition. The duke of Savoy being unable to meet the enemy in the field, was obliged to lie inactive. The duke of Modena was deprived of his dominions by the French army under the command of Vendome. Victory alſo declared in favour of France in the duchy of Mantua: the emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with more vigour againſt the Hungarian malecontents, over whom he obtained ſeveral advantages; notwithſtanding which they continued formidable from their numbers and reſolution. The miniſters of the allies preſſed Leopold to enter into negociations for a peace with the inſurgents, and conferences were opened; but he was not ſeriouſly diſpoſed to an accommodation.

The king of Portugal had promiſed to enter Spain with Charles in May, but he was not ready till June. By this time they had publiſhed their reſpective manifeſtos; Charles diſplaying his title to the crown of Spain; and promiſing pardon to all his ſubjects who would join his army within three months; and the king of Portugal declaring that his ſole aim was to reſtore the freedom of the Spaniſh nation, oppreſſed by the power of France, as well as to aſſert the right of Charles to that monarchy. King Philip, the preſent poſſeſſor, had already anticipated their invaſion. His general, the duke of Berwick, entered Portugal, took ſeveral places, and two Dutch battalions. That kingdom was, at the ſame time, invaded by other generals, in different parts. Philip arriving at the army, inveſted Portalegre, which ſurrendered, when the garriſon, including an Engliſh regiment of foot, were made priſoners. On the other hand, the marquis Das Minas, in order to make a diverſion, entered Spain with fifteen thouſand men, and defeated a body of French and Spaniards, commanded by Don Ronquillo. A reinforcement of Engliſh and Dutch troops were ſent to Portugal, under the command of lord Galway, and an attempt was made to invade Caſtile by Charles; but the duke of Berwick was too ſtrongly poſted to force a paſſage.

Meanwhile the arms of England were not leſs fortunate by ſea than they had been upon the Danube. The miniſtry, underſtanding that the French were employed in equipping a ſtrong ſquadron at Breſt, ſent out ſir Cloudeſly Shovel and ſir George Rooke to watch their motions: ſir George, however, had farther orders to convoy a body of forces, under the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, in tranſport ſhips to Barcelona, upon which a fruitleſs attack was made by the prince. But ſir George finding no hopes from this expedition, the troops were reimbarked in two days after; and

and being now joined by ſir Cloudeſly, he called a council of war on board the fleet, as they lay off the coaſt of Africa. In this they reſolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which the Spaniards, never apprehending ſuch an attempt, had left ill-provided with a garriſon. The town of Gibraltar ſtands upon a rock, projecting into the ſea, and inacceſſible on every ſide but one. The prince of Heſſe landed his troops, to the number of eighteen hundred, on the iſthmus, and ſummoned the town to ſurrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at a place called the South-mole-head, ordered all the boats to be armed, and to aſſault that quarter. Thoſe officers who happened to be neareſt the Mole immediately manned their boats, and entered the fortification, ſword in hand; but the Spaniards ſpringing a mine, two lieutenants, and about a hundred men were killed and wounded. Two captains, however, took poſſeſſion of a platform, and kept their ground until they were joined by the reſt of the ſeamen, who took a redoubt between the Mole and town by ſtorm. The governor immediately capitulated, and the prince of Heſſe, amazed at his own ſucceſs, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs.

Soon after the taking of this important fortreſs, the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of fifty-three ſhips of the line, came up with the French fleet of fifty-two, commanded by the count de Thouloufe, off the coaſt of Malaga, a little after ten in the morning. A battle began with equal fury on both ſides, and continued until two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. For two ſucceſſive days the Engliſh admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement; but the French fleet declined it, and at laſt diſappeared.

The loſs of Gibraltar was ſenſibly felt by the Spaniards, and Philip, therefore, ſent the marquis of Villadurias, with a large army, to retake it. France alſo ſent a fleet of thirteen ſhips of the line; but a part of this was diſperſed by a tempeſt, and part was taken by the Engliſh. Nor were the land forces more ſucceſsful. The ſiege continued four months; during which time the prince of Heſſe, who commanded the town for the Engliſh, diſplayed many proofs of valour. At length, the Spaniards, having attempted in vain to ſcale the rock, and finding no hopes of taking the place, abandoned the enterprize.

The parliament met in October, when the queen, in her ſpeech, remarked the great ſucceſs with which God had bleſſed her arms, and obſerved, that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages, would enable her to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England, as well as a ſupport for the liberty of Europe. In this manner princes inſult the underſtanding, and ſport with the intereſt and happineſs of their people. The ſecurity of England was not endangered, till William had formed a confederacy againſt France; neither was the liberty of Europe invaded, till the allies violated the independence of Spain, by ſetting up a competitor for that crown. Congratulatory addreſſes were voted; but they imbibed a different colour from the different factions by which the two houſes were influenced. The lords congratulated her majeſty on the ſucceſs of her arms under the duke of Marlborough, without taking any notice of the ſignal ſervices of Sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French fleet, and taken Gibraltar. The commons on the other hand, ſpoke of the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal importance. The union between England and Scotland had long been a deſirable meaſure of the court, and a bill was now paſſed to enable her majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat about an union, provided that the parliament of Scotland ſhould firſt appoint commiſſioners for the ſame purpoſe. The queen went to the houſe of peers, and gave her aſſent to the bills which were ready; the parliament was then prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved.

In the laſt meeting of the Scottiſh parliament, there had been violent debates reſpecting the ſettlement of the crown; and they were prorogued without coming to any determination. The miniſtry were now changed, and the office of high commiſſioner was con-

ferred on the young duke of Argyle, who was inſtructed to procure an act for ſettling the proteſtant ſucceſſion, or to ſet on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms. In this ſeſſion a letter was read from her majeſty, earneſtly recommending the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and an act for a commiſſion to treat of an union between the two kingdoms. A motion being made to grant the firſt reading to an act of commiſſion for a treaty with England, the duke of Hamilton inſiſted on the limitations of the crown, and a vote being ſtated in theſe terms, "Proceed to conſider the act of treaty or limitation," it was carried in favour of the latter. Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun, preſented a ſcheme of limitations, that ſavoured ſtrongly of republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, proving that they were abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the conſequences of Engliſh influence, to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties; to deter miniſters of ſtate from giving bad advice to their ſovereign; to preſerve the courts of judicature from corruption; and ſcreen the people from tyranny and oppreſſion. The earl of Stair having argued againſt theſe limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he oppoſed the ſcheme; for had ſuch an act ſubſiſted, his lordſhip would have been hanged for the bad council he had given to king James; for the concern he had in the maſſacre of Glencoe; and for his conduct ſince the revolution." The act was at length paſſed, empowering her majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat about an union; but reſtraining them from treating of any alterations of the church government as by law eſtabliſhed. The houſe was then adjourned.

The tory intereſt in England, was now upon the decline. Sir George Rooke was diſmiſſed from the public ſervice, and the queen could not endure to hear any mention made of his merit. The duke of Buckingham was deprived of the privy ſeal, and that office conferred on the duke of Newcaſtle, a nobleman of powerful influence among the whigs. The earl of Peterborough and lord Cholmondly were ſworn of the privy council. The ducheſs of Marlborough, who had great influence over the queen, had alienated her affections from the tories. After the prorogation of parliament, the queen paid a viſit to Cambridge, where ſhe conferred the honour of knighthood (if theſe ſilly titles can be called honours) on the celebrated Iſaac Newton, mathematical profeſſor.

A. D. 1705.] The duke of Marlborough took the field early in May, when the enemy, under the command of Mareſchal Villars, retired to Sirk, where they occupied a very ſtrong camp, and determined to act on the defenſive. While the duke lay inactive on the Moſelle, waiting the arrival of the imperialiſts under prince Lewis, of Baden, to enable him to improve the advantages of the laſt campaign, by carrying the war into France, the elector of Bavaria and the mareſchal Villeroy, puſhed the advantages which the ſuperiority of numbers gave them in the Netherlands. Huy having ſurrendered to them, they marched with their army to Liege. The ſtates, alarmed at the progreſs of the enemy, ſent to the duke, who haſtened to their relief. His preſence made an entire change in the Netherlands: Huy was re-taken; and the enemy abandoning their deſign upon Liege, retired behind their lines. The duke of Marlborough was anxious to recover the glory loſt, from the prior inactivity of the campaign, by ſome enterprize of conſequence; but the enemy, whom experience had taught wiſdom, dreaded a conteſt, which, if unſucceſsful, might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. When they perceived the Engliſh general was preparing to attack them, they drew their armies together. In this ſituation they were attacked by the duke on the left, and the Dutch on the right; their lines were broken, and a fierce ſhock enſued. The Bavarian cavalry were defeated, and the infantry at length gave way; ten battalions retired in ſuch good order, that they not only defended themſelves from the attacks of the enemy, but protected, as they retreated, their flying friends. No event of conſequence followed this victory: and the reſt of the campaign paſſed over without any movement of importance.

The

The marechal de Villars, ſeizing the opportunity which the abſence of the Engliſh troops afforded him, beſieged and took Homburg, and paſſed the Rhine at Straſburg; but prince Lewis, of Baden, put himſelf at the head of the Imperial army, and not only obliged the French to retire, but following the enemy, forced their lines at Hagenau, and reduced the towns of Druſenheim and Hagenau.

As uſual, the war in Italy languiſhed on the ſide of the emperor. Villa Franca fell into the hands of the French; in March, the town and port of Nice, by which the duke of Savoy could alone receive ſuccours by ſea, was taken; Veſue ſurrendered in April, after an obſtinate ſiege of ſix months; the allies, under prince Eugene, were repulſed by the French army, commanded by the duke de Vendome; and the duke of Savoy was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Turin, without any proſpect of relief.

In the mean time, five thouſand troops, under the joint command of the earl of Peterborough and ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, ſailed from St. Helen's to Liſbon, where they were joined by a ſquadron of Dutch, under admiral Allemonde, and, reinforced with a body of horſe from the earl of Galway's army in Portugal; and having thus collected a conſiderable force, they took the archduke Charles on board, and ſailing firſt to Gibraltar, directed their courſe thence to Catalonia. Spain was not in a condition to reſiſt an armament of ſuch force; its arrival ſpread terror and confuſion through the whole country: the fortreſſes of Lerida and Tortoſa were delivered into the hands of the archduke without a blow; Barcelona was forced to capitulate; and almoſt the whole kingdom of Valencia, and the province of Catalonia, ſubmitted to the power of the invaders. On the approach of winter, the fleet of the confederates retired from the coaſt of Spain: but the archduke, who had now taken upon him the title of king of Spain, attended with the land-forces of the allies, took up his quarters in the heart of the kingdom.

During the courſe of the campaign, the emperor Leopold died. This prince was a bigot in religion, and entirely governed by his prieſts, whoſe ill counſels ran him into great difficulties and dangers. It was the ſeverity of his perſecutions which firſt provoked the Hungarians to aſſiſt the Turks in a war againſt him; and it was a repetition of the ſame perſecutions that raiſed new commotions in Hungary; which, in conjunction with the revolt of the elector of Bavaria, would have brought on his entire ruin, had he not been relieved from his great diſtreſs by the treaſure and blood of the Engliſh. Leopold was ſucceeded by his ſon Joſeph in his hereditary and elective dignities: ambition and bigotry were as apparent in this prince as in his predeceſſors. The acceſſion of the Spaniſh throne, the increaſe of the imperial power on the ruins of the authority of the German princes, and the total reduction of the inſurgents in Hungary, in order to repeat oppreſſion, were objects more warmly purſued by Joſeph than by his father, and in theſe pious deſigns he was warmly aſſiſted by the good people of England: however, to ſave appearances, it was reported, that Joſeph intended to correct the errors of his father's government, and that he had promiſed to the miniſters of the queen and the States, that he would offer all reaſonable terms to the Hungarians.

England was at this time employed in electing members to ſerve in the new parliament. The tories exerted themſelves greatly, and propagated the cry of the church's being in danger; but, notwithſtanding all their efforts, a majority of whigs were returned. The parliament met in October, when the queen dwelt on the uſual topics of proſecuting the war againſt France with vigour, and demanding more money. She obſerved, that ſome perſons had endeavoured to foment animoſities, by aſſerting that the eſtabliſhed church was in danger; but ſhe conſidered them as enemies to her and the kingdom. She declared ſhe would affectionately ſupport the church of England, and maintain toleration. A warm debate was held in the houſe of peers, on the danger of the church; when it was finally reſolved, that the church of England was in a

flouriſhing condition, and that whoever inſinuated to the contrary was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom: the commons paſſed the ſame vote, and both houſes concurred in an addreſs to her majeſty, requeſting her to make it public, and to puniſh the promoters of the ſcandalous report, that the church was in danger. A proclamation was accordingly publiſhed.

A. D. 1706.] The public attention was at this time occupied by the projected union of England and Scotland. The queen having appointed the commiſſioners on both ſides, they met on the ſixteenth day of April, in the council-chamber of the cockpit, near Whitehall. On the twenty-ſecond day of July the treaty was finiſhed and mutually ſigned, and the day following preſented to her majeſty.

By this famous treaty, it was ſtipulated, That the ſucceſſion to the united kingdom of Great-Britain ſhould be veſted in the princeſs Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already paſſed in the parliament of England: That the united kingdom ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament: That all the ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that they ſhould have the ſame allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the ſame prohibitions, reſtrictions, and regulations, with reſpect to commerce and cuſtoms: That Scotland ſhould not be charged with the temporary duties on ſome certain commodities: That the ſum of three hundred ninety-eight thouſand and eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings, ſhould be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for ſuch parts of the cuſtoms and exciſe charged upon that kingdom, in conſequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: That as the revenues of Scotland might increaſe, a further equivalent ſhould be allowed for ſuch proportion of the ſaid increaſe as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: That the ſum to be paid at preſent, as well as the monies ariſing from the future equivalents, ſhould be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the Engliſh coin; in paying off the capital ſtock and intereſt due to the proprietors of the African company, which ſhould be immediately diſſolved; in diſcharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; and in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fiſheries, under the direction of commiſſioners to be appointed by her majeſty, and accountable to the parliament of Great-Britain: That the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, ſhould be the ſame through the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration ſhould be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident utility of the ſubjects within Scotland: That the court of ſeſſion, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, ſhould remain as then conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the ſame authority and privileges as before the union: ſubject, nevertheleſs, to ſuch regulations as ſhould be made by the parliament of Great-Britain: That all heritable offices, ſuperiorities, heritable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, ſhould be reſerved to the owners as rights of property, in the ſame manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: That the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland ſhould remain entire after the union: That Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great-Britain by ſixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in ſuch a manner as ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament of Scotland: That all the peers of Scotland, and the ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhould, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and ſhould have rank and precedency next, and immediately after the Engliſh peers of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: That they ſhould be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all privileges as peers as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of ſitting in the houſe of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trial of peers: That the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament, and

and all other records, rolls, and regiſters whatſoever, ſhould ſtill remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland: That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they might be inconſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, ſhould ceaſe, and be declared void by the reſpective parliaments of the two kingdoms.

When this treaty was firſt publiſhed in Scotland, that kingdom was thrown into the moſt violent convulſions. The people, forgetting their religious and political diſtinctions, immediately flew to arms, and threatened a revolution. Nor was the oppoſition leſs violent in parliament: "What! (ſaid the duke of Hamilton) ſhall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for ſo many ages? Shall we yield up the ſovereignty and independency of our country, when we are commanded by thoſe we repreſent, to preſerve the ſame, and aſſured of their aſſiſtance to ſupport us?" It was affirmed, that the obligation laid on the Scottiſh members to reſide ſo long in London, in attendance on the Britiſh parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoveriſh the members, and ſubject them to the temptation of being corrupted. The lord Belhaven enumerated the miſchiefs which would attend the union, in a pathetic ſpeech, that drew tears from the audience, and is ſtill conſidered as a prophecy by great part of the Scottiſh nation. Addreſſes againſt the treaty, were preſented to parliament by the convention of boroughs, the general aſſembly, the trading companies, ſeveral ſhires, ſtewartries, boroughs, towns, and pariſhes, in all the different parts of the kingdom; but without effect. Twenty thouſand pounds were ſent by the queen to corrupt the members of parliament, a large force was collected in the north of England and Ireland, and it was expected that troops would be poured into Scotland from Holland, if neceſſary. The Scots, perceiving reſiſtance to be in vain, ſubmitted, and the parliament confirmed the treaty.

When the duke of Marlborough aſſembled his forces, he found himſelf at the head of a greater army than he had ever commanded: it conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe; well furniſhed with artillery and pontoons; beſides reinforcements of Daniſh and Pruſſian troops which afterwards joined him. With this mighty army, he proceeded to give battle to the French, under the command of marechal Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria. Had the French generals continued to act with the ſame prudence and caution they obſerved in the two preceding campaigns, all the preparations of the enemy would have evaporated in the ſame fruitleſs expence; but, unfortunately for France, different councils and different reſolutions prevailed. The marechal de Villeroy, either in obedience to the orders of the French court, which had deſired him to attack the enemy before they were joined by the Danes, or from an impatience natural to conſtitutional courage, iſſuing from the lines he had formed behind the Dyle, in Flanders, advanced to Tirlemont, and thence proceeded to Ramilies: at Ramilies he met the united armies of the allies, and both ſides ſuddenly formed in order of battle.

The left wing of the French army was covered with the Geete, and an impaſſable moraſs running along its banks; their right wing with the village of Taviers, on the banks of the Mehaigne; and the village of Ramilies at a ſmall diſtance before their centre. The advantage of the marechal's ſituation more than compenſated for the ſuperiority of numbers in the enemy; but deceived by the ſame device which had been practiſed with ſucceſs the laſt campaign, he thinned the left, where the attack was really intended, to ſtrengthen the right, where it was impracticable. In the midſt of that confuſion which this injudicious alteration occaſioned, the duke began the attack; the Engliſh infantry fell on the centre of the enemy, whilſt Auverquerque, with the Dutch foot, attacked the right wing: the French troops in the centre made a gallant reſiſtance to the attack of the Engliſh infantry; but being at length charged by the whole body of the Engliſh army, horſe and foot, in the front, and at the ſame time by the Daniſh

cavalry in the flank, they gave way in ſuch diſorder, that the horſe abandoning the foot, with which they were interlined, the latter were all cut to pieces.

Eight battalions which De Villeroy had placed in Ramilies, when they perceived the main body driven from the field, endeavoured to retreat toward the right; but they were attacked by the enemy's cavalry, before they could put themſelves in a proper poſture of defence, and ſeveral were killed, and the reſt diſperſed; the left wing gave way before the Dutch; and thus the whole French army, amounting to eighty thouſand, were put to an entire rout, and a compleat victory remained to the allies, who left no more than three thouſand dead on the field, and took of ſpoils one hundred pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of baggage, together with all the trophies of war.

The total conqueſt of Brabant, and almoſt all Spaniſh Flanders, was the immediate conſequence of the victory; Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Meclin, Aloſt, Ghent, and Oudenarde, ſurrendered without firing a gun; Oſtend was obliged to capitulate; Menin ſurrendered, after an obſtinate reſiſtance: and the ſieges of Dendermonde and Ath, which were taken ſucceſſively, concluded the operations of the campaign.

The French and Spaniards, taking advantage of the abſence of the Engliſh fleet, laid ſiege to Barcelona, where the arch-duke Charles had taken up his head-quarters; but when the town was on the point of being ſtormed, an Engliſh fleet, ſuperior to the enemy, appeared on the coaſt, and the comte de Thouloufe, commander of the French fleet, precipitately retired in the night: this reinforcement of troops being thrown into Barcelona, the king of Spain and the marechal de Teſſe, who had ſhut up the town by land, with an army of twenty thouſand men, raiſed the ſiege in confuſion; when the Engliſh, taking advantage of the conſternation of the enemy, which was greatly heightened by a ſudden darkneſs from an almoſt total eclipſe of the ſun, purſued them with ſlaughter. Philip, who had abandoned his camp, his proviſions, his cannon, with all the implements of war, to the poſſeſſion of his competitor, after taking a circuit with his broken and ruined army, through a part of the dominions of France, returned to Madrid.

Theſe were not all the diſgraces and mortifications ſuſtained by this unfortunate monarch. The combined armies of Engliſh and Portugueſe, under the joint command of the earl of Galway and the marquis de Las Minas, entered Eſtremadura, took Alcantara, forced Cividad, Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the poſt of Eſpinar, and then directed their march to Madrid. Philip, who was in no condition to withſtand ſo powerful an army, abandoned his capital, and removed the queen and the court to Burgos. The Engliſh and the Portugueſe entered Madrid in triumph; and, to complete the ſucceſſes of the campaign, the Engliſh fleet at this period ſecured Carthagena, which had declared for the arch-duke.

It was at this period in the power of the allies to obtain the grand object of this deſtructive and expenſive war, but whilſt the arch-duke remained inactive at Barcelona, the Engliſh and Portugueſe loitered away their time in the midſt of debauchery at Madrid. Thus the Spaniards, who abhorred the thoughts of having a king impoſed on them by heretics, had time to recover from their conſternation; and Philip, who had raiſed an army ſuperior to the enemy, marched to Madrid, obliged the allies to retire, and became repoſſeſſed of his capital. Galway and Las Minas, having joined the arch-duke, they paſſed into the kingdom of Valencia, and diſpoſed their quarters in ſuch a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and maintain a free entrance into Caſtile; but before the end of the campaign, Carthagena was retaken by the duke of Berwick.

This was a year of accumulated loſſes and diſgraces to the French. In Italy, the Modeneſe, the Mantuans, the Milaneſe, Piedmont, and ultimately the kingdom of Naples, were loſt to the houſe of Bourbon. In Germany, where the imperialiſts were left to fight their own battles, the French were able to maintain a conteſt, which they had found unequal

unequal in Flanders, Spain, and Italy. The marechal de Villars, with a well-appointed army, found himſelf ſuperior to the prince of Baden, who was ill-ſupported by the court of Vienna; he recovered all that had been loſt in the preceding campaign, and had the court of Verſailles been in a ſituation to ſtrengthen, inſtead of weakening their army in Germany by detachments, ſuch was the langour and inferiority of the enemy, that Villars might have penetrated into the heart of Germany, and, with the aſſiſtance of the Hungarians, have beſieged the emperor in his capital.

Whilſt England was engaged in this expenſive and unnatural war on the continent, her navy was ſhamefully neglected, her trade was unprotected, and the merchants, with reaſon, complained of frequent and great ſeizures made by the enemy. On the acceſſion of queen Anne, the whole management of the ſea department was put under the care of her huſband, the prince of Denmark, who had the title of lord high admiral, and a council was appointed to aſſiſt him. Prince George was a man of a very indolent diſpoſition, of little or no judgment in the buſineſs confided to his care, good-natured, and eaſy to be impoſed on: it was not the intereſt of thoſe who managed the war that laurels ſhould be gathered at ſea; all the naval expeditions, therefore, were ill-planned; from the avarice of contractors, the fleets were ill and ſparingly victualled; from the want of judgment in the lord high admiral, they were worſe officered, and the commanders ſo ill-ſuited to each other in their diſpoſitions, that the ſervice frequently ſuffered from their quarrels and want of agreement. Thus the taking of Gibraltar, the ſubjection of Majorca and Ivica to the dominion of the arch-duke, the tranſporting of troops to Spain, the reduction of Barcelona, the raiſing of that ſiege, and the conducting of prince Charles with great pomp to Portugal, were all the mighty exploits performed by the fleet in the laſt four years of the war.

Whilſt the two houſes of parliament were almoſt unanimous in the laviſh grants they made to the crown, for the purpoſe of ſettling the affairs of Europe, the ſpirit of party exerciſed itſelf on the ſubject of religious toleration. During the firſt five years of queen Anne's reign, repeated attempts were made to bring in a bill againſt the occaſional conformity of the diſſenters, for the purpoſe of enjoying offices in the ſtate; it ſeveral times paſſed the commons with little oppoſition, but was always rejected by the upper houſe, where the whig intereſt at this time prevailed; nor was religious toleration the only object of diſpute between the two houſes.

In the laſt ſeſſion of the former parliament, five inhabitants of the borough of Ayleſbury brought their actions againſt White, the mayor of the corporation, for having refuſed to receive their votes in the election of members to ſerve in parliament: the commons ordered theſe men to be committed to Newgate for a breach of privilege. The priſoners brought their habeas corpus into the queen's-bench; the lord chief juſtice Holt declared it as his opinion, that neither houſe of parliament, nor both jointly, without the concurrence of the ſovereign, had any power or right to diſpoſe of the liberty and property of the ſubject; the chief juſtice might have carried his argument farther, and declared, that not all the combined powers of government have a right to act in oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed rules of the conſtitution: however, his opinion was oppoſed by his brethren on the bench; the priſoners were remanded to priſon, and the commons, not content with their invidious exertion of power in the firſt inſtance, on two of the priſoners petitioning for a writ of error to bring the matter before the lords, addreſſed the queen not to grant the writ; voted that all thoſe who were either concerned in managing the writs of habeas corpus, or in procuring the writ of error, were diſturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the privileges of the commons of England; ordered the four counſellors who had pleaded for the men of Ayleſbury at the bar of the queen's-bench, to be taken into cuſtody; and ſent their ſergeant at arms at midnight, with every circumſtance of ſeverity and terror, to remove the priſoners from Newgate.

The lords, from a ſpirit of oppoſition to the

the commons, at this time took the part of the people, and in their proceedings on a petition from the injured parties, paſſed ſix reſolutions againſt the conduct of the lower houſe, as being an obſtruction to juſtice, and contrary to magna charta. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the lords granted two writs of habeas corpus, returnable before the lord keeper, in behalf of two of the council for the men of Ayleſbury. The lords' reſolutions were followed with counter reſolutions by the commons; and theſe counter-reſolutions with commands to the ſergeant at arms to make no return, or yield any obedience to the writs; and at the ſame time, the lord keeper was acquainted, that the writs ſhould be ſuperſeded, as contrary to law, and to the privileges of the commons of England. On theſe proceedings of the commons, the upper houſe demanded a free conference: the conference proved ineffectual; the lords ſolicited the queen to give orders for the immediate iſſuing of the writs; but the queen thought it more expedient to put an end to the diſpute by an immediate prorogation.

Whilſt the factious ſquabbles between whig and tory, high church and low, diſtracted and divided the nation, the meaſures of adminiſtration were carried without interruption in parliament; the ſupplies were voted unanimouſly, and the great favourite, the duke of Marlborough, beſides the large emoluments of his office, and the preſents received from foreign ſtates, had the additional gratification of the honour and manor of Woodſtock, and hundred of Wooten. This was attained in a manner the moſt pleaſing to the duke's ambition; for the commons, having ordered a committee of their body to wait on him with their thanks for the ſucceſs of his negociations, as well as for his victories in the field, appointed a day for conſidering his ſervices, and then addreſſed her majeſty to find means to perpetuate their memory. The queen acquainted them, that ſhe intended to grant to the duke and his heirs the intereſt of the crown in the fore-mentioned honour and manor, and ſhe deſired the aſſiſtance of the houſe in clearing from incumbrance the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manor and hundreds, which had been already given away for two lives: her requeſt was immediately complied with: a bill was accordingly brought in for that purpoſe, which paſſed both houſes without oppoſition. The queen alſo ordered the comptroller of her works to build an elegant palace for the duke in Woodſtock Park, which was called Blenheim Houſe, in memory of that victory.

In the year 1704, the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, ſignifying her purpoſe to apply that branch of the revenue, which was raiſed out of the firſt-fruits and tenths paid by the clergy, to the increaſe of all the ſmall benefices in the nation. The commons received the meſſage with great marks of approbation; ſeveral of the whig party, and in particular ſir John Holland and ſir Joſeph Jekyl, moved that the clergy might be entirely freed from the tax, ſince they bore an equal ſhare of other taxes; and that another fund might be raiſed of the ſame value for the augmentation of ſmall livings. This generous propoſal was oppoſed by ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave and other tories, on pretence that the clergy ought to be kept in dependance on the crown; a bill, however, was brought in, enabling her majeſty to alienate that branch of the revenue which aroſe from firſt-fruits and tenths, and to create a corporation by charter to apply it to the uſe of the intended augmentation; and to this they added a repeal of the ſtatute of mortmain, ſo far as to leave it free to all men, either by deed, or by their laſt will, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices.

Though the queen, from her firſt acceſſion, had ſhewn a great partiality to the high church party, yet the clergy in general, and the moſt captious of the tory party, were much diſſatisfied with the court, for not uſing all the influence of the crown to obtain the bill againſt occaſional conformity. The two houſes of convocation continued the diſputes which had begun in the laſt reign concerning the manner of ſynodical proceedings, and the right of the lower houſe to hold intermediate aſſemblies.

blies. The biſhops, as they had complied with every change of government, were regarded as the betrayers of the indefeaſible rights of monarchy and the church; and as the lower houſe was ſuppoſed to be more orthodox in their civil and religious principles, they were encouraged by the houſe of commons, who paſſed a vote that they would on all occaſions aſſert the juſt rights and privileges of the lower houſe of convocation: this encouragement increaſed party diſputes; hence aroſe the diſtinctions of high church and low: the firſt conſiſted of eccleſiaſtical tories; the other included thoſe who profeſſed revolution principles, and recommended moderation towards the diſſenters.

Previous to the meeting of the new parliament, the tories in a private conſultation, had reſolved either by bill or addreſs, to demand from the queen that the princeſs Sophia ſhould be invited into the kingdom as the next heir of the crown; and inconſiſtent as ſuch a meaſure was with the private principles of the party, and with their public conduct, for they had rejected the ſame propoſal when offered by the whigs, lord Haverſham was not aſhamed to be the mouth of the party: he began with inveighing againſt the conduct of the allies in the laſt campaign: by implication he blamed the favourite; and concluded his ſpeech with a motion that her majeſty ſhould be addreſſed to invite the preſumptive heir, according to the act of ſettlement, into England. The whigs, who never were behind the tories in acting a different part, according to their different ſituation, to preſerve their intereſt with the queen, oppoſed this meaſure with the ſame warmth with which it was propoſed; the motion was rejected by the majority; and by the addreſs of lord Wharton, the tories were made inſtruments to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, though in a different manner from what they had propoſed. According to the purport of a motion made by this peer, and introduced in a ſpeech, in which he indulged a vein of irony at the expence of the oppoſition, a bill was brought in for forming an eventual regency of the firſt officers of ſtate, to take place upon the death of the queen. Thus the kingdom was effectually ſecured from an uſurped authority, by a continuation of legal government till the ſucceſſor ſhould arrive. The tories, who had urged an invitation of the preſumptive heir, merely for the purpoſe of diſtreſſing the whigs, oppoſed this bill in every clauſe: however, it was carried againſt the whole force of the party; and to the eternal diſgrace of the whigs, by the ſame bill, which ſecured to the kingdom a proteſtant ſovereign, thoſe neceſſary limitations, which in a former bill had been made to the power of the crown, were taken away.

As from the period of the revolution to the preſent æra, the motive for contention between whig and tory was chiefly the enjoyment of power, and the lucre of office, the people reaped no benefit from oppoſitions conducted on no one principle of public good: the treaſure of the nation was as liberally granted as it was laviſhly ſquandered; and the people, who never examine remote conſequences, were not in general diſpleaſed, even with incurring large debts, for the glorious purpoſe of mortifying the pride of Lewis, and humbling the pretenſions of the French court. That haughty monarch, by the prodigious exertions of the Engliſh nation, was now reduced ſo low as to offer the following advantageous terms of peace to the allies. The dominions of Spain in Italy, to the archduke Charles; a barrier in the Netherlands to the States; and a compenſation to the duke of Savoy for the waſte made by the war in his territories, were the terms the French king propoſed to the duke of Marlborough, and the field deputies of the States, in return for the reſtoration of Bavaria to its native prince, and the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne of Spain and the Indies to his grandſon Philip the Fifth.

During the whole war, the allies never had ſuch an opportunity of bridling the power of France as they now enjoyed; and if their real deſign was to eſtabliſh a balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spaniſh monarchy between thoſe two potentates.

tates. The acceſſion of Spain with all its appendages to either, would have deſtroyed that equilibrium which the allies pretended to eſtabliſh. But the different powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conqueſts; and England, in particular, thought herſelf entitled to an indemnification for the immenſe ſums ſhe had expended. Though the terms offered by Lewis would have completely anſwered all the oſtenſible purpoſes for which the war was undertaken, yet they were rejected; and the Engliſh miniſtry had the effrontery to aſſert that they were too good to be the foundation of a laſting tranquillity. But this was the period in which the Marlborough family were in the meridian of their power and glory; and the duke found his account in continuing the war, as it gratified both his ambition and avarice, for all his great qualities were obſcured by the ſordid paſſion of accumulating wealth. The Dutch as well as the Engliſh, were entirely under his influence, and he diſſuaded them from embracing this opportunity of crowning their ſucceſſes by an honourable peace. The emperor contributed very little to the military expence, and was to gain a kingdom by the conteſt: he therefore was not inclined to terminate the war.

The tories looked upon Marlborough as a very ſelfiſh nobleman, who ſacrificed the intereſt of the nation in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage, and began to meditate ſchemes of oppoſition. They ſaw their country oppreſſed with an increaſing load of taxes, which, by continuing the war, would become an intolerable burden; and they did not doubt but ſuch terms might be obtained as would fully anſwer the purpoſes of the confederacy. This, indeed, was the prevailing opinion among all the ſenſible people of the nation, who were not particularly intereſted in the proſecution of the war.

The parliament was aſſembled in December, when ſix millions were granted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The duke of Marlborough again received the thanks of both houſes; and a bill was paſſed to perpetuate his titles and honours to poſterity, in the female as well as the male line, and the five thouſand pounds a year granted to him out of the revenue of the poſt office, was ſettled upon his deſcendants for ever. The act for uniting the two kingdoms, met with conſiderable oppoſition from the tory members in the houſe of peers; but in the commons, the whig intereſt was ſo powerful, that it paſſed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen, before the others had recovered from the ſurpriſe, occaſioned by the ſtructure of the bill; and when it received the royal ſanction, the queen expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction. On the twenty-fourth day of April the queen prorogued the parliament, when ſhe informed them that ſhe would continue the lords and commons already aſſembled, as members in the firſt Britiſh parliament on the part of England, purſuant to the powers veſted in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, ratifying the treaty. The parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another iſſued to convoke the firſt parliament of Great-Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The firſt of May was appointed as a day of thankſgiving, and congratulatory addreſſes were ſent from all parts of England; but the Scots were wholly ſilent on this occaſion.

A. D. 1707.] Charles was perſuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they ſhould appear. His army was commanded by the marquis das Minas and lord Galway, who having received intelligence that the enemy, under the command of the duke of Berwick, was poſted near the town of Almanza, advanced thither to give him battle. The action began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, conſiſting chiefly of Engliſh and Dutch battalions, ſeemed at firſt victorious; but the Portugueſe cavalry, by which they were ſupported, betaking themſelves to flight on the firſt charge, the Engliſh troops were flanked, and ſurrounded on every ſide. In this emergency they formed themſelves into a ſquare, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and deſtitute of all ſupplies,

plies, they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, to the number of ten thouſand men. This victory proved deciſive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, acknowledged obedience to Philip, their native ſovereign.

An attempt was made upon Toulon, by the army under the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, and the Engliſh fleet under ſir Cloudeſly Shovel, but with as little ſucceſs as in the preceding inſtance. The prince, with a body of thirty thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of the eminences that commanded the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king ſending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a ſpeedy ſurrender, the latter reſolved to abandon his enterprize. Having, therefore, embarked his artillery, he retreated by night without any moleſtation.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was yet more unfortunate. Having ſet ſail for England, and being in ſoundings, a violent ſtorm ariſing, his ſhip was daſhed upon the rock of Scilly, and the whole crew periſhed. The like fate befel three more ſhips of his fleet, while three or four others were ſaved with the utmoſt difficulty. The admiral's body being caſt aſhore, was ſtript and buried in the ſand. But this being thought too humble a funeral for ſo brave a commander, it was afterwards dug up, and interred with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter Abbey.

The allies were not more proſperous on the Upper Rhine, in Germany. Marſhal Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of reſtoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign at Anderlach, near Bruſſels, about the middle of May. But even here, as in all other quarters, the public expectation was diſappointed. Marlborough, either really willing to protract the war, or receiving intelligence that the French army was ſuperior in numbers, declined an engagement; and rather endeavoured to ſecure himſelf than annoy the enemy. Thus, after ſeveral marches and countermarches, both armies retired into winter-quarters, at the latter end of October. The French prepared for the next campaign with redoubled vigour, while the duke of Marlborough, who returned to England, met there with a reception which he had little expected.

The ducheſs of Marlborough had long been in poſſeſſion of the queen's confidence and favour; and turned the eaſineſs of her miſtreſs's temper to her own advantage, as well as that of her party. The duke, her huſband, had no leſs influence over the army, at the head of which he had been ever ſince the commencement of the war. Lord Godolphin, his friend, was at the head of the treaſury, which he managed ſo as entirely to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration in the queen's affections, was now going to take place, In the number of thoſe whom the ducheſs had introduced to court, was one Mrs. Maſham, her own kinſwoman, whom ſhe had raiſed from indigence and obſcurity. The ducheſs having gained the aſcendant over the queen, relaxed in thoſe arts which had been the means of her elevation, and even became inſolent to her ſovereign. Mrs. Maſham, on the other hand, was more dutiful and aſſiduous. She ſoon perceived the queen's predilection to the tory principles of divine right and paſſive obedience; and inſtead of attempting to oppoſe her, as the ducheſs had done, ſhe affected to coincide entirely with the royal will and opinions. She began to inſinuate to the queen, that the tories were by far the majority of the people: that they were diſpleaſed with a miniſtry which had attempted to rule their ſovereign, and had laviſhed the treaſures of the nation on foreign wars, maintained with no other view than that of continuing their own power. But though Mrs. Maſham ſeemed to act from herſelf alone, ſhe was in fact the tool of Mr. Harley, ſecretary of ſtate, who alſo, ſome time before, had inſinuated himſelf into the queen's good graces. This miniſter, better known afterwards by the title of earl of Oxford, was a man poſſeſſed of uncommon learning, great knowledge of buſi-

neſs,

neſs, and as great ambition. His aim was to ſupplant, if poſſible, the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough, as well as of the other whigs, who had long enjoyed the excluſive influence in government, and to introduce in their room the tory party, under his own peculiar patronage. He choſe for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence and ambition, reſtleſs, active, and haughty, with a conſiderable ſhare of wit, and little principle. To this confederacy was added ſir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer, a man of eminent abilities. Theſe three ſtateſmen uniting, endeavoured to procure an aſſociation of the tories, to whom they gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that the queen would no longer ſubmit to be directed by a whig miniſtry. She had ever been, they ſaid, a friend in her heart to the tory and high-church party; and to convince them of the truth of theſe aſſertions, the queen ſhortly beſtowed the biſhopricks of Cheſter and Exeter, upon ſir William Dawes and Dr. Blackhall, who had openly condemned the revolution.

Notwithſtanding the popularity which the whig adminiſtration had hitherto enjoyed, the people, it is certain, now began to be weary of meaſures, which, however productive of public triumph, had loaded the nation with great burdens. The merchants had lately ſuſtained heavy and repeated loſſes, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was ſo much diminiſhed as to cauſe a general alarm; and the public credit every where began viſibly to decline.

Amidſt theſe unfavourable circumſtances, the firſt parliament of Great-Britain was aſſembled on the twenty-fourth day of October. The complaints of the nation firſt found vent in the houſe of lords, where the earl of Wharton, ſeconded by lord Somers, expatiated upon the ſcarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the miſmanagement of the navy. A day being fixed for this examination, the houſe received a petition from the ſheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great loſſes by ſea for want of convoys; and theſe complaints were proved by witneſſes. The tories moved for an addreſs by which they might throw the blame on the miniſtry, but the motion was over-ruled.

The Marlborough faction at length began to open their eyes to the intrigues of Harley. The ſecretary had lately incurrred ſome ſuſpicion, from the treachery of one Gregg, an under-clerk in his office, who was detected in a correſpondence with Chamillard, the French king's miniſter. Gregg was executed; and the duke of Marlborough, deſirous of taking the advantage of this opportunity for removing Harley, wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could ſerve her no longer, ſhould the preſent ſecretary be continued in his place. The queen, now, for the firſt time, perceived the power which theſe two miniſters had aſſumed over her councils; and though in the preſent exigence ſhe was obliged to diſſemble her reſentment, ſhe ſecretly reſolved to remove them. Next day, therefore, ſhe ſent for the duke, and telling him that Harley ſhould immediately reſign his office, conferred it on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. St. John, reſolving to ſhare his friend Harley's diſgrace, reſigned his employment; as did likewiſe ſir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general; and ſir Thomas Manſell, comptroller of the houſhold. Mr. St. John's place of ſecretary at war was now conferred upon Mr. Robert Walpole, a man who was riſing into eminence in the houſe of commons, and who afterwards made ſuch a figure in the two ſucceeding reigns. Marlborough returned ſoon after to proſecute the war on the continent, where his glory was encreaſed by new victories, which had not, however, the effect of re-eſtabliſhing his power. Though Hartley, at preſent, had no viſible concern in the adminiſtration, he was not the leſs diſtinguiſhed by the ſecret confidence of the queen.

A. D. 1708.] In conſequence of a ſtrong repreſentation of the practicability of invading Scotland, the French court, in their preſent diſtreſs of men and money, ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed on to prepare a ſquadron of men of war, conſiſting of five ſhips equipped for action, and two fitted for tranſports; and

and it was not till the pretender, or the chevalier St. George, as he was now termed by the French, arrived at Dunkirk, that the Engliſh miniſtry had certain intelligence of the deſtination of the fleet, which, when communicated to the parliament, all oppoſition to the meaſures of government ceaſed; the two houſes joined in the uſual addreſs of lives and fortunes; they paſſed a bill, enacting, that the oath of abjuration ſhould be tendered, and ſuch as refuſed to take it ſhould be in the condition of convicted recuſants; they ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act; the pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; the commons granted all the demanded ſupplies; and a bill was paſſed, diſcharging the clans of Scotland from all vaſſalage to thoſe chiefs who ſhould take up arms againſt her majeſty. The preparations of the miniſtry kept pace with the nation's fears: a large fleet was equipped with diligence, and ſent towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of ſir John Leake, ſir George Byng, and lord Durſley; ten battalions of Engliſh troops were ordered from Flanders, and the regiments quartered in the ſouth of Ireland were directed to march towards the north, for the convenience of a ſhort paſſage to Scotland. The Britiſh fleet having been driven back to the Downs by a ſtrong wind, count Fourbin, who commanded the French ſquadron, availed himſelf of the opportunity, and ſailed for the coaſt of Scotland; but he was followed ſo cloſe by the enemy, that the two ſquadrons arrived almoſt at the ſame time in the Frith of Edinburgh. The French commander, who had repeatedly repreſented to his maſter the little probability of ſucceeding in the enterpriſe, did not wait for an attack, but taking the advantage of a land breeze, ſailed away, to the great mortification of the chevalier, who had ſuch ſanguine expectations of being ſtrongly ſupported by the Scotch, that he deſired with tears in his eyes, to be ſet on ſhore, though none ſhould follow him but his own domeſtics.

The ſuddenneſs with which the nation was relieved from fears, which ran ſo high as to endanger the public credit, with a ſucceſsful campaign in Flanders, where the duke of Marlborough had defeated the French near Oudenarde, raiſed the ſiege of Bruſſels, taken Liſle, and retaken Ghent and Bruges, bid fair to render permanent the power which the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin had acquired by the expulſion of Harley from the council. The whigs, who were from the firſt, and yet continued, zealous promoters of the war, were for this reaſon the natural allies to Marlborough; ſome alteration was made in the diſpoſal of places to the contentment of the party; and the old parliament being diſſolved, a new one was aſſembled on the ſixteenth of November, in which a large majority of whigs was again obtained.

The death of prince George of Denmark, who, after languiſhing ſeveral months, had expired on the 28th of October, 1708, afforded the two houſes an opportunity of paying their court to the ſovereign: previous to the death of the prince, the queen had ſuſtained the ſevere mortification of loſing all her children; ſhe was now in the forty-fourth year of her age, and very ſubject to the gout, a diſeaſe which, above all others, haſtens the infirmities of age. On theſe conſiderations, after the prince's deceaſe, ſhe had ordered that the form of prayer for iſſue of her body to ſucceed to the throne, ſhould be diſcontinued: the two houſes addreſſed her on the occaſion; they intreated her to moderate her grief, and to entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage; the queen in return ſaid, that the proviſion which ſhe had made for the proteſtant ſucceſſion would always be a proof of her wiſhes for the happineſs of the kingdom, but that the ſubject of their addreſs was of ſuch a nature that ſhe was perſuaded they did not expect a particular anſwer.

The parliament voted an augmentation of ten thouſand men for the army, and granted a ſupply of ſeven millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The commons having conſidered ſome petitions reſpecting the incapacity of the eldeſt ſons of Scottiſh peers to ſit in the parliament of Great Britain, and heard counſel on the ſubject, confirmed that

incapacity. Petitions were likewiſe preſented to the houſe of lords by ſome Scottiſh peers, concerning their right of voting, and proxies, when it was determined, that a Scottiſh lord created a peer of Great-Britain, ſhould no longer retain his vote in Scotland. The Engliſh law of high treaſon was extended to Scotland in this ſeſſion.

From the period of the revolution it had been the common practice of government to run the nation in debt, that is, for the parliament to grant more money to the crown than they could raiſe within the year. One debt, without an entire change in the ſyſtem of œconomy, naturally produces many; the neceſſities of the ſtate increaſing every year, every probable meaſure was purſued to facilitate the loan of money, and to introduce a credit founded on paper currency, which was to make up for the deficiency of real treaſure; king William's wars having drained the kingdom of the greater part of its bullion. Of all human errors, the errors of government are the moſt ſeldom corrected: inſtead of avoiding thoſe meaſures which, during William's adminiſtration, had ſo evidently impoveriſhed the nation, rage for war and conqueſt infected our councils the greater part of queen Anne's reign; in proportion to the increaſing expences of the war, the difficulty of raiſing ſupplies yearly increaſed; and the commons, inſtead of paying off any part of the national debt, and getting rid of a ſwarm of ſtock jobbers and tax gatherers, which preyed on the vitals of the commonwealth, this ſeſſions voted an enlargement of the bank almoſt to three millions, and prolonged the duration of the company to one and twenty years: the terms obtained for theſe advantages were, four hundred thouſand pounds at ſix per cent. and the circulation of two millions five hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer bills.

Whilſt the intereſt of England was thus ſacrificed to the alternate triumph of party, and the cabals of jarring factions; whilſt her blood and treaſure were thus draining to eſtabliſh the power and grandeur of the houſe of Auſtria, and the ſecurity of the States-general, France was reduced to extremities, which to appearance, had eſtabliſhed the influence of the Marlborough junto over the councils of England, beyond the power even of the queen to ſhake, and threatened the almoſt total extinction of the French monarchy. In the laſt campaign, the taking of Liſle expoſed France to an invaſion on the ſide of Flanders; on the ſide of Dauphinè, the duke of Savoy, by making himſelf maſter of the important fortreſſes of Exilles, La Perouſe, the valley of St. Martin and Fenſtrelles, had ſecured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces. The finances of that kingdom were reduced to the loweſt ebb; and in imitation of the Engliſh exchequer bills, Lewis had iſſued mint bills: but all the various methods of raiſing money on credit failed.

A. D. 1709.] Lewis was ſo reduced by the loſſes of the laſt campaign, and a ſevere winter, which completed the miſeries of his ſubjects, that he reſolved to ſacrifice all the conſiderations of pride and ambition, as well as the intereſt of his grandſon, to his deſire of peace, which was ſo neceſſary and indiſpenſable. In the beginning of the year, the preſident Rouillé, was ſent to Antwerp with propoſals, and in this place he had ſeveral conferences with the deputies Buys and Vanderduſſen. From Antwerp, Rouillè proceeded to the Hague; the States were offered a good barrier, and other advantages, but they refuſed to enter on the ſubject of a treaty without the participation of the allies. Expreſſes were ſent to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, and, according to the particular requeſt of the States, prince Eugene, of Savoy, and the duke of Marlborough, were fully empowered by their reſpective ſovereigns to ſettle the terms of peace.

It has already been obſerved, that the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, of Savoy, were, on motives of lucre and ambition, very averſe to any terms of reconciliation with France. The negociation in theſe hands therefore was not likely to produce the much-deſired peace. On the arrival of the duke of Marlborough, he at once put a ſtop to the conferences, by informing the States that he

had orders to prevent all farther advances towards a treaty, ſhould France refuſe to extend her offers in favour of the Emperor and Great Britain; whilſt prince Eugene inſiſted, that the entire ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, together with the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty of Munſter, ſhould be an indiſpenſable preliminary to the projected treaty.

When the news reached France that the negociation was interrupted, without any advancement towards peace, Monſieur de Torcy, ſecretary for foreign affairs, offered his ſervices to endeavour to ſoften the inflexibility of the negociators, and was ſent by the king to Holland with ſtill more humiliating terms. De Torcy, who had poſted in diſguiſe to Holland on the faith of a common blank paſſport, had previouſly taken every meaſure, and made uſe of every argument, which might rationally induce the States to prefer the bleſſings of peace, ſecurity, and advantageous commerce, to the burthen of exceſſive taxes in the proſecuting of a war, the event of which muſt neceſſarily be in ſome meaſure doubtful. He declared that his maſter would agree to the demolition of Dunkirk; that he would abandon the pretender, and diſmiſs him from his dominions; that he would acknowledge the queen's title, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; that he would renounce the Spaniſh monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States demanded as a barrier; that he would treat with the emperor on the terms of the treaty of Ryſwick, and demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburg. But theſe great conceſſions were all in vain; their councils were wholly influenced by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough. After ſeveral fruitleſs conferences, the penſionary Heinſius framed forty preliminary articles, as the ultimatum of the allies: in theſe they inſiſted upon the reſtitution of the upper and lower Alſace to the empire; upon the French monarch's reſtoring Straſburg, in its preſent condition; upon his ceding the town and caſtellany of Liſle; the demoliſhing Dunkirk, New Briſac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen: and upon his ſurrendering the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spaniſh dominions by his grandſon. When the forty preliminaries were ſhewed to the French king, his former conſternation gave way to an indignant reſentment; he rejected them with diſdain; and applied the ſame remedy to remove the deſpair of the people, by publiſhing his own conceſſions and the demands of the allies: a new ſpirit at once animated the whole nation; the king himſelf wrote to all the governors a particular relation of his tranſactions in Holland; the people felt themſelves affronted in the indignity offered their monarch; and, with an aſtoniſhing alacrity, prepared themſelves to withſtand, by new efforts, the tremendous power of the enemy.

No ſooner were the conferences broken up for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, than the allies employed themſelves in making vigorous preparations for the war. Flanders, whence it was intended to penetrate into the heart of France, was appointed to be the great ſcene of action; and prince Eugene condeſcended to ſecond the duke of Marlborough in thoſe ambitious deſigns which had undoubtedly fruſtrated the concluſion of a peace, highly advantageous. The army of the allies, amounted to one hundred and ten thouſand combatants, well appointed, in high ſpirits, and rendered almoſt irreſiſtable by the conſciouſneſs of former ſucceſs. They were oppoſed by a very inferior army of Frenchmen, commanded by the mareſchal de Villars, who had been the leaſt unfortunate, becauſe the leaſt daring, of any of the French generals.

The firſt enterprize of the allies was the capture of Tournay, after which they formed the deſign of beſieging Mons, but were interrupted in their progreſs by the movement of the French army. Villars having received a ſtrong reinforcement, under the command of the marechal Boufflers, paſſed the Scarpe, and intrenched his army at Malplaquet, a village within a league's diſtance from Mons. The fate of France depended on this army: the general was thoroughly ſenſible of its importance, and ſpared no labour to preſerve it. Along a narrow plain, oppoſed to his centre, he drew very deep trenches, one behind the other,

other, and covered the whole with a row of trees; his two wings were defended with deep and impenetrable woods: but neither the natural advantage of the ſituation, nor the precaution of the general, deterred the allied army from attempting to diſlodge the enemy from their ſtrong poſt.

In the night of the tenth of September, the two armies ranged themſelves in a complete order of battle, and at eight o'clock in the morning, on the eleventh, began the moſt obſtinate conteſt perhaps ever known in the annals of modern wars. An uninterrupted ſucceſs had raiſed the courage of the allied army to a degree of enthuſiaſm, and deſpair had produced a reſolution almoſt unconquerable in the French. Villars placed himſelf at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to the marechal de Boufflers. Of the allied army, the Britiſh troops were oppoſed to the left of the enemy, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to their centre. The duke of Argyle, at the head of the Britiſh troops, charged the left wing of the enemy with ſuch an irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that they gave way: Villars was obliged to weaken his centre in order to withſtand the fierce aſſault; this movement had its effect: his troops rallied, formed themſelves again in order of battle, and drove the enemy back; the Dutch made ſome ſmall impreſſion on the right wing of the enemy, but were alſo driven back in their turn. In this ſtate of the battle, the two commanders of the allied army, it is ſaid, actually entertained thoughts of deſiſting from the attack, when general Cadogan perceiving the void left in the centre of the enemy by the troops called by Villars to ſupport his left wing, prince Eugene was encouraged to attack in perſon the intrenchments in that place, and leading ſome freſh battalions to the charge, entered the line of the enemy, and forced a regiment of French guards to fly. Villars, whilſt haſtening to ſupport his centre, was wounded and carried off the field; this accident would have been fatal to the French, but for the ſteadineſs of marechal de Boufflers; he diſperſed the German cavalry after they had entered his lines; but being driven back in his turn by the enemy, who had rallied again, and by their ſteady motions and firm countenances ſhewed the moſt obſtinate reſolution to gain the field of battle or die in the attempt, he determined to put an end to a conteſt, which on the ſide of the French might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, and prudently withdrew his army, leaving the enemy no ſpoil, but the reputation only of having gained the well-fought battle, and remaining maſters of a field covered with near forty thouſand men, comprehending the wounded and the ſlain. The loſs of the allies in this action amounted to twenty thouſand men, that of the French to leſs than nine thouſand.

The campaign in Flanders terminated with the ſurrender of Mons to the allies. On the Rhine there was but one action, in which the imperialiſts were defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men. In Piedmont the allies were obliged to act on the defenſive; and in Portugal and Spain their arms were unfortunate. A body of Portnguеze and Engliſh were defeated at Caya. The caſtle of Alicant, guarded by two Engliſh regiments, was beſieged by the Spaniards, and capitulated on condition of the troops going to Minorca.

Though this ſummer did not prove ſo diaſtrous to the French as they had reaſon to apprehend, yet the wretched condition to which that nation was reduced, threatened it with total ruin from a longer continuation of the unequal conteſt. Lewis, either from neceſſity or with the intention of ſhewing his ſincerity to the allies, had actually withdrawn his forces from Spain; and was ſo far humbled by the neceſſity of his affairs, that he condeſcended to renew to the States-general his ſolicitations for peace. They refuſed granting any paſſes for his commiſſioners to go to the Hague, but permitted Petkum, the envoy of Holſtein, to make a journey to Paris, to know what further offers the court of France was ready to make to the confederates. Lewis propoſed, inſtead of the preliminaries ſigned by the allies in the preceding year, to reduce their own conceſſions into a more comprehenſive, but an equally ample form; and engaged

engaged himſelf in ſubſtance to concede almoſt all that was demanded of him.

Oppreſſion, it is ſaid, will make a wiſe man mad: but the reverſe was at preſent the caſe: ſucceſs, and the perſonal influence of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, had certainly diſordered the ſenſes, and infatuated the councils of the Dutch miniſtery: they rejected the ample conceſſions made by Lewis, and obſtinately inſiſted that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould declare, in plain and expreſſive terms, that he conſented to all the preliminaries, except the article which ſtipulated a ceſſation of arms in caſe the Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be delivered to king Charles in the ſpace of two months; and for this article, Petkum ſaid, the allies would ſend paſſports to the French miniſters, to treat of an equivalent. The draught impoſed by the ſtates, though bitter, Lewis was obliged to ſwallow: he diſpatched the marſchal d'Uxelles and the abbé de Polignac to treat with the allies on their own propoſals. The conferences were opened in March 1710, and continued till July; but on the pretence that the French king ſought an opportunity to effect by artifice what he could not obtain by the way of arms, or fair treaty, the plenipotentiaries were not ſuffered to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies, Buys and Vanderduſſen, at Gertruydenberg, where Lewis's miniſters were ſubjected to a variety of mortifications. In proportion as France increaſed in her conceſſions, the ſtates roſe in their demands; they inſiſted on Lewis's effecting the ceſſion of Spain and the India to the houſe of Auſtria, and ſubmitting to every other article ſpecified in the preliminaries; and even reſerved to themſelves the power of making ulterior demands when the preliminaries ſhould be adjuſted. In the interim king Phillip, far from yielding the crown of Spain to his competitor, declared his intention of driving him from thoſe places he already poſſeſſed; and publiſhed a manifeſto againſt all that might be tranſacted to his prejudice. After a tedious and ineffectual negociation, the plenipotentiaries returned to France: at their departure, they ſent a letter to the penſionary Heinſſius, in which they declared, that the propoſals made by the Dutch deputies were unjuſt and impracticable, and in which they complained of perſonal ill treatment.

While Lewis was thus baffled in all his fair propoſals, a ſecret cabal, at the head of which was the queen of Great-Britain, was operating that change which was to effect all his purpoſes. The Marlborough faction ſtill relied on the favour of the people; but the populace are not leſs capricious than the higher ranks of ſociety. That fatal appetite for war, which had raged to ſuch an height as to render the people joyous under the burthen of enormous and unneceſſary taxes, began viſibly to decline; a want of attention to the intereſts of the nation in the manner of conducting the war, and in the terms impoſed on the French king, where cities, provinces, and monarchies were transferred to the reſt of the confederates, whilſt England, who had contributed ſo largely to the war, was admitted to no part of the ſpoil; a neglect of the war in Spain; the inactivity of the fleet; and the decay of trade, were accuſations and complaints carried to the preſs, and echoed from the pulpit. Theſe obſervations were founded in truth, and as ſuch muſt have had their effect with the few ſenſible citizens; but as the multitude are never affected with any rational principles of oppoſition and complaint, it was found expedient to aſſiſt argument with declamation, and to renew with violence the unmeaning cry of the danger of the church.

The parliament was aſſembled in November, and proved as compliant as ever. Congratulatory addreſſes were voted to the queen on the ſucceſs of her arms; and the duke of Marlborough received thanks for his ſignal ſervices, while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly ſacrificed ſo many lives to his own private intereſt and reputation. Six millions were granted for the public ſervice; and a lottery, with other funds, appointed to anſwer this ſupply.

The animoſity between the oppoſite parties in the nation, had now riſen to a great height, and they only waited an opportunity of diſplaying their diſpoſition towards each other.

Such an occaſion was given them by Sacheverel, a man of mean talents, and whoſe name would never have been mentioned in a hiſtory of the times, were it not for the political purpoſes of which he was rendered an inſtrument. This perſon, who was a clergyman, had received his education at Oxford. Though poſſeſſed of narrow intellects, he had acquired ſome popularity among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of high-church men, and had embraced all occaſions of venting his animoſity againſt the diſſenters. At the ſummer aſſizes at Derby he had declaimed in that ſtrain before the judges. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he vehemently defended the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, inveighed againſt the toleration to diſſenters, and affirmed that a dangerous conſpiracy was formed for the deſtruction of the national church. He ſounded the trumpet for a religious inſurrection, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Gerrard, the lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though extremely weak both in matter and ſtyle, was publiſhed under his protection, and extolled by the tories as a maſterpiece of compoſition. Mr. Dolben, ſon to the archbiſhop of York, preſented to the houſe of commons a complaint againſt theſe rhapſodies, and by this conduct gave them an importance which they would not otherwiſe have obtained. The moſt violent paragraphs were read, and the ſermons voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the houſe, where he gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement which the publication of his ſermons had received from the lord-mayor, who was then preſent. Being ordered to withdraw, it was reſolved to impeach him at the bar of the houſe of lords, of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and Mr. Dolben was appointed to conduct the proſecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was choſen to draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into cuſtody; and a day was appointed for his ſolemn trial before the lords. At the ſame time, in order to demonſtrate their own principles, they recommended the reverend Mr. Hoadley to her majeſty, beſeeching her to beſtow upon him ſome dignity in the church, for his ſignal ſervices to the ſtate. Hoadley was a clergyman of ſound underſtanding, and unblemiſhed character, who, in a ſermon preached before the lord-mayor of London, had demonſtrated the lawfulneſs of reſiſting wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the revolution. The queen returned a civil anſwer, but paid no attention to their recommendation.

A. D. 1710.] Meanwhile the tories, to whom Sacheverel's principles were highly acceptable, failed not to exert themſelves in his defence. They boldly affirmed that the whigs had formed a deſign to pull down the church, and that this proſecution was intended as a trial of their ſtrength, before they ſhould proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy made uſe of all their influence to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emiſſaries were employed to work upon the minds of the populace, who were already prone to diſcontent, from a ſcarcity of proviſions, which was at that time felt in almoſt every country in Europe. It was urged, that the church was expoſed to the moſt imminent peril, from Diſſenters, Whigs, and luke-warm prelates; a ſet of men whom they repreſented as the authors of the ruinous war, and ultimately of the terrible famine, which threatened to deſolate the nation. So powerful a party having eſpouſed the cauſe of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited againſt him, the lords thought proper to admit the priſoner to bail.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial, which during the ſpace of three weeks entirely excluded all other buſineſs. The queen was every day preſent as a private ſpectator; and when the culprit proceeded to Weſtminſter-hall, he was daily attended by a multitude of the populace, who exulted in that determined ſtate of ſlavery to which he had conſigned the whole human race, and expreſſed their attachment to him in the loudeſt acclamations. The managers for the commons were ſir Joſeph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, ſolicitor-general, ſir Peter King, recorder,

corder, general Stanhope, ſir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole. Sacheverel was defended by ſir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps; and aſſiſted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. While the trial continued, every day was ſignalized by ſome freſh tumult of the populace. They ſurrounded the queen's ſedan, exclaiming, "God bleſs your majeſty and the church! We hope your majeſty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They inſulted and knocked down all who were not of their party; and ſeveral perſons were murdered. They deſtroyed ſeveral meeting-houſes, plundered the dwellings of many eminent diſſenters, and even propoſed to attack the Bank. The queen, in compliance with the requeſt of the commons, publiſhed a proclamation for ſuppreſſing the riots; and ſeveral perſons being apprehended, were tried for high treaſon. Two were convicted, and received ſentence of death, but neither ſuffered.

When the commons had finiſhed their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. Himſelf afterwards recited a ſpeech, which, from the ſtrong contraſt between it and his ſermons, ſeems evidently the work of another perſon. In this he ſolemnly juſtified his intentions towards the queen and her government; and ſpoke in the moſt reſpectful terms both of the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. He maintained the doctrine of non-reſiſtance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up; and he endeavoured, in a pathetic concluſion, to excite the pity of his audience. He was ſurrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herſelf, who could not but entertain a partiality for a doctrine ſo auſpicious to the royal prerogative.

The lords, when they retired to conſult upon his ſentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for ſome time. At length, after violent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of ſeventeen voices; but a proteſt was entered againſt this deciſion by thirty-four peers. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two ſermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in the preſence of the lord-mayor and the two ſheriffs. The lords likewiſe voted that the famous decree of the univerſity of Oxford, aſſerting the indefeaſable and hereditary right of kings, ſhould be burned in the ſame fire.

The lenity of this ſentence, which was chiefly owing to the dread of popular reſentment, was regarded by the tories as a victory over the oppoſite faction. They celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations; and Sacheverel was ſoon after preſented to a benefice in North Wales, whither he was conducted with great pomp and magnificence. On his way, he was ſumptuouſly entertained by the univerſity of Oxford, and many noblemen, who, while they worſhipped him as the idol of their faction, ſecretly held him in contempt. He was received in ſeveral towns by the magiſtrates, in their formalities, and was often attended by a body of a thouſand horſe. At Bridgenorth, he was met by one Mr. Creſwell, at the head of four thouſand men on horſeback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dreſſed with garlands, and the ſteeples covered with ſtreamers, flags, and colours. The church and Dr. Sacheverel were reſounded in every quarter, and a ſpirit of religious enthuſiaſm ſpread through the whole nation.

Notwithſtanding the conferences which were then holding for a general peace, at Gertruydenberg, the duke of Marlborough opened the campaign in Flanders. The French army under marechal Villars, was too ſtrongly poſted within its lines to be attacked. Douay, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant, were taken by the allies. Villars, marched out of his entrenchments to relieve theſe places, but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement. The armies afterwards marched into winter quarters. The campaign on the Rhine and in Piedmont, was productive of no military event of conſequence. In Spain, the army of king Philip was defeated at Saragoſſa, by general Staremberg, who commanded for Charles,

Charles, when five thouſand men were killed, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, with all their artillery. The good fortune of Charles was but of ſhort duration; he entered Madrid which was deſerted by the grandees, and the Caſtilians were univerſally attached to his competitor. Phillip collected his ſcattered forces, and at his requeſt the king of France ſent the duke of Vendome to take the command of the Spaniſh army, which was reinforced by ſome French troops. Vendome's reputation was ſo high, and he was ſo beloved by the ſoldiery, that his preſence was almoſt equivalent to an army. In three months Phillip was in a condition to go in queſt of his rival; while Charles was neglected by the courts of England and Vienna. General Stanhope, with the Britiſh forces, to the number of two thouſand, were ſurrounded by the whole Spaniſh army, in the little town of Briheuga, and obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. Staremberg aſſembled his forces and marched to his relief; but was met by Vendome, when a battle enſued, and the left wing of Staremberg's army was cut to pieces. The victors, inſtead of following up the blow, began to plunder the baggage; while Staremberg with his right wing fought their left till night, when the enemy retired in diſorder, with the loſs of ſix thouſand men, leaving him maſter of the field and all their artillery. But the allies had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that the general could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be ſpiked, and retired to Catalonia; whither he was purſued by Vendome, and compelled to take ſhelter under the walls of Barcelona: ſo that Philip, from being a fugitive, became maſter of all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, and that lay open to his incurſions.

Though the continuance of the war prolonged Marlborough's power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. From every quarter of the kingdom, addreſſes, confirming the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, were preſented to the queen, by whom they were received with evident marks of ſatisfaction. The conferences being broke off at Gertruydenburgh, the deſigns of the Dutch and Engliſh commanders were too obvious not to be perceived The writers of the Tory faction, diſplayed, in vehement declamations, the avarice of Marlborough, and the ſelf-intereſted conduct of the Dutch. They inſiſted, that while England was exhauſting her ſtrength in foreign conqueſts, for the benefit of other nations, ſhe was loſing her liberty at home; and that the members of the adminiſtration, not contented with ſharing the plunder of an impoveriſhed ſtate, were reſolved on controuling, with their influence, even the conſtitutional exertion of the royal authority.

Upon the death of the earl of Eſſex, who was colonel of a regiment under Marlborough, the queen reſolved to beſtow that preferment on a perſon whom ſhe knew was obnoxious to the duke. She, therefore, ſent word to the latter, that ſhe wiſhed he would give that regiment to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Maſham, as a perſon every way qualified for the command. The duke was ſtruck with this requeſt, and repreſented to the queen the prejudice that would reſult to the ſervice from the promotion of ſo young an officer. He expoſtulated on this extraordinary mark of partiality for the brother of Mrs. Maſham, who had treated him with peculiar ingratitude. To theſe remonſtrances the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to conſult his friends. He retired in diſguſt, and wrote a letter to her majeſty, in which he begged leave to reſign all his employments. When the queen went to the council, ſhe ſeemed not to take the leaſt notice of the duke's abſence. The whole band of his friends, of whom the council almoſt entirely conſiſted, failed not to alarm her with the conſequences of diſobliging ſo uſeful a ſervant. She, therefore, diſſembled her reſentment; and went ſo far as to ſend the duke a letter, empowering him to diſpoſe of the regiment as he thought proper; inſiſting alſo, for the preſent, on his retaining the command of the army.

The queen having determined upon a change of her miniſters, began by transferring the poſt of lord chamberlain from the duke of

of Kent to the duke of Shrewſbury, who had lately ſided with the tories, and maintained an intimate correſpondence with Mr. Harley. The earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſon-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was ſoon after diſplaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. The whole whig party were thrown into conſternation by theſe changes, and exerted their united efforts to prevent, if poſſible, the ruin which threatened their authority. They influenced the directors of the bank ſo far as to aſſure her majeſty, that public credit would be annihilated by this extraordinary change in her councils. The Dutch moved heaven and earth with memorials and menaces, if the apparent deſigns of the court ſhould be carried into execution. In ſpite of all theſe remonſtrances, however, the queen proceeded in her plan. Lord Godolphin being diveſted of his office, the treaſury was put in commiſſion, ſubjected to the direction of Harley, who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under-treaſurer. The earl of Rocheſter was declared preſident of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The ſtaff of lord-ſteward being taken from the duke of Devonſhire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the ſecretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor having reſigned the great-ſeal, it was firſt put in commiſſion, and afterwards given to ſir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton, who reſigned his commiſſion of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was ſucceeded in that employment by the duke of Ormond. Mr. George Granville was appointed ſecretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. Of the whole whig party, Marlborough alone remained in office; but, though ſtill general of the army, he conſidered his fall as extremely near.

That the triumph of the tories might be complete, the whig parliament was diſſolved, and ſuch precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new elections in favour of the other party. The new parliament was aſſembled in November, when they exhorted her majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as were lately maintained, to the derogation of her royal dignity, and granted ſupplies to the amount of fourteen millions. They paſſed an act, importing, That no perſon ſhould be deemed qualified for repreſenting a county in parliament, unleſs he poſſeſſed an eſtate of ſix hundred pounds a year; and the qualification of a burgeſs was reſtricted to half that ſum. The deſign of this bill was to exclude trading people from the houſe of commons, and to lodge the whole legiſlative power with the landholders.

During the moſt violent fermentation of party diſputes, Harley preſerved a moderation which expoſed him to the ſuſpicion of his aſſociates, when his credit was re-eſtabliſhed by a very ſingular accident. One Guiſcard, a French officer, who had communicated ſome uſeful intelligence relative to the affairs of France, had received from the crown a yearly penſion of four hundred pounds, which he conſidered as a reward greatly diſproportioned to his ſervices. He had often endeavoured to procure admittance to the queen, but was ſtill prevented by Harley or St. John. He then attempted to make his peace with France, and offered his ſervice as a ſpy; but his letters being intercepted, he was apprehended for high treaſon. When carried before the privy council for examination, he, unobſerved, took a penknife from off the table, and reſolved to avail himſelf of this opportunity to ſatiate his revenge, He deſired permiſſion to ſpeak in private with Mr. Secretary St. John; but this being refuſed, as St. John was out of his reach, he ſtabbed Mr. Harley with the penknife, which fortunately broke on the rib without entering the cavity of his breaſt, he, however, repeated the blow with ſuch violence, that Harley fell to the ground. St. John exclaimed, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley," and drawing his ſword, while others followed his example, Guiſcard was wounded in ſeveral places: he, however, continued to defend himſelf till overpowered. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occaſioned by the contuſions which he had ſuſtained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a perſon who was proved an enemy to the ſtate, extinguiſhed the ſuſpicions of thoſe who began to doubt of that

miniſter's integrity. The two houſes of parliament, in an addreſs to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. After his recovery, when he appeared in the houſe of commons, he was congratulated upon it by the ſpeaker, in a premeditated ſpeech, full of panegyric and adulation. An act was paſſed, making an attempt on the life of a privy-counſellor, felony without benefit of clergy. The earl of Rocheſter dying, Harley became ſole miniſter, was created baron of Wigmore, and raiſed to the rank of earl, by the titles of Oxford and Mortimer.

A. D. 1711.] The commons having examined the public accounts, it appeared that prodigious ſums remained unprovided for in the different departments of the war; the debts of the navy amounted to more than five millions, and the ordnance and army to one million five hundred thouſand pounds. Theſe, with many other debts which were not provided for, were thrown into one common ſtock, amounting to nine millions, four hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand, three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an intereſt or annuity of ſix per cent. until the principal ſhould be diſcharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South Sea, veſted in the proprietors of navy bills, debentures, and other public ſecurities. Such was the origin of the South Sea Company, founded on a chimerical ſuppoſition, that the Engliſh would be ſuffered to trade to the coaſt of Peru.

The emperor Joſeph having died without male iſſue, left the whole of his hereditary dominions to his brother Charles, who was at this time contending for the crown of Spain. The aim of Charles was to ſucceed his brother on the imperial throne; and the queen informed both houſes, that ſhe had already taken ſuch meaſures, in conjunction with the States-general, as would ſecure his election. Five months after the death of his brother he was choſen emperor; and had he been ſuffered to unite the Spaniſh to the imperial dominions, it would, in a manner, be reviving the formidable power of Charles V. thus the obtaining the object of the war, undertaken by the grand alliance, would effectually have overthrown that balance it was intended to preſerve.

In conſequence of an addreſs from the convocation, and a meſſage from the queen, the commons paſſed a bill for the building of fifty new churches in the ſuburbs of London and Weſtminſter; and appropriated for this purpoſe the duty on coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finiſhed. This tax was to be continued till it raiſed the ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. At the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the commons preſented a remonſtrance to the queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raiſed the neceſſary ſupplies, but provided for the heavy debts of which the nation had ſo long and juſtly complained. They ſaid, that in tracing the cauſes of this debt, they had diſcovered fraud, embezzlement, and miſapplication of the public money: that they who of late years had the management of the treaſury, were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt and injuſtice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to be unaccounted for; an omiſſion that looked like a deſign to conceal embezzlements. They affirmed, that from all theſe evil practices, irreparable miſchief would have accrued to the public, had not her majeſty diſcovered the fatal tendency of ſuch meaſures, and removed from the adminiſtration, thoſe, who in ſo many inſtances, had abuſed the truſt repoſed in them. The intention of Oxford was to put a ſpeedy end to a war that had already ſubjected the people to grievous oppreſſion, and accumulated heavy burdens, to be tranſmitted to their poſterity. But the nation was inſpired with extravagant notions of glory and conqueſt, even to a rage of war-making; ſo that the new miniſters, in order to diſpel theſe chimeras, were obliged to take meaſures for exciting their indignation and contempt againſt thoſe perſons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots, and for this purpoſe, the repreſentation of the commons was circulated throughout the kingdom.

It now remained only to remove the duke of

of Marlborough from his poſt, but as this could not be done without giving offence to the Dutch, it was neceſſary to wait for ſome convenient opportunity. The duke in the mean time proceeded to Flanders, and led on his troops againſt marechal Villars, who ſeemed reſolved to hazard a battle. The former contrived his meaſures ſo, that by marching and counter-marching, he induced the enemy, without ſtriking a blow, to quit a ſtrong line of entrenchments, of which he immediately took poſſeſſion. The field deputies of the States-general, propoſed that he ſhould give battle to the French; but the duke would not hazard an engagement. His intention was to beſiege Bouchain, which he accordingly inveſted. Villars made ſome efforts to raiſe the ſiege, but theſe were baffled by the conſummate ſkill of Marlborough, and in twenty days the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. This was the laſt military atchievement of this celebrated general.

For ſome time a negociation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new miniſtry. The latter hoped to obtain ſuch advantages in commerce for the Engliſh, as would ſilence all the clamours of the whig party. A private meſſage had been ſent to the French king, importing the queen's earneſt deſire for peace, and her wiſh for a renewal of the conferences. This meſſage was received by Lewis with great pleaſure, and he returned an anſwer, ardently profeſſing the ſame inclinations. He ſoon after ſent a memorial, which was communicated to the States-general. The Dutch having peruſed the memorial, aſſured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the concluſion of a durable peace; but they expreſſed a deſire that the French king would be more explicit in his declaration for ſettling the repoſe of Europe. To give them ſome ſatisfaction on this head, Mr. Prior, better known as a poet than a ſtateſman, was ſent to Verſailles, with a memorial from the queen, containing ſpecific demands; as he had no power to treat, he returned to London accompanied by Mr. Menagér, who was deputed by Lewis, and veſted with full powers to ſettle the preliminaries. Theſe, after long debates, were agreed on, and ſigned by the Engliſh and French miniſters, in conſequence of a written order from her majeſty.

The next object of the adminiſtration was to make the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he reſided as ambaſſador, was now ſent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the penſionary, Heinſius, the preliminary propoſals, and to fix upon a place where the plenipotentiaries ſhould aſſemble. The Dutch, upon examining the preliminaries, were very averſe to beginning the conference. They ſent over an envoy to endeavour to diſſuade the queen from her reſolution; but not ſucceeding in this attempt, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference, and accordingly granted paſſports to the French miniſters. The Dutch and the Germans, who were alike indiſpoſed to an accommodation, had recourſe to various expedients for fruſtrating the negociations of this congreſs. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to perſiſt in their former engagements. His ambaſſador in London, getting a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inſerted in a common newſpaper, in order to throw blame upon the miniſtry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch alſo laboured to excite diſcontents in England againſt the meaſures of government. The elector of Hanover ordered his envoy in England to preſent a memorial to the queen, repreſenting the pernicious conſequences of Philip's remaining in poſſeſſion of Spain and the Weſt Indies. The envoy publiſhed this memorial by way of appeal to the people; but the queen reſented this ſtep as an officious and inflammatory interpoſition. The whigs failed not to co-operate with their foreign confederates, in diſſeminating clamours over the nation. Reproaches and libels were daily publiſhed by one faction, and anſwered with the ſame acrimony by the other. At this time prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter from the emperor to the queen, and inſtructions to

propoſe

propoſe a new ſcheme for proſecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the miniſtry; and as he correſponded with the heads of the oppoſition, they ſuſpected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the diſcontented party, who oppoſed the peace. Nevertheleſs, he was treated with that reſpect which was due to his rank and eminent talents.

The parliament was opened in December, when the queen told them, that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a general congreſs; that ſhe ſhould endeavour to obtain ſatisfaction for her allies, and all the advantages to a generous and loyal people, which they have a right to expect from a tender and affectionate ſovereign. The oppoſition to pacific meaſures was greateſt in the houſe of peers, where, on the motion of the earl of Nottingham, who had now joined the whigs, it was voted that the following ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, That in the opinion of the houſe, no peace could be ſafe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Weſt Indies ſhould be allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon. In the addreſs from the commons there was no ſuch article.

The commiſſioners for the examination of the public accounts had already fixed diſgrace on the earl of Godolphin, lord treaſurerer: in their report made to the commons on the twenty-firſt of December, 1711, was contained the depoſition of ſir Solomon Medina, a Jew, charging the duke of Marlborough, and Cardonnel, his ſecretary, with various peculations; with having received a yearly ſum from ſir Solomon, concerned in the contract for furniſhing the army with bread; (from the contractors for bread, he had received preſents to the amount of five or ſix thouſand pounds a year;) with having obtained of the queen ten thouſand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and having pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. The duke alledged, in his juſtification, that the preſent from the Jew was a cuſtomary perquiſite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army; that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an expreſs warrant from her majeſty; and that all the articles of the charge joined together did not amount to thirty thouſand pounds, a ſum much inferior to that which had been allowed to king William for contingencies; that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was ſo exact, that the duke was never ſurprized; that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all his deſigns were by theſe means ſo well concerted, that he never once miſcarried. The duke's repreſentations, however, were of no avail: it was voted by a large majority, that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal, and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. On the ſtrength of theſe reſolutions the queen declared in council, her determination to diſmiſs the duke of Marlborough from all his employments; a meſſage was accordingly ſent to him to this purport; and moreover, the attorney-general had orders to proſecute the duke for the money he had deducted, which, according to Swift, amounted to an immenſe ſum, enough to ruin any other private perſon; however, as it was only intended as a curb, the proceſs was ſo moderately purſued, that it was kept dependent during the queen's life, in order to be revived or ſlackened according to the behaviour of the defendant.

Mr. Robert Walpole (afterwards the famous ſir Robert Walpole) had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a warm partiſan of the whig intereſt; it was for this reaſon that advantage was taken of ſome clandeſtine practices, in which he was concerned as ſecretary at war, with regard to the forage contract in Scotland. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, impriſoned in the Tower, and expelled the houſe: and on being rechoſen by the borough of Lynn Regis, a petition was lodged againſt him, and the commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to ſit in the preſent parliament. It appeared from the depoſition of witneſſes, that the public had been conſider-

conſiderably defrauded by theſe contracts; a a very ſevere ſpeech was made in the houſe, reflecting upon Mr. Walpole, as guilty of the worſt kind of corruption; and ſir Peter King declared in the houſe, that he deſerved hanging as well as he deſerved impriſonment and expulſion.

The vengeance of the miniſtry did not ſtop with individuals; they employed their influence in the lower houſe to mortify the Dutch, who had entered into a variety of cabals to overturn the new adminiſtration; for this purpoſe the treaty concluded with the States by lord Townſhend after the conferences at Gertruydenburg, and denominated the barrier treaty, was laid before the commons: as the States by this treaty bound themſelves to maintain with their whole force, the queen's title, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, the miniſterial party very juſtly affirmed, that England was diſgraced in engaging other nations to interfere in her internal regulations, and authoriſing foreign powers to interpoſe in Britiſh councils.

A. D. 1712.] The queen informed the parliament, that the conferences were opened at Utrecht: that in her intended treaty with France, ſhe had ſecured the proteſtant ſucceſſion; the removal of the pretender from the French dominions; and it was determined, that the duke of Anjou, now king of Spain, ſhould renounce for himſelf and his deſcendants, all claim to the crown of France, ſo that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She alſo mentioned the preliminary proviſions ſhe had made for the allies. As the houſe of commons was entirely devoted to the miniſter, an addreſs of thanks was voted without one diſſenting voice. The miniſter had before loſt a queſtion in the houſe of lords, but to inſure a majority, twelve of the moſt eminent tories among the commons, were created peers in one day. To prevent an addreſs ſimilar to that which had been ſent up by the commons, the whigs endeavoured to clog it with an amendment; but upon a diviſion, it was carried by a great majority: and to carry the triumphs of the miniſtry yet farther, a proteſt, entered by ſeveral lords upon the queſtion, was, after a warm debate, expunged out of the books. A bill paſſed both houſes, granting a toleration to the epiſcopal clergy in Scotland, in which was inſerted a clauſe, prohibiting civil magiſtrates from executing the ſentences of the kirk judicatories, without paying the leaſt regard to a repreſentation from the general aſſembly to the queen, declaring that the act for ſecuring the preſbyterian government was an eſſential and fundamental article of the treaty of union. The chagrin of the Scottiſh preſbyterians was completed by another bill, reſtoring the right of patronage, which had been aboliſhed in the reign of king William, when the diſcipline of the kirk was laſt eſtabliſhed.

In the month of January, the conferences were opened at Utrecht, under the conduct of Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, on the ſide of the Engliſh; of Buys and Vanderduſſen, on the part of the Dutch; and of the marſhal d'Uxelles, the cardinal Polignac, and M. Menager, on behalf of France. The miniſters of the emperor and Savoy aſſiſted, and the other allies ſent alſo plenipotentiaries, though with the utmoſt reluctance. England and France being the only powers that were ſincerely inclined to peace, the deputies of the other confederates ſerved rather to retard than advance its progreſs. The emperor inſiſted obſtinately on his claim to the Spaniſh monarchy; while the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Lewis had formerly rejected.

Theſe difficulties were foreſeen and provided againſt by the queen and her miniſters. She knew by experience, the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and that a proſecution of this deſign would only protract the war, and augment the grievances of the Britiſh nation. Her great aim was to free her ſubjects from the miſeries attending an unprofitable war, and to reſtore peace to Europe; and this ſhe was reſolved to accompliſh at any rate. As ſhe had borne the chief burden of the war, ſhe had a right to take the lead, and dictate the terms of pacification.

The allies ſtrenuouſly oppoſed any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, intereſt, and ambition. They practiſed numberleſs little artifices to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealouſy of Lewis, to blacken the character of her miniſters, and to keep up a dangerous ferment among her people. She could not fail to reſent theſe efforts, which perplexed her meaſures, and obſtructed her deſigns. Her miniſters were ſenſible of the dangerous predicament in which they ſtood, as the queen's health was daily declining, and the ſucceſſor countenanced the oppoſite faction. In caſe of the queen's death, they had nothing to expect but proſecution and ruin for obeying her commands; and they ſaw, that the beſt method for their own ſafety was to haſten the pacification before her death deprived them of her protection. With this view, they adviſed her to ſet on foot a private negociation with the French king.

During theſe tranſactions, the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, delivered their propoſals in writing, under the title of Specific Offers. Theſe were treated with great contempt by the confederates, who, on the other hand, drew up their own ſpecific demands, which were conſidered as highly extravagant by the miniſters of France. The queen, finding the confederates determined to adhere to the firſt preliminaries, gave them to underſtand, that as they failed to co-operate with her openly and ſincerely, ſhe looked upon herſelf as entirely freed from all her former engagements. Upon the diſmiſſion of the duke of Marlborough, the chief command of the Britiſh forces had been given to the duke of Ormond, with particular directions not to hazard an engagement. He, however, joined prince Eugene, who, not being in the ſecret, propoſed to attack the French army, but was ſoon made acquainted with the inſtructions the duke had received. The confederates expoſtulated with the Engliſh deputies at Utrecht, upon ſo perfidious a conduct. But they were anſwered, that the States-general not having paid proper regard to the advances made by the queen, ſhe conſidered herſelf at liberty to enter into ſeparate meaſures to obtain a peace for her own advantage. The Dutch were ſo much exaſperated at the conduct of the queen, that they were at no pains to conceal their deſign to treat her as they had treated her father. They had propoſed to fit out a fleet to aſſiſt the elector of Hanover to ſtrike the ſceptre from her hand. While prince Eugene was in England, a cabal had been formed by him, the duke of Marlborough, baron Bothmar, envoy of the elector of Hanover, and ſome other leaders of the party, in which it was propoſed to raiſe the mob, ſeize the queen's perſon, and with the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, produce another revolution in favour of the elector. This coming to the knowledge of the miniſter, the prince thought proper to embark with ſome precipitation for the continent, whither the duke ſoon followed him; and thus the queen was delivered from the terrors which the intrigues, the popularity, and reputed proweſs of theſe military commanders had occaſioned her.

The allies, though deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, were ſtill ſuperior in force to the enemy; but ſoon felt the importance of the loſs which they ſuſtained by that defection. Villars attacked a body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and ſeventeen battalions either deſtroyed or made priſoners. Among the latter were the earl and the ſurviving officers.

The negociations of the deputies at Utrecht, were haſtened by theſe ſucceſſes. The great obſtacle to the completion of the treaty was ſettling the ſucceſſion to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The intereſts of Europe might be endangered, ſhould both kingdoms be united under one ſovereign; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, ſtood next in ſucceſſion to the crown of France, failing one child, (afterwards Lewis XV.) who was then ſickly. After many expedients, however, Philip at laſt reſolved to wave his pretenſions to the French monarchy, and the treaty went forward without any farther delay.

In the beginning of Auguſt, ſecretary St. John, now created lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſent over to the court of Verſailles to remove

move all obſtructions to the ſeparate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and was treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect. The negociation being finiſhed in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, leaving Prior as reſident at the court of France.

A. D. 1713.] The pacification between France and England had been retarded by ſome unforeſeen difficulties that aroſe in adjuſting the commerce and the territorial poſſeſſions of both nations in America; but theſe being compromiſed, the Engliſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, received an order to ſign a ſeparate treaty: It was accordingly ſigned. The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the queen of England, the parliament was aſſembled on the ninth day of April, when ſhe communicated to them her precautions to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and deſired them to conſider by her actions, whether ſhe meant to oppoſe the pretenſions of the houſe of Hanover. She left it to them to determine what forces, and what ſupplies might be neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom. "Make yourſelves ſafe (ſaid ſhe) and I ſhall be ſatisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of heaven, are the only guards I aſk for my protection." Both houſes preſented her warm addreſſes; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the 5th of May, to the inexpreſſible joy of the greater part of the nation.

The articles of this famous peace were more minutely examined, and more warmly debated, than thoſe of any other that ever was concluded between nations. The firſt ſtipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, ſhould renounce all right to the crown of France. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and next to him in ſucceſſion, ſhould alſo renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in the event of his becoming king of France. It was ſtipulated that the duke of Savoy ſhould poſſeſs the iſland of Sicily, with the title of king; and that Feneſtrelles, with other places on the continent, ſhould be added to his dominions. The ſame title, with the iſland of Sardinia, was allotted to the elector of Bavaria. The Dutch obtained the barrier for which they had ſo long been ſolicitous, and were put in poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt towns in Flanders. With regard to England, her honour and her intereſts were ſecured. The French king obliged himſelf to abandon the Pretender, and acknowledge the queen's title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; and to deſtroy the harbour and demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, on condition of receiving an equivalent. Spain reſigned all pretenſions to Gibraltar, and the iſland of Minorca. France renounced Hudſon's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but was left in poſſeſſion of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fiſh upon the ſhore. Among the articles glorious to the Britiſh nation, was that of ſetting free three or four hundred French proteſtants, confined in the priſons and gallies on account of their religion. For the emperor it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spaniſh Netherlands. The king of Pruſſia was to have Upper Guelder; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to theſe articles, as he had for ſome time obſtinately refuſed to aſſiſt at the negociation. The Engliſh miniſters, upon the whole, diſcovered themſelves to have been not only attentive to the intereſts of their own, but of foreign nations; and it was owing entirely to the faction and animoſity of the times, that a treaty ſo reaſonable and worthy of praiſe did not give univerſal ſatisfaction.

After this event the Dutch and the Imperialiſts, though they ſeemed reſolved to hold out for ſome time, ſoon concluded a peace with their enemy; one by the barrier treaty, and the other by that of Raſtadt; in each of which the treaty of Utrecht was confirmed.

The parties which had lately agitated the nation now proceeded in their diſſenſions with redoubled animoſity. Whether it was at this time the wiſh of the miniſters to transfer the ſucceſſion of the crown from the houſe of Hanover to the Pretender, cannot now be known with any certainty. The whigs, however, ſuſ-

pected

pected such a design, and the tories but faintly denied it. The former were all in commotion, either really apprehending, or affecting to apprehend that intention. It was even reported that the pretender was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state. The principal men among the whigs, at the same time, held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover; and they communicated their apprehensions to the elector, who, therefore, before his arrival in England, contracted a prejudice against the tories. In return to their declarations of attachment, they received his instructions, and were assured of his particular favour in case of his succession.

The spirit of discontent was industriously raised by party-writings, among the authors of which, Mr. Steele, afterwards known as the celebrated sir Richard Steele, was not a little active. In a pamphlet called the Crisis, which he wrote, he inveighed against the ministry, and urged the immediate danger of bringing in the pretender. The commons considered this as a scandalous and seditious libel, and Steele, who was one of the members, was expelled the house.

We have often been told that queen Anne, for four years, gave from her own revenues, one hundred thousand pounds a year towards the French war; but in the course of this session, a circumstance occurred, which will set this matter in a clear point of view. On the twenty-fifth of June, she signified to the house of commons, that she had contracted a debt on the revenues of the civil list, and that this deficiency, in August 1710, amounted to four hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, informed the house, that the estimate of this debt was to him astonishing, as at the time specified, he could affirm that the debt amounted to little more than one hundred thousand pounds. Other members undertook to prove, that the funds assigned to her majesty for *seven* hundred thousand pounds per annum, had produced *eight*, so that in the course of eleven years, she had received an *overplus* of eleven hundred thousand pounds; and after deducting the pretended *gift* of four hundred thousand pounds; she had still seven hundred thousand pounds of the public money in her pocket. Notwithstanding these arguments, the parliament was so venal, as to grant her five hundred and ten thousand pounds, the amount of her whole claim, for the discharge of this debt. This, (says the author of anecdotes of of earl Chatham,) is the whole truth of that generous exploit of the daughter of James II. It was a mean trick, by which the nation was cheated out of five hundred and ten thousand pounds. But that was, perhaps, the smallest evil: as queen Anne was remarkable for her œconomy, she could not possibly expend the whole of her revenue to any good purpose; it is more than probable, that those who so liberally gave away the public money, partook of their own beneficence.

The elector of Hanover solicited a pension from the English crown for his mother, the princess Sophia. "In the present situation of his affairs, money was much wanted. His agents every where complained of their too scanty allowance. The whigs, with all their patriotism, *were soliciting* pensions. Some *lords*, who were zealous for the protestant succession, were, it seems, *too poor to follow their consciences. They had sold their votes to the ministry*; but *they would take a smaller sum from his* ELECTORAL HIGHNESS. Though the elector might be willing to gratify such faithful friends, he had reason to expect that *they would help to serve themselves.* They were, therefore, desired to promote with all their influence, the pension demanded for the princess. The duke of Argyle, and his brother, the earl of Ilay, in particular, were assured by his highness, that *they might expect good pensions to themselves from that fund.*" (Macpherson's History of England, vol. II. and Hanover papers, Jan. 27, 1713.) This pension was never obtained; and the princess died the year following.

Notwithstanding the declarations of the queen, in favour of the protestant succession, the whigs believed her attachment was much stronger to her brother, the chevalier St. George,

George, than to the houſe of Hanover, and that ſhe really intended he ſhould ſucceed her: in which caſe they foreſaw, that all the fruits of the revolution would be loſt. They therefore harraſſed the elector with propoſals for invading the kingdom; but he rejected the ſcheme. At the approaching diſſolution of parliament, they demanded one hundred thouſand pounds of the Elector of Hanover, to enable them to influence the new elections, and to return men of conſtitutional and whiggiſh principles. The magnitude of the ſum left no room for heſitation in rejecting their requeſt. They diminiſhed their demand to fifty thouſand pounds; but the Elector plainly told them he could not ſpare the money; that if he could, the ſecret could never be kept, and that a diſcovery might be dangerous, from the offence ſuch a meaſure was likely to give to the Britiſh nation.

To the freſh demands of money for poor lords, private penſions, bribery for members of parliament, and common council of London, George made anſwer, that he would hear no more of that affair: that from the narrowneſs of his own income, he could not enter upon theſe heads, into any competition with his antagoniſt, the lord treaſurer. The duke of Argyle told Halliſax, that with twenty thouſand pounds, he would anſwer for all the elections in Scotland. The reaſon aſſigned for refuſing theſe applications, is contained in a letter from the court of Hanover: "The elector cannot give the money demanded for the elections; beſides, he ſhould fail infallibly, as the court *would always have the heavieſt purſe.*" (vide Macpherſon.)

The intention of laying theſe facts before the reader, is to ſhew, that there is no poſſibility of counteracting the effects of corruption, but by corruption; unleſs the ſyſtem of parliamentary repreſentation was altered; and that in the contention of parties, the voice of the people can hardly ever be heard, and their intereſt is overlooked.

A. D. 1714. The parliament had been diſſolved; and the elections were ſo managed as to retain the legiſlative power in the hands of the tories. On account of the queen's indiſpoſition, the parliament was opened by commiſſion, in February. The queen having about this time removed the whigs from all employment, civil and military, and filled their places with profeſſed tories, confirmed the ſuſpicion of many people, that it was intended to prepare the way for the pretender to aſcend the throne. The danger which threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion occaſioned violent debates in the houſe of peers, where an addreſs was voted to the queen, that ſhe would renew her inſtances to the duke of Lorraine, for the removal of the pretender out of his dominions; that ſhe would, in conjunction with the ſtates general, enter into a guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; and publiſh a proclamation, offering a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend and bring the pretender to juſtice, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land, in Great-Britain or Ireland. To this addreſs the queen replied, "I do not ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders for having it iſſued. As to the other particulars of this addreſs, I will give proper directions therein." The whig lords were diſſatisfied with her anſwer concerning the pretender; and moved another addreſs on the ſame ſubject, which was reſolved upon, but never preſented.

The enemies of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, who wiſhed to defeat that eſtabliſhment, attempted, as a preliminary ſtep, to effect the ruin of the diſſenters, who had been always conſidered as its firm friends. With this view, Sir William Wyndham propoſed a bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the church of England. The deſign of it was to prohibit diſſenters from teaching in ſchools or academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly oppoſed in both houſes, as a meaſure equally dangerous and cruel. General Stanhope, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Lechmere, exerted all their eloquence in oppoſition to it. They urged againſt it, that it looked more like a decree of Julian the apoſtate, than a law enacted by a proteſtant parliament, ſince it tended to raiſe as great a perſecution againſt

their proteſtant brethren, as either the primitive Chriſtians ever ſuffered from the heathen emperors, or the proteſtants from popery and the inquiſition; that it would neceſſarily give occaſion to foreign education, which would drain the kingdom of great ſums of money, and, what was worſe, fill the minds of youth with prejudices againſt the conſtitution of their country; that this was abundantly verified by the example of the popiſh ſeminaries abroad, which were ſo pernicious to Great-Britain, that, inſtead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, they wiſhed, that even the papiſts might be allowed a certain number of ſchools in England, and the ſeverity of the laws againſt them mitigated.

The bill was more vehemently oppoſed in the houſe of lords. Lord Cowper ſaid, that inſtead of preventing ſchiſm, and enlarging the pale of the church, it tended to produce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion; that, in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar-ſchools were chiefly ſupported by the diſſenters, not only for the inſtruction of their own children, but likewiſe of thoſe of poor churchmen; ſo that the ſuppreſſing of thoſe ſchools, would, in ſome places, prevent the reading of the holy ſcriptures, and baniſh all kind of education in a very great degree. The earl of Wharton obſerved, that it was no leſs melancholy than ſurpriſing, that, at a time, when the court of France proſecuted the deſign, which they had long ſince formed, of extirpating the proteſtant religion; when not only ſecret practices were uſed to impoſe a popiſh pretender on theſe realms, but even men publicly inliſted for his ſervice; it was no leſs melancholy than ſurpriſing, he ſaid, that, at this very time, a bill ſhould be brought in, which could not but tend to divide proteſtants, and conſequently, to weaken their intereſt, and haſten their ruin; that he diſapproved of the word ſchiſm, with which the frontiſpiece of the bill was graced; and it was ſtrange they ſhould call that ſchiſm in England, which was the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland; that if the lords, who repreſented that part of Great-Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that, in order to be even with the Engliſh, and conſiſtent with themſelves, they would move for another bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm in their own country; that, both in the bill itſelf, and in the ſpeeches of thoſe who declared for it, ſeveral laws were recited and urged; but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned; he expected, indeed, that the venerable bench of biſhops would have taken notice of it, but, ſince they had thought proper to be ſilent on the occaſion, he would himſelf name it; it was the law of the goſpel, "to do to others as we would they ſhould "do unto us."

It was obſerved by lord Halifax, that the introduction of the bill was injurious to the queen; nor could he believe her majeſty would ever give her aſſent to ſuch a law, after the ſolemn declaration ſhe had made from the throne, that ſhe would "inviolably main-"tain the toleration," which this bill would, in effect, deſtroy; and that thoſe who promoted this bill with ſo much eagerneſs, would do well to remember the conſequences of perſecuting the diſſenters, in the reign of king Charles the firſt, which kindled a furious and unnatural civil war, and ended in the death of the king, and the total overthrow of the church and ſtate. Among other juſt remarks on the danger of perſecution, lord Townſend ſaid, that he had lived a long time in Holland, and had obſerved that the wealth and ſtrength of that great and powerful republic, conſiſted chiefly in the number of its inhabitants; and that he was perſuaded, that, if the ſtates ſhould cauſe the ſchools of any one ſect, tolerated in Holland, to be ſhut up, thoſe provinces would be deſerted by their numerous inhabitants, and as thinly peopled as Spain or Sweden. But the number or weight of the arguments uſed againſt the act, gave little concern to the miniſtry, who knew they had a majority: they therefore inſiſted on the queſtion being put; and the bill paſſed, though only by five votes. It afterwards received

received the royal aſſent; but it was rendered in a great meaſure ineffectual, by the death of the queen, which happened before it took place.

A great difference had for ſome time ſubſiſted between Oxford and Bolingbroke. The parts of the treaſurer were deemed more ſolid, thoſe of the ſecretary more brilliant, and each of them equally ambitious. Oxford was determined to maintain his preſent rank in the miniſtry, and Bolingbroke diſdained to act in a ſtation ſubordinate to a man whom he thought he excelled in abilities. They began therefore to form ſeparate intereſts, and to adopt different principles. It is generally believed, that towards the latter part of her life, the queen had reſolved to advance her brother, the pretender, to the throne. Bolingbroke had the ſame deſign, and ſupported all her intolerant high church principles. Oxford, on the contrary, was no enemy to the Hanover ſucceſſion, and recommended moderation towards the diſſenters. The queen's conſtitution was now quite broken: one fit of ſickneſs ſucceeded another; but the ruin of her health was completed partly by the diſcontents which prevailed in the nation, and partly by the diſſenſions among her miniſters, which were now become intolerable. The council chamber was turned into a ſcene of obſtinate diſpute and bitter altercation. In the midſt of this commotion, the Jacobites were not idle. They believed that the queen favoured the pretenſions of her brother; they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the ſame intereſt; and they were of opinion that theſe ſentiments were cheriſhed by the nation in general. They held private aſſemblies both in Great-Britain and Ireland; and began to inliſt men for the pretender's ſervice. Some of theſe practices were diſcovered by the earl of Wharton, who communicated his intelligence. The miniſtry were, therefore, compelled to take notice of an affair which had excited conſiderable alarm. A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for apprehending the pretender, whenever he ſhould land, or attempt to land in Great Britain. The commons voted an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation, and aſſured her majeſty, that they would cheerfully aid and aſſiſt her, by granting the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to any who ſhould perform ſo great a public ſervice. The lords preſented an addreſs on the ſame ſubject. To ſave appearances, lord Bolingbroke propoſed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould liſt or be enliſted in the pretender's ſervice. Lord Halifax obſerved, that ſuch a bill was unneceſſary, as the pretender and his adherents were already attainted; and that the pretender was not to be feared, if unaſſiſted by the French king. He therefore moved, that the penalties of high treaſon ſhould be extended to all thoſe who ſhould liſt or be enliſted in the ſervice of any foreign prince or ſtate, without a licence under the ſign manual of her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors. The bill paſſed with this amendment, and the commons concurred in it.

On the ſecond of July, the lords took into conſideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and ſeveral merchants being examined at the bar of the houſe, declared, that unleſs the explanation of the third, fifth and eighth articles were reſcinded, they could not carry on that commerce without a loſs of twenty-five per cent. After a long debate, the houſe reſolved to addreſs the queen for all the papers relating to the negociation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the perſons who adviſed her to that treaty. To this addreſs ſhe replied, that underſtanding the three explanatory articles were not detrimental to the trade of her ſubjects, ſhe had conſented to their being ratified with the treaty. The earl of Wharton obſerved, that if ſo little regard was ſhewn to the addreſſes of that auguſt aſſembly, they had no buſineſs in that houſe. He moved for a remonſtrance, to lay before her majeſty the inſuperable difficulties that attended the Spaniſh commerce, on the footing of the late treaty; and the houſe approved the motion. Another member moved, that the houſe ſhould inſiſt upon her majeſty's naming the perſons who adviſed

adviſed her to ratify the three articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a creature of lord Bolingbroke's, to whom the chief management of the treaty had been left, and who, from circumſtances, appeared to have been corrupted by the Spaniſh court; but he was ſcreened by a majority. The queen had reſerved to herſelf a fourth part of the Aſſiento contract, which ſhe now gave up to the South-Sea Company, and received the thanks of the houſe; but ſhe would not diſcover the names of thoſe who adviſed her to ratify the explanatory articles. By the Aſſiento contract, it was ſtipulated, that from the firſt day of May, 1713, to the firſt of May, 1743, the company ſhould tranſport into the Weſt Indies, one hundred, forty-four thouſand negroes, at the rate of four thouſand, eight hundred negroes a year.

The parliament was prorogued on the ninth of July; and ſhortly after, Oxford was diſmiſſed from his employment through the intrigues of Bolingbroke, and Mrs. Maſham, the queen's favourite. The fall of the treaſurer was ſo ſudden, that no plan was eſtabliſhed for ſupplying the vacancy occaſioned by his diſmiſſion; and the queen, from her weak ſtate of health, was ſo much overwhelmed with anxiety, and harraſſed with the perplexing ſtate of affairs, that her ſtrength proved inſufficient to ſupport the fatigue. A long cabinet council on this event had ſuch an effect on her ſpirits and conſtitution, that ſhe declared ſhe could not outlive it, and immediately ſunk into a ſtate of lethargic diſorder. Notwithſtanding all the remedies which were adminiſtered, the diſtemper increaſed ſo faſt, that next day they deſpaired of her life, and the privy-council was aſſembled on the occaſion. The dukes of Somerſet and Argyle being informed of the deſperate ſituation in which ſhe lay, repaired to the palace, and, without being ſummoned, entered the council-chamber, not a little to the ſurpriſe of the tory members. The duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance at ſo critical a juncture, and deſired them to take their places. The phyſicians having declared that the queen was inſenſible, the council unanimouſly agreed, that the duke of Shrewſbury was the fitteſt perſon to be appointed to the vacant office of treaſurer; and thus Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated, juſt when he thought himſelf at the point of obtaining that promotion which he had ſo eagerly purſued.

All the members of the privy-council, without diſtinction of party, being now ſummoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to take meaſures for the public ſecurity. They ſent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's deſperate ſituation, and deſiring him to repair immediately to Holland, whence he ſhould be conveyed into England, by a Britiſh ſquadron. At the ſame time they diſpatched inſtructions to the earl of Strafford, at the Hague, to deſire the States-general to be ready to perform the guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Precautions were taken to ſecure the ſea-ports; and the command of the fleet was beſtowed on the earl of Berkeley, a profeſſed whig. The queen was ſoon after ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy, and continued in a ſtate of inſenſibility, with ſhort intervals, until the firſt of Auguſt, in the morning, when ſhe expired, in the forty-ninth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Queen Anne was of the middle ſize, and well proportioned; dark brown hair; ruddy complexion; round face, and comely aſpect. She had all the virtues that could adorn private life; an affectionate wife, a tender mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent miſtreſs. But her natural capacity was narrow, and her mind uncultivated by a liberal education: far from being able to comprehend the art of government, and the political happineſs of ſociety, ſciences underſtood by very few, ſhe had hardly wiſdom ſufficient to direct the concerns of her own private family. A bigot to the forms of religion, a ſlave to her favourites, and a victim to her timidity, ſhe was the eaſy dupe of all who had an opportunity of taking advantage of her weakneſſes, for promoting their own private views. The vices of her reign were the vices of thoſe by whom ſhe was governed; and the virtues of her heart,

only

only the more expoſed her to the ſiniſter ſchemes of her counſellors. It is greatly to her credit, that amidſt all the violence of faction, and contention of parties, during her reign, no ſubject's blood was ſhed for high treaſon.

John Locke, whoſe Eſſays on the Human Underſtanding and Government, and other works, have immortalized his name, died in 1704, aged ſeventy-two. He had ſtudied medicine at Oxford, where he took a batchelor's degree. He afterwards became acquainted with the earl of Shafteſbury, who adviſed him to decline the practice of phyſic, and apply himſelf to the ſtudy of political ſubjects; and he procured for him ſome appointments under government. The earl being obliged to fly to Holland in 1682, to avoid a proſecution for high treaſon, he was followed by our author, who was ſuſpected of being a confederate, and for that reaſon he continued abroad after his patron's death. In 1685, the Engliſh envoy at the Hague demanded that he ſhould be given up, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in Monmouth's rebellion; but he concealed himſelf for a twelvemonth, till the ſtorm blew over. After the revolution, he returned to England, and was made commiſſioner of appeals. In 1695, he was made commiſſioner of trade and plantations, and continued in this employment for five years; but finding the air of London diſagree with him, he reſigned, and retired into the country, where he died of an aſthma, his conſtitutional diſorder, a few years after.

Joſeph Addiſon, who is celebrated as a politician, poet, and moral philoſopher, flouriſhed in this reign. He ſucceeded Mr. Locke in his office; and was afterwards made under ſecretary of ſtate. In 1717, he roſe to his higheſt elevation, being made ſecretary of ſtate; but it is univerſally confeſſed that he was unequal to the duties of his place. In the houſe of commons he could not ſpeak, and therefore was uſeleſs to the defence of the government. In the office he could not iſſue an order without loſing time in queſt of fine expreſſions. Finding, by experience, his own inability, he ſolicited his diſmiſſion, and received a penſion of fifteen hundred pounds a year. He now returned to his literary avocations, and engaged in a noble work, the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, part of which was publiſhed after his death. The end of his uſeful life was now approaching; he had for ſome time been oppreſſed with a ſhortneſs of breath, which was now aggravated by the dropſy; and, finding his danger preſſing, he prepared to die conformably to his own precepts and profeſſions. Lord Warwick, his ſon-in-law, was a very looſe young man: Addiſon had in vain endeavoured to reclaim him; he, however, reſolved to try one more experiment. When he found his life near it's end, he ordered the young lord to be called; and when he deſired him, with great tenderneſs, to hear his laſt injunctions, told him, "I have ſent for you, that you may ſee how a Chriſtian can die." What effect this had on the earl's behaviour, we know not: he died himſelf a ſhort time after. Mr. Addiſon expired on the ſeventeenth of June, 1719, leaving behind him an only daughter. He had married the counteſs of Warwick in 1716, with whom he did not live very comfortable.

CHAPTER II.

Acceſſion of George I.---Whig Miniſtry reſtored---Tory Miniſtry proſecuted---Rebellion in Scotland---Act for Septennial Parliaments---South Sea ſcheme---Purchaſe of Bremen and Verden---Quadruple Alliance---Rupture with Sweden and Spain---Peace---Conſpiracy---Proſecution of Atterbury---Unfortunate expedition of Admiral Hoſier---New Treaties---Death and Character of the King.

A. D. 1714. WHATEVER might have been the ſecret intentions of Anne, or expected from the daring conduct and ambitious ſpirit of Bolingbroke, in favour of the hereditary heir, the hopes of the jacobites were diſappointed by the ſudden death of the queen,

queen, and the change which took place in the miniſtry. Purſuant to the act of ſucceſſion, the crown was reſerved for George I. ſon of Erneſt Auguſtus, firſt elector of Brunſwick, and the princeſs Sophia, daughter of the elector Palatine, and grand-daughter to James I. The queen had no ſooner reſigned her laſt breath, than the privy-council met, and three inſtruments were produced, by which the elector appointed ſeveral of his known adherents to be added as lords juſtices to the ſeven great offices of the kingdom. Orders were immediately iſſued for proclaiming his majeſty in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the uſual titles of the ſovereign. The regency appointed the earl of Dorſet to carry him the intimation of his acceſſion to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They filled the military poſts with general officers in whom they could confide: they reinforced the garriſon of Portſmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addiſon, ſecretary to the regency, while Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the paſſage to the council-chamber, with his bag and papers, and underwent every ſpecies of mortification.

The king, now in the fifty-fifth year of his age, landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing place, he walked to his houſe in the Park, accompanied by a great number of perſons of diſtinction. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he ſent for ſuch of the nobility as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion; but the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and lord Trevor, were not of the number. Next morning the earl of Oxford preſented himſelf with an air of confidence; but he had the mortificaiton to remain a conſiderable time among the crowd; and, at laſt, was permitted to kiſs the king's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. To add to his mortification, the king expreſſed the greateſt regard for the duke of Marlborough, as well as for all the leaders of the whig party.

This prince was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the tories; none, therefore, but the whigs were now admitted into any employment. The duke of Ormond was diſmiſſed from his command, which was reſtored to the duke of Marlborough, who was likewiſe appointed maſter of the ordnance. The great ſeal was given to lord Cowper; the privy ſeal to the earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland; the duke of Devonſhire was made ſteward of the houſhold; lord Townſhend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the poſt of ſecretary for Scotland, was beſtowed upon the duke of Montroſe; the duke of Somerſet was conſtituted maſter of the horſe; the duke of St. Alban's captain of the band of penſioners; and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney was appointed ſecretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already engaged to manage the houſe of Commons, was gratified with the double place of pay-maſter of the army and to Chelſea hoſpital. A new privy-council was appointed, and the earl of Nottingham named preſident; but all affairs of conſequence were tranſacted by a cabinet-council or junto, compoſed of the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lords Halifax, Townſhend, Somers, and general Stanhope. The treaſury and admiralty were put into commiſſion; all the governments were changed; and in a word, the whole nation was put into the hands of the whigs.

This partiality ſoon gave offence to a great part of the people, who ſeemed only to want a leader to excite them to inſurrection. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived, libels diſperſed, and tumults raiſed in different parts of the kingdom. The Pretender took this opportunity to tranſmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifeſto, to the dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. In this declaration, he obſerved, that the late queen had intentions of calling him to the crown. He expoſtulated with his people upon the injuſtice they had committed in proclaiming a foreign prince for their ſovereign, contrary to the laws of their country,

country, by which he alone had a legal title to the throne. But though he complained of their conduct, he never thought of removing their apprehenſions in reſpect of his own. He continued to profeſs the ſtrongeſt attachment to the catholic religion; and inſtead of concealing his ſentiments on that ſubject, even gloried in his principles.

Amidſt the virulence of political parties, religion was ſtill mingled in all their diſputes. The tories complained that impiety and hereſy were gaining ground under a whig adminiſtration. The doctrines of true religion, they ſaid, were left expoſed to the diſſenters and ſocinians on one part, and of the catholics on the other. The lower orders of the clergy ſided with the people in theſe complaints. They pointed out to the miniſtry ſeveral tracts written in favour of Socinianiſm and Arianiſm. The miniſtry not only refuſed to puniſh the authors, but prohibited the clergy from future diſputations on ſuch topics. This put a ſtop to the clamours of the people, which had been fomented by the clergy.

A. D. 1715.] The parliament being diſſolved, another was ſummoned by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil deſigns of men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion; and of their having miſrepreſented his conduct and principles. He expreſſed a deſire that his ſubjects would ſend up to parliament ſuch men as were fitteſt to redreſs the preſent diſorders of the nation; and that they would have a particular regard to thoſe who had diſcovered a firm attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, while it ſeemed to be in danger. Both parties exerted uncommon vigour in the elections for this important parliament; but, by dint of monied intereſt, which prevailed in moſt of the corporations, joined to the influence of the miniſtry, a great majority of whigs were returned both in England and Scotland.

The new parliament was aſſembled in March, when the king appeared in the houſe of lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written ſpeech, which was read in the preſence of both houſes. He therein recommended foreign alliances, that curſe of England, from whence have ſprung almoſt all our misfortunes. He gave them to underſtand, that as the prince of Wales had a numerous family, it would require more money to ſupport the dignity of the crown; and he did not doubt but the commons would think of it with that affection which he had reaſon to hope. He obſerved that the pretender boaſted of the aſſiſtance which he expected in England. He declared that the eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhould be the rule of his government; and concluded with expreſſing his confidence, that, with their aſſiſtance, he ſhould diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe who would deprive him of the affections of his people. Both houſes being prediſpoſed to violent meaſures, the king's ſpeech ſerved to confirm and invigorate their ſentiments; and the reſult was anſwerable to the moſt ſanguine expectations, and the moſt inveterate prejudices, of thoſe who now directed the public councils. The lords, in their addreſs, expreſſed their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation which their country formerly maintained on the continent, and the loſs of which they affected to deplore. But the commons, in their proceedings, went much farther: they declared their reſolution to inveſtigate thoſe meaſures by which the nation was depreſſed, to diſcover the men who abetted the claims of the Pretender, and to bring them to condign puniſhment. Mr. Secretary Stanhope openly affirmed, that, notwithſtanding the precaution which the late miniſtry had uſed to prevent a diſcovery of their political machinations, by ſecreting ſeveral papers, yet there remained ſufficient evidence to prove their treaſonable practices and deſigns. He added, that theſe proofs would ſoon be laid before the houſe, when it would appear inconteſtible that the duke of Ormond, if he did not really receive orders from the French general, at leaſt acted in concert with him.

Amidſt the violence of one party, and the timidity of the other, the former miniſtry could expect neither juſtice nor moderation. A part of them abſented themſelves from parliament. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto

hitherto appeared in public, as uſual, and ſpoke in the houſe with freedom, thought it was now time to conſult his perſonal ſafety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving in his juſtification a letter, which was afterwards printed. In this paper he declared, he had received reiterated intelligence, that a reſolution was taken to purſue him to the ſcaffold: that had there been the ſmalleſt reaſon to expect a fair and open trial, he ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. He challenged the moſt inveterate of his enemies to produce any one inſtance of criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt corruption in any part of the adminiſtration in which he was concerned.

A committee, conſiſting of twenty-one perſons, was ſoon after appointed, to examine all the papers relative to the late negociation for peace; and to ſelect ſuch of them as might afford matter of accuſation againſt the late miniſtry. After ſome time ſpent in this enquiry, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, moved that a warrant might be iſſued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the houſe, were immediately taken into cuſtody. He then read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges were drawn out againſt the late miniſters. The principal charges were, the ſecret negociation with Mr. Menager; the extraordinary meaſures purſued to form the congreſs at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries by the connivance of the Britiſh miniſters; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; and Bolingbroke's journey to France to negociate a ſeparate peace. Theſe and ſome others being recited, Walpole impeached lord Bolingbroke of high treaſon. At this motion ſome of the members were ſtruck with ſurprize; there being nothing in the report that any way amounted to treaſon. But their aſtoniſhment was increaſed by the declaration of lord Coningſby, who, riſing in his place, expreſſed himſelf in the following terms: "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the ſcholar, and I the maſter: I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, of high treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors." Some of the earl's friends ſpoke in his defence, but the houſe, without a diviſion, reſolved on an impeachment. When the earl appeared in the houſe next day, he was avoided by the peers as infectious, and retired with ſigns of confuſion. When the articles were read againſt him in the houſe of commons, a warm debate aroſe upon that in which he was charged with having adviſed the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. This point, however, being decided againſt the earl, and the other articles approved by the houſe, the lord Coningſby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the houſe of lords; demanding, at the ſame time, that he might be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody. A warm debate now enſued, in which thoſe who ſtill adhered to the depoſed miniſter, maintained the injuſtice and the danger of ſuch a proceeding. At laſt the earl himſelf roſe up, and ſpoke with great tranquillity. After obſerving that the whole charge might be reduced to the negociation for, and the concluſion of the peace, "I am accuſed, ſaid he, for having made a peace; a peace which was much wanted by the nation, and has been approved by two ſucceſſive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen, my miſtreſs, and never offended againſt any known law. I am juſtified in my own conſcience, and unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man. I doubt not, that out of regard to yourſelves, your lordſhips will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that in the proſecution of this enquiry, it will appear that I have merited not only the indulgence, but the favour of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordſhips, and of this honourable houſe, perhaps for ever. I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, in a cauſe favoured by my late dear royal miſtreſs: and when I conſider that I am to be judged by the

the juſtice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done."

The duke of Shrewſbury having acquainted the houſe, that the earl was very much indiſpoſed with the gravel, he was permitted to go for that night to his own houſe, whither he was followed by a multitude of people, crying out, "High church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his anſwer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl ſhould be ſent to the Tower his life would be in danger, it was carried, on a diviſion, that he ſhould be committed. He was attended thither alſo by a prodigious concourſe of people, who poured forth the moſt bitter imprecations againſt his proſecutors. Tumults were raiſed in Staffordſhire, and other parts of the kingdom, againſt the Whig party: but theſe ſerved only to increaſe the ſeverity of the legiſlature; which now paſſed an act, declaring, that if any perſons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully aſſembled, ſhould continue together one hour after being required to diſperſe by a juſtice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act againſt riots read in public, they ſhould be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. On the twentieth of July, the king went to the houſe, to give the royal aſſent to this, and ſome other bills, when he told both houſes, that a rebellion was begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invaſion from abroad. He therefore expected that they would enable him to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary for the public ſafety. The parliament forthwith paſſed a bill to ſuſpend the *habeas corpus act*, and empowering the king to apprehend ſuſpected perſons. A clauſe was added to a money bill, offering a reward of one hundred thouſand pounds to ſuch as ſhould ſeize the pretender, dead or alive.

At the time appointed, Oxford's anſwer to the charges exhibited againſt him was delivered into the houſe of lords, whence it was tranſmitted to the houſe of commons. Walpole having heard it read, declared that it contained little more than a repetition of the pamphlets in vindication of the late miniſtry, and that it undutifully laid upon the queen all the pernicious meaſures to which that miniſter had adviſed her. He alledged that it was alſo a libel on the proceedings of the houſe; as it attempted to vindicate thoſe perſons, who had already by their flight betrayed apprehenſions of danger. A committee was, therefore, appointed to manage the impeachment, and prepare evidence againſt the earl. By this committee it was reported that Mr. Prior had groſsly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to ſurrender themſelves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl marſhal ſhould eraze out their names and arms from the liſt of peers; and inventories were taken of their eſtates and poſſeſſions, which were declared to be forfeited to the crown.

While the nation was filled with clamour and tumults, intrigues were carried on, in both parts of the united kingdoms, in favour of the Pretender. The diſſenſions occaſioned in Scotland by the union had never been entirely appeaſed; and ſince the queen's death, the public diſcontents were induſtriouſly fomented by the Jacobites. Though their hopes of diſſolving that treaty were baffled by the Revolutioners, who ſecured a majority of Whigs in parliament, they ſtill maintained a deſign of making ſome effort in favour of the Pretender. For this purpoſe they carried on a correſpondence with the malcontents in England, where the Tories, finding themſelves totally excluded from any ſhare in the government, and expoſed to the outrage of a faction which they deſpiſed, began to wiſh in earneſt for a revolution. They conveyed their ſentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with ſuch exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerneſs and ſanguine expectation. They aſſured him that the nation was univerſally diſaffected to the new government; and they promiſed to take arms in his favour, without farther delay. They, therefore, urged him

to come over with all poſſible diſpatch, declaring that his appearance would be followed by an immediate revolution. The Chevalier reſolved to take the advantage of ſo favourable a juncture, and immediately had recourſe to the French king, whoſe aid he ſolicited. Lewis, notwithſtanding his late engagements with England, cheriſhed the hope of raiſing the chevalier to the throne of Great Britain. He, therefore, ſupplied him privately with ſums of money, to prepare a ſmall armament in the port of Havre; reſolving, no doubt, to aſſiſt him more effectually, in proportion as the Engliſh ſhould evince their attachment to the houſe of Stuart. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themſelves attainted, engaged in the ſervice of the chevalier, and correſponded with the Tories in England.

But while theſe intrigues were carrying on, the hopes of the chevalier were ſuddenly blaſted by the death of Lewis XIV. who had for more than half a century ſacrificed the repoſe of Chriſtendom to his inſatiable vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened the firſt day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who adopted a new ſyſtem of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of Great Britain. Inſtead of aſſiſting the pretender, he amuſed his agents with vague declarations, calculated to fruſtrate the expedition. The more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain, however, believed he was at the bottom ſincerely attached to their cauſe, and they depended upon him for aſſiſtance. By dint of importunity, they even obtained from him a ſum of money, and ſome arms; but the veſſel which conveyed them was ſhipwrecked, and the cargo loſt upon the coaſt of Scotland.

The partizans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with ſafety; and therefore reſolved on carrying their deſigns into immediate execution. The earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held conſultations with the marquiſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marſhal and Southeſk, and the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. He then aſſembled three hundred of his own vaſſals, proclaimed the pretender at Caſtletown, and ſet up his ſtandard at Brae Mar, on the ſixth day of September. By this time the earls of Home, and Wigtown, with other perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to the preſent government, were committed priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh; and major-general Witham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom, to ſecure the bridge at Stirling. Before theſe precautions were taken, two veſſels had arrived at Arbroth from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who aſſured the earl of Mar, that the Pretender would ſoon be with him in perſon. The earl, who depended on being joined by a powerful body in England, preſſed the chevalier by letters and meſſages, to come over without farther delay. Meanwhile, he aſſumed the title of lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, publiſhed a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful ſovereign, and aſſured them of a redreſs of all their grievances.

The duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the forces in North-Briton, immediately ſet out for that country; as did alſo the earl of Sutherland, with many other Scottiſh peers, to raiſe forces for the ſervice of government. The earl of Mar, receiving intelligence that the duke, with all his own clans, aſſiſted by ſome troops from Ireland, was advancing againſt him, at firſt thought it adviſable to retreat. But being ſoon after joined by ſome of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Ruſſian ſervice, he reſolved to face the enemy, and with that view directed his march towards the South. The duke of Argyle, informed of his deſign, and deſirous of proving his attachment to the preſent government, determined to give him battle, though his own forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy.

On the thirteenth of November, the duke drew up his army in order of battle, in the neighbourhood of Dumblain. But as his forces

forces did not exceed four thouſand men, he ſoon found himſelf greatly out-flanked by the enemy. Perceiving the earl making attempts to ſurround him, he was obliged to alter his diſpoſition, which, on account of the ſcarcity of general officers, was not done ſo expeditiouſly as to be finiſhed before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army received the centre of the enemy, and ſupported the firſt charge without ſhrinking. For ſome time it ſeemed even victorious, as Clanronald, the chieftain who commanded againſt it, was killed on the ſpot. But Glengary, who was ſecond in command, animated, by his exertions, the rebel-troops to ſuch a degree, that they followed him cloſe to the point of the enemies bayonets, and got within their guard. A total rout of that wing of the royal army began to enſue; and general Witham, their commander, flying full ſpeed to Stirling, gave out that all was loſt, and that the rebels were completely victorious. Mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in perſon on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having thus entirely broken that wing, and driven them over the river Allen, he returned to the field of battle, where, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and reſolutely waiting the aſſault. Both armies, however, inſtead of renewing the engagement, continued to gaze at each other, neither of them caring to begin the attack. At evening, both ſides drew off, and both claimed the victory. Few priſoners were made on either ſide; and in each the number of ſlain might be about five hundred.

Soon after the battle, the caſtle of Inverneſs, of which the earl of Mar was in poſſeſſion, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto profeſſed to act in the intereſt of the pretender. The marquis of Huntley, and the earl of Seaforth, were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories, and in a little time ſubmitted to king George. The marquis of Tullibardine alſo withdrew from the army, to protect his own country; and many of the clans, ſeeing no likelihood of coming ſoon to a ſecond engagement, returned quietly to their habitations.

The rebellion was ſtill more unſucceſsfully proſecuted in England, where the government, on the firſt intelligence of an intended inſurrection, impriſoned ſeveral lords and gentlemen, of whom they had ſuſpicion. The lords Landſown and Duplin were taken into cuſtody. The king obtained leave from the lower houſe to ſeize ſir William Wyndham, ſir John Packington, Harvey, Combe, and others. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerſet, offered to become bound for his appearance; but his ſurety was refuſed.

In the Weſtern counties, the preparations for an inſurrection were weak and ineffectual, but in the north it came to greater maturity. The earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forſter, took the field with a body of horſe, and being joined by ſome gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender. Their firſt attempt was to ſeize upon Newcaſtle, where they had many friends; but finding the gates ſhut againſt them, they retired to Hexham. To oppoſe theſe inſurgents, general Carpenter was detached with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods by which they might have conducted themſelves with prudence: one was to march directly into the weſtern parts of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a ſtrong body of Highlanders. The other was to croſs the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whoſe forces did not exceed their own. But neither of theſe meaſures were purſued. They took the rout to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one ſide, and penetrate into England by the weſtern border. This was the effectual means to cut themſelves off both from retreat and aſſiſtance. A party of Highlanders, under the lords Kenmuir, Nithsdale, Cornwath, and Wintoun, by whom they had been joined, at firſt refuſed to accompany them in this deſperate irruption, and the half

of

of them actually returned to their own country. At Brampton, Mr. Forſter opened his commiſſion of general, which had been ſent him from the earl of Mar, and there proclaimed the pretender. Continuing their march to Penrith, the body of militia, which was aſſembled in that town to oppoſe them, fled at their approach. From Penrith, they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaſter, to Preſton, of which they took poſſeſſion without any reſiſtance. But this proved the laſt ſtage of their ill-adviſed incurſion. General Willes, at the head of ſeven thouſand men, coming up to attack them, they began to raiſe barricadoes, and to put the place in a poſture of defence; repulſing with ſucceſs the firſt attack of the royal army. Next day, however, Willes being reinforced by Carpenter, the town was inveſted on all ſides. In this ſituation, Forſter hoped to capitulate with the royaliſts, and accordingly ſent, with a trumpet, colonel Oxburgh, who had been made priſoner, to propoſe a capitulation. To this, however, Willes refuſed to conſent; alledging that he would not treat with rebels; and that the only favour they were to expect, was to be ſpared from immediate ſlaughter. Being unable to obtain better conditions, they laid down their arms, and were put under a ſtrong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were ſecured; and a few of their officers, being tried for deſerting from the royal army, were ſhot by order of a court-martial. The common men were impriſoned at Cheſter and Liverpool; while the noblemen, and more conſiderable officers, were ſent to London, and led through the ſtreets, pinioned and bound together, to the Tower and Newgate. Such was the iſſue of two expeditions undertaken in favour of the Pretender, and which were equally marked with temerity and miſconduct through the whole of their progreſs.

In Scotland, however, the rebellion was not yet extinguiſhed; but the government was now in a condition to ſend ſtrong reinforcements to that country. Six thouſand men were claimed of the States-general by virtue of the treaty; they landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh; whither a train of artillery was alſo ſhipped from the Tower, for the uſe of the duke of Argyle, who reſolved to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, to which place he had retired with the remainder of his forces. The pretender having been amuſed with the hope of a general inſurrection in England, and the duke of Ormond having made a fruitleſs voyage to the Weſt, to try the diſpoſition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter. But, not knowing what other courſe to take, he reſolved to throw himſelf upon the affection of his friends in Scotland, even at a time when his affairs in that kingdom ſeemed deſperate. Paſſing, therefore, through France in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, he, after a voyage of a few days, arrived at Peterhead, on the coaſt of Scotland, with only ſix gentlemen in his train. He thence paſſed unknown through Aberdeen to Feteroſſe, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen. Here he was ſolemnly proclaimed: his declaration was printed and diſperſed; and he received addreſſes from the epiſcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the dioceſe of Aberdeen. On the fifth of January, he went to Dundee, where he made a public entry; and in two days more he arrived at Scone, at which he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered public thankſgivings to be made for his ſafe arrival; enjoining the miniſters to pray for him in their churches; and, without any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs, went through the ceremonies of royal inauguration. After thus ſpending ſome time in uſeleſs parade, and hearing that the king's army was reinforced by Dutch auxiliaries, he reſolved to abandon the enterpriſe with the ſame levity with which it had been undertaken. In a pathetic ſpeech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition, for proſecuting a campaign, and therefore deplored that he was under the neceſſity of leaving them. He again embarked on board a ſmall French ſhip that lay in the harbour of Montroſe, accompanied by ſeveral lords, his adherents,

adherents, and in a few days arrived at Graveline. General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the pretender's forces, with the assistance of the earl Marshal, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board such persons as intended making their escape to the continent. After continuing his march thence to the hills of Badenoch, he quietly dismissed his forces. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear; which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the earl Marshal.

A. D. 1716.] In this manner ended a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had it not been for the violent measures of the whig ministry, that excited in the nation a spirit of revolt. The fury of the victors, however, did not abate with their success, and they resolved on capitally punishing all the leaders who had been concerned in the insurrection. The prisons of London were crowded with the unfortunate delinquents. On the meeting of parliament, a bill was passed for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. The commons sent up to the lords impeachments against the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, with the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn; and, upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintoun received sentence of death. He was afterwards tried, convicted, and received the same sentence. The countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's, into the king's bed-chamber, where she implored his majesty's clemency for her unhappy consort. She afterwards repaired to the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house. Next day they petitioned both houses of parliament; but no entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unfortunate men. Orders were, therefore, dispatched for executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale and Kenmuir, immediately. The rest were respited to a farther time. Nithsdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in woman's cloaths, which were brought him by his mother, the night before the execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought, on the twenty-fourth of February, to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where they underwent the sentence with calm intrepidity, and regretted by all the spectators.

The aid of the legislature was called in to second the vindictive efforts of the administration; and an act of parliament was passed for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms. This proceeding was considered by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed, that every prisoner should be tried in the county where the offence was committed. In the beginning of April, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety. The rest pleaded not guilty. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained, of whom a great number were found guilty, and four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Twenty-two were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation.

Though the rebellion was now extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction continued

tinued to rage with unabated violence, which was ſupported in a great meaſure by the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the rebels. The miniſtry, ſenſible of the general diſcontent, and dreading the diſpoſition of a new parliament, which might wreſt from their faction the helm of government, determined on an expedient, which, however unpopular, might ſerve at leaſt for a temporary prolongation of their own power. This was a ſcheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to ſeven years. Such an attempt in a delegated body of men, who were appointed only for three years, was evidently contrary to the firſt principles of the conſtitution; and afforded a precedent by which the houſe of commons might, with equal juſtice, at ſome future period, perpetuate its own authority. The bill, however, paſſed both houſes, and all objections to it were repreſented as proceeding from diſaffection.

The duchies of Bremen and Verden had been taken from Charles XII. king of Sweden, while he was in Turkey, by the Danes; and, in the courſe of the laſt year, they were ſold to the king of England, on condition of his declaring war againſt Sweden. Accordingly, he took poſſeſſion of the duchies in October; declared war againſt Charles in his German dominions; and detached ſix thouſand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Pruſſians in Pomerania. Charles, having returned to Sweden, after an abſence of ſixteen years, was exceedingly exaſperated againſt the elector of Hanover, for having, during his abſence, entered into the confederacy againſt him with the Danes and Ruſſians; particularly, for having purchaſed thoſe towns, which conſtituted part of his dominions, from the king of Denmark, and he breathed nothing but revenge againſt the king of Great Britain. George, foreſeeing the ſtorm that was likely to ariſe from Sweden, reſolved to viſit his German dominions; but in this he was reſtricted by the act of limitation paſſed in the latter end of William's reign. He therefore procured a repeal of that clauſe by which he was prohibited from going out of Great Britain; and when he prorogued the parliament, he gave them to underſtand, that he had conſtituted the prince of Wales guardian of the kingdom in his abſence.

The peace of the kingdom being now eſtabliſhed, the king embarked for Holland in July, and proceeded to Hanover. His aim was to ſecure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great Britain from the pretender. He knew the duke of Orleans, regent of France, was reſolved to aſcend the throne, in caſe the young king, who was a ſickly child, ſhould die without iſſue: he was alſo ſenſible, that Philip of Spain would powerfully conteſt that ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding his renunciation; and he believed the regent would be glad to ſtrengthen his intereſt by an alliance with England and Holland. George ſounded the duke on this ſubject, and found him eager to engage in ſuch an aſſociation: a treaty was therefore concluded between England, Holland, and France, which contained a mutual guarantee of all the places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers; of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England, as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defenſive alliance, ſtipulating the number of ſhips and forces to be furniſhed to that power which ſhould be diſturbed by invaſions from abroad, or commotions at home. The French expreſſed the utmoſt averſion to this treaty: they ſaid, that the regent had ſacrificed to his ambition the intereſt of his country. The Engliſh were equally diſſatisfied; they ſaid an unneceſſary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connections; and that, on pretence of an invaſion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enſlave the kingdom.

George was not ſo ſucceſsful in his endeavours to appeaſe the king of Sweden, who refuſed to liſten to any overtures until Bremen and Verden ſhould be reſtored; theſe the elector of Hanover reſolved to keep, and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles to maintain this acquiſition. Meanwhile his rupture with Sweden on account of his beggarly bargain, purchaſed with Engliſh money, was extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had nearly entailed upon the kingdom another invaſion, much more

more formidable than that which had ſo lately miſcarried. The Swediſh miniſters reſident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correſpondence with the malcontents of Great Britain, and a ſcheme was formed for the king of Sweden's invading the country with an army of twelve thouſand men in favour of the pretender, when he might expect to be joined by all thoſe who were in his intereſt. Charles reliſhed the propoſal, which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it diſagreeable to the Czar of Muſcovy, who reſented the elector's offer to join the Swede againſt Ruſſia, provided he would ratify the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden. George having received intimation of theſe intrigues, haſtened to England, and ordered a detachment of guards to ſecure count Gyllenberg, the Swediſh miniſter, with all his papers. About the ſame time, baron Gortz, the Swediſh reſident in Holland, was ſeized at the deſire of king George. The baron owned he had projected the invaſion, a deſign that was juſtified by the conduct of the king of England, who had joined the confederates againſt the king of Sweden, without having received the ſmalleſt provocation; who had aſſiſted the king of Denmark in ſubduing the duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchaſed them of the uſurper; and who had in the courſe of the ſummer, ſent a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Ruſſians againſt the Swediſh fleet.

A. D. 1717.] When the parliament was aſſembled in February, the king informed them of the triple alliance between England, Holland, and France; and the projected invaſion. A bill was paſſed, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden. The commons voted ten thouſand ſeamen for the enſuing year; and granted a million for the maintenance of guards, garriſons, and land forces; they likewiſe granted twenty-four thouſand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munſter, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his ſervice. The king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, demanding an extraordinary ſupply, that he might be the better enabled to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden. This produced violent debates; Mr. Shippen ſaid that the meſſage was unparliamentary and unprecedented. Mr. Hungerford declared, that for his part, he could not underſtand what occaſion there was for new alliances; much leſs that they ſhould be purchaſed with money. He expreſſed his ſurprize that a nation ſo lately the terror of France and Spain, ſhould now ſeem to fear ſo inconſiderable an enemy as Sweden. Mr. Pulteney obſerved, that having reſigned his place of ſecretary of war, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Engliſhman: he declared againſt the manner of granting the ſupply, as unparliamentary; and ſaid he could not perſuade himſelf that any Engliſhman adviſed his majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage, but he doubted not, the reſolution of a Britiſh parliament would make a German miniſtry tremble. Notwithſtanding, on the motion of Mr. Stanhope, ſecretary of ſtate, the houſe granted an extraordinary ſupply of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to his majeſty. Theſe were among the firſt fruits of Britain's being wedded to the intereſts of the continent. The elector of Hanover quarrelled with the king of Sweden; and England was obliged to ſupport him in the proſecution of the war. By the act, which ſettled the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Hanover, it was provided that the nation ſhould not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any territories not belonging to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament. But the ſmalleſt reflection might have convinced thoſe who framed that law, of its abſurdity and impracticability. Charles, of Sweden, could not diſtinguiſh between the elector of Hanover and the king of England, conſequently the trade to Sweden, a valuable branch of commerce to the Engliſh merchants, was loſt; and it became neceſſary to fit out a ſtrong fleet in the former year, under admiral Norris, and another in the preſent year, under Sir George Byng, to protect the trade to the Baltic, and to watch the motions of the Swedes.

The

The earl of Oxford, who had now remained almoſt two years in the Tower, petitioned the lords that he might be brought to trial. A day was therefore fixed, and the commons were ordered to prepare for the charge, At the time appointed, he was brought before the peers in Weſtminſter-hall, when ſir Joſeph Jekyll, ſtanding up to make the firſt charge, which amounted only to a miſdemeanor, lord Harcourt ſignified to their lordſhips, that he had a motion to make, whereupon they adjourned to their own houſe. He there repreſented that it would be tedious and unneceſſary to go through all the charges againſt the earl, but if the commons could make good the two articles for high treaſon, he would forfeit both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter. He therefore moved, that the commons ſhould firſt proceed with the articles for high treaſon. To this the lords agreed, but the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer; either for treaſon, or a miſdemeanor, or to mix the accuſation as they thought proper. The lords aſſerted, that it was a right inherent in every court of juſtice, to preſcribe the methods of proceeding in their reſpective courts. The commons demanded a conference, but this was rejected. The lords informed the lower houſe, that they intended to proceed upon the trial; but the commons diſregarded the information, and refuſed to attend. Soon after, the lords repaired to Weſtminſter-hall, when the earl of Oxford was again brought to the bar, and proclamation made for his accuſers to appear. But finding the commons reſolute, and having waited a quarter of an hour, the lords returned to their own houſe, when they voted that the priſoner ſhould be ſet at liberty. The commons, in order to expreſs their ſenſe of his demerit, preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he might be excepted from the intended act of grace. The king promiſed to comply with their requeſt. The act of grace was brought into the houſe of peers by the earl of Sunderland, and paſſed both houſes with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, and Arthur Moore; the aſſaſſinators in Newgate, and the clan of Macgregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn, together with all the gentlemen under ſentence of death in Newgate, and thoſe that were confined on account of the rebellion in the other priſons of the kingdom, were now diſcharged.

The death of Charles king of Sweden, who was killed at the ſiege of Frederickſtadt in Norway, on the thirtieth of November, was fortunate for king George. Sweden was now obliged to ſubmit, while the Czar, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, kept poſſeſſion of what they had acquired in the courſe of the war. Thus Bremen and Verden were ſecured to the houſe of Hanover. An acquiſition towards which the Engliſh nation contributed by her money as well as by her arms, contrary to the act of ſettlement; an acquiſition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England had entered when king William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquiſition that may be conſidered as the firſt link of a political chain by which the Engliſh nation was dragged back into expenſive connexions with the continent. The king had not yet received the inveſtiture of the duchies as a fief of the empire; and until that ſhould be procured, it was neceſſary to eſpouſe with warmth the intereſt of the emperor. This became another ſource of miſunderſtanding between Great Britain and Spain.

The parliament was reaſſembled in November, when the king informed both houſes, that he had reduced the army near one half, ſince the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion. The commons having taken into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance, voted ten thouſand men for the ſea ſervice. When the ſupply for the army came under deliberation, a very warm debate enſued upon the number of troops neceſſary to be maintained. In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Shippen ſaid, the ſecond paragraph of the king's ſpeech, ſeemed rather to be calculated for

for the meridian of Germany, than for Great Britain; and it was a great misfortune, that the king was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed, that this was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government; and moved that he who uttered it, ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen refuſing to retract or make any excuſe for what he had ſaid, was voted to the Tower by a great majority. The number of ſtanding forces, was fixed at ſixteen thouſand, three hundred, and forty-ſeven effective men, though it was a time of profound peace; and to render this engine of deſpotiſm, a ſtanding army, yet more dangerous to the liberties of the people, the famous bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, was paſſed this ſeſſion. By this act, magna charta, and all the ſalutary ſtatutes, which guard the lives of individuals from arbitrary judgment, were ſet aſide in all circumſtances reſpecting martial offences, without any plea or pretence from any danger or inconvenience which had ariſen from legal modes of trial: and this body of men, who from their particular ſituation, are naturally too much dependent on the ſovereign, were expoſed to the laſh of an arbitrary juriſdiction, even to the taking their lives. In this bill there are forty-ſix articles of war, where the puniſhments for the offences therein mentioned, are fines, impriſonment, and death. In vain was it objected that this infamous bill was a violation of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, and inimical to the genius and diſpoſition of the people; in vain was a reaſon demanded for the eſtabliſhment of this extraordinary tribunal. All argument and remonſtrance were loſt in an overwhelming majority.

A. D. 1718.] The emperor was engaged in a war againſt the Turks, and as this was conſidered as a religious quarrel the pope obtained repeated aſſurances from the king of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing againſt the emperor while he was employed in ſuch a laudable war. Nevertheleſs, Philip ſent a ſtrong ſquadron from Barcelona, which reduced the iſland of Sardinia belonging to the emperor; and at the ſame time publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his proceedings. He promiſed, however, to proceed no further, and to ſuſpend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and ſecuring the peace and balance of power in Italy. Conferences were accordingly begun between the miniſters of England, Holland, France, and the emperor; and theſe produced the quadruple alliance. In this treaty, it was ſtipulated, That the emperor ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the duke of Savoy: That the ſucceſſion to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, claimed by the queen of Spain, as heireſs of the houſe of Farneſe, ſhould be ſettled on her eldeſt ſon, in caſe the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould die without male iſſue. Philip complained of this diviſion as partial and iniquitous, and continued to make formidable preparations by ſea and land. Three months only were allowed to the parties concerned, to conſider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquieſce in the partition; while king George, and the regent of France, engaged to compel the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as they had concerted with his Imperial majeſty. The States-general did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures, and for ſome time kept aloof; but they at length acceded to the quadruple alliance. Nothing could be more oppoſite to the true intereſt of Great-Britain than this treaty, which deſtroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing ſuch an addition of power into the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. It interrupted the commerce with Spain, involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy, and gave riſe to all the quarrels which have ariſen between England and Spain in the ſequel. In the preſent exhauſted ſtate of the Engliſh finances, war was an object far from being deſirable to the people; but George had intereſts in Germany, and therefore the nation muſt be put to this expence to compliment the emperor, who was

desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

The king of England, finding his attempts to reconcile the differences between the emperor and Philip ineffectual, resolved to support his mediation by force of arms. He accordingly equipped a formidable fleet with all possible expedition, the command of which was given to sir George Byng, who sailed for the Mediterranean on the fourth day of June. When the admiral arrived at Naples, he was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand, were actually landed in Sicily. He, therefore, resolved to sail thither immediately. Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and pursuing them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting to twenty-seven sail. The Spanish fleet, though superior in number, on perceiving the force of the English, attempted to sail away, and acted with extreme confusion. They were, however, obliged to maintain a running fight, in which they were all taken except three, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammoc, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. This action was followed by complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe, and hastened the declaration of war, which England had hitherto delayed.

The parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable propofals, and broke through their engagements for the security of the British commerce: That to vindicate his treaties, and defend the trade of his subjects, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress. The motion for an address of thanks produced warm debates in both houses. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve of a sea-fight, which might be attended with dangerous consequences; and to give the sanction of that assembly to measures, which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain. In the lower house, Mr. Robert Walpole said, that the giving sanction in the manner proposed to the late measures, could have no other view than the screening of ministers, who having begun a war with Spain, now wanted to make it the parliament's war. He observed, that instead of an entire satisfaction, they ought to express their entire dissatisfaction with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. The address having passed both houses, the commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred men for the army. The whole estimate for their maintenance amounted to two millions, two hundred and fifty-seven thousand, five hundred and eighty pounds.

The king having sent a message to the house of commons, on the seventh day of December, importing, that he had found it necessary to declare war against the king of Spain; Mr. Robert Walpole exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war; and his brother Horatio observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favour of the emperor, was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. In the course of this session, a bill was passed for repealing the act against occasional conformity, by which the dissenters were relieved from some disabilities.

The rupture with Spain revived the drooping expectations of the Pretender and his adherents in Britain, where it was hoped, that, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited. An expedition was accordingly projected, under the direction of the duke of Ormond, who had fled from prosecution in the beginning of this reign, and now obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand more. But having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he met with a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and totally frustrated the enterprise.

A. D. 1719.] In May, the king visited Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica,

Ulrica, the new queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral houſe of Brunſwick, the duchies of Bremen and Verden: king George obliged himſelf to pay a million of rix dollars to the queen of Sweden; and to renew, as king of Great-Britain and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly ſubſiſting between his predeceſſors and that kingdom. He alſo mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, Poland, Pruſſia and Denmark.

The duke of Savoy, by a treaty with the emperor concluded at Vienna, agreed to the exchange of Sicily for Sardinia; and his troops co-operated with the Germans againſt the common enemy. By the activity of admiral Byng, and the ſucceſs of the imperial arms, the marquis de Lede, the Spaniſh commander, was ſo reduced, that he offered to evacuate Sicily. The propoſal was not diſagreeable to the Germans, but refuſed by ſir George Byng, as he foreſaw theſe troops would be employed againſt France or England; hoſtilities were therefore continued. While theſe things were tranſacting in Italy, the duke of Berwick, with the French army, entered Spain, reduced Fontarabia, and burnt eight new ſhips that were on the ſtocks. That country was alſo invaded by different Engliſh commanders, with ſucceſs, in other parts. Spain being oppreſſed on all ſides, her reſources utterly exhauſted, and her naval power totally ruined, Philip ſaw the neceſſity of a ſpeedy pacification. He offered a plan, by his miniſter at the Hague, which was rejected by the allies; and at laſt he was obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance. His troops accordingly evacuated Sicily and Sardinia, the former of which was ceded to the emperor, and the latter to the duke of Savoy. What did England get by this war? As ſhe had no intereſt in the conteſt, ſhe obtained all ſhe had a right to expect---NOTHING.

The king returned to England, and opened the parliament on the twenty-third of November, with a ſpeech in which he exhorted the commons to concert proper means for leſſening the national debt, and concluded with a panegyric on his own government. The power of the crown to augment the number of peers at pleaſure, for the purpoſe of carrying a favourite meaſure, has been ſeverely felt, and as ſincerely lamented by every true lover of his country. The creation of twelve peers in one day by queen Anne, had left a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the people; and to prevent ſuch an abuſe of the royal prerogative in future, the duke of Somerſet, in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, brought in a bill to limit the peerage, in ſuch a manner, that the number of Engliſh peers ſhould not be enlarged beyond ſix of their preſent number, which, upon failure of male iſſue, might be ſupplied by new creations: that inſtead of the ſixteen elective peers of Scotland, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary; and that on failure of male heirs, the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied from the other members of the Scottiſh peerage. The king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, importing, that as they had under conſideration the Britiſh peerage, he had ſo much at heart the ſettling it upon ſuch a foundation as might ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative ſhould not ſtand in the way of ſo neceſſary a work. Violent oppoſition was made to the bill, and for that time it was dropped; but revived in the preſent ſeſſion, when it paſſed the houſe of peers. In the houſe of commons it was oppoſed by Mr. Robert Walpole, and a conſiderable number of whig members. The commoners ſaw that by this bill the avenues to title and dignity were ſhut againſt them, and they rejected it by a large majority. The queſtion here, as in almoſt every other diſpute, was not whether the meaſure propoſed was advantageous to the nation? but whether the tory or whig intereſt ſhould predominate in parliament? Thus, through the violence of faction, and the pride of individuals, a bill was loſt, which might have been an additional check on the royal prerogative, and a further means of preſerving the independence of parliament, particularly the upper-houſe.

A. D. 1720. The pernicious policy of borrowing money of the public, and ſettling certain

tain taxes to pay the intereſt of the borrowed ſum, had introduced a new kind of traffic, unknown to happier times. When a nation is deeply in debt, public credit is ever precarious; and the riſe and fall of ſtocks furniſh an opportunity for mercenary adventurers to prey on the hopes and fears of individuals, while the growing neceſſities of the ſtate give riſe to a variety of inventions for raiſing the ſums adequate to the exigencies of the occaſion! The parliament ſeem to have been very ſolicitous to reduce the national debt, even from the firſt period of its commencement; but inſtead of adopting the only plan which could effectually produce this deſireable end, viz. reducing the intereſt, and cutting the ſinews of corruption, they only ſhifted their creditors, and borrowed from one ſet of men to pay another. On this plan the ſouth-ſea company was eſtabliſhed in 1711. The queſtion was again agitated in 1717, when conferences were held with the monied corporations, in order to provide a ſufficient ſum of money to pay off ſuch creditors, as ſhould be willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money; for this purpoſe, the bank agreed to advance £2,500,000, and the ſouth-ſea, £2,000,000, for which ſums theſe companies were to have annuities of 5*l.* per cent. Agreeable to theſe propoſals three bills were paſſed, under the denomination of the bank act, the ſouth-ſea act, and the general fund act: in this laſt is a clauſe, eſtabliſhing a ſinking fund ariſing from the ſurplus on the appropriated funds, and the reduction of intereſt to 5*l.* per. cent. which is by this act appropriated for diſcharging ſuch debts as were contracted before the 25th of December.

At the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, the king having recommended to the commons the conſideration of reducing the national debt, gave riſe to the famous ſouth-ſea act, which became productive of ſo much miſchief and infatuation. The ſcheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, a director of the ſouth-ſea company. He communicated his plan, in the name of the company, to the miniſtry, which was to buy up all the public debts from the creditors, and reduce them into one fund. The propoſal was approved by the miniſtry, and a bill accordingly brought into parliament. By this act the ſouth-ſea company was authorized to take in by purchaſe or ſubſcription the irredeemable debts of the nation, ſtated at £16,546,482, before the firſt day of March, in the enſuing year, and without any compulſion on the proprietors, at ſuch rates and prices as ſhould be agreed upon between the company and the reſpective proprietors. They were likewiſe authoriſed to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the ſame ſum as the irredeemables, either by purchaſe, by taking ſubſcriptions, or paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increaſing their ſtock accordingly, the company conſented that their preſent, and to be increaſed annuity, ſhould continue at 5*l.* per cent. till Midſummer, 1727; then to be reduced to 4*l.* per cent. and to be redeemable by parliament. For enabling the company to raiſe the ſum which they were to pay into the exchequer, to diſcharge the public debt, they were empowered to make calls of money from their members; to open books of ſubſcription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; and to borrow money on any contract or bill, under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtock.

This bill met with conſiderable oppoſition in both houſes, from men of diſcernment, who foreſaw its fatal conſequences. They contended that it would countenance the fraudulent and pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and induſtry: that it would give foreigners an opportunity to double and treble the vaſt ſums they had in the public funds, and that they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immenſe gains to other countries, ſo that Great-Britain would be drained of its gold and ſilver: that the artificial and prodigious riſe of the South-Sea ſtock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a falſe proſpect of gain to part with the fruits of their induſtry to purchaſe imaginary riches: that the addition of above

30,000,000

30,000,000 capital would give ſuch power to the South-Sea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation: for by their extenſive intereſt they would be enabled to influence moſt, if not all, the elections of the members, and conſequently over-rule the reſolutions of the houſe of commons. Notwithſtanding theſe, and many other not leſs powerful arguments, the bill paſſed without amendment or diviſion, and on the ſeventh day of April, received the royal aſſent.

The king having prorogued the parliament, viſited his electoral dominions; and while he was involved in a labyrinth of negociations at Hanover, the South-Sea ſcheme produced a national delirium in England. When Blunt, the projector, found that the South-Sea ſtock did not riſe according to his expectations, he circulated a report that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be exchanged for ſome places in Peru, by which means the trade to the South-Sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour operated with ſuch power, that in five days the directors' books were opened for a ſubſcription of 1,000,000, at the rate 300*l.* for 100*l.* capital; and an eager multitude crowded to the ſubſcription in ſuch a manner, that it exceeded 2,000,000 of capital ſtock: in a few days the ſtock advanced to 340l. and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt purchaſe. By various infamous arts the ſtock was raiſed to 1,000*l.* and the whole nation became infected with the ſpirit of ſtock-jobbing. This infatuation prevailed till September, when the adventurers awakened from their delirium; the ſtocks began to fall, and by the end of the month had ſunk from 1,000 to 150*l.* Several eminent bankers and goldſmiths, who had lent great ſums upon it, were obliged to ſtop payment and abſcond; many families were ruined; public credit was ſtopped; the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and the ravings of grief, diſappointment, and deſpair, filled every place with confuſion.

Some of the principal members of the adminiſtration were deeply concerned in theſe fraudulent tranſactions; and when they ſaw the price of ſtock daily ſinking, employed their influence with the bank to ſupport the credit of the South-Sea company. That corporation, though reluctantly, engaged to lend the company 3,500,000*l.* which they were to repay to the bank in the enſuing year. Books were opened at the bank to receive ſubſcriptions for the ſupport of public credit; and conſiderable ſums of money were brought in. By this expedient the ſtock was raiſed at firſt, and thoſe who contrived it, ſeized the opportunity to realize; but the bankruptcy of goldſmiths and the ſword blade company occaſioned ſuch a run upon the bank, that the money was paid away faſter than it could be received by ſubſcription. The South-Sea ſtock ſunk again; and the bank directors ſeeing themſelves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced an agreement which they were under no legal obligation to perform.

Diſappointment and deſpair again ſeized the minds of the adventurers, and the clamour of the people increaſed to an alarming height; expreſſes were, therefore, ſent to the king, to haſten his return to England. He arrived in November, and the parliament was opened on the eighth of December. The South-Sea buſineſs came immediately under conſideration; and the directors were ordered to produce an account of all their proceedings. For the ſupport of public credit, on the motion of Mr. Walpole, a bill was brought in and paſſed for engrafting nine millions of South-Sea ſtock into the bank of England, and a like ſum into the Eaſt India company. A bill was alſo paſſed for reſtraining the ſub-governor, deputy governor, directors, treaſurers, caſhier, ſecretary, and accountants of the South-Sea company from quitting the kingdom till the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament; alſo for diſcovering their eſtates and effects to prevent them from being tranſported or alienated; and a committee was choſen by ballot to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relating to the South-Sea act. The governors, directors, and officers of the company were examined at the bar of the houſe; and a bill was brought in diſ-

abling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East India company, or in the bank of England; nor did the vengeance of parliament ſtop here; an order was made to ſecure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner; the perſons of ſir George Caſwell, ſir John Blount, and ſir John Lambert, were taken into cuſtody; ſir Theodore Janſſen, Mr. Sawbridge, ſir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the houſe, and apprehended; orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from the places they poſſeſſed under government; and Mr. Aiſlabie reſigned his employment of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treaſury.

A. D. 1721.] The ſecret committee informed the houſe of commons, that they had diſcovered a train of the deepeſt fraud and villainy that ever had been contrived to ruin a nation. They found, that before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of 574,000l. had been diſpoſed of by the directors to facilitate the paſſing the bill. This was diſtributed among the earl of Sunderland, ſeveral ladies of rank; Mr. Craggs ſenior, ſecretary Craggs, Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the exchequer; and other members of adminiſtration and parliament. The whole ſtrength of the miniſtry was muſtered in defence of the earl of Sunderland, and he was declared innocent; but the nation in general was of another opinion. He reſigned his place of firſt commiſſioner in the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Walpole; but he ſtill retained the confidence of his maſter. The evidence appeared ſo ſtrong againſt Mr. Aiſlabie, that the commons reſolved, he had promoted the deſtructive execution of the South-Sea ſcheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower.

The directors delivered inventories of their eſtates, which were by act of parliament confiſcated, and applied towards making good the damages by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumſtances. The public vengeance being in ſome meaſure appeaſed by the ruin which had fallen on the eſtates and property of the projectors and directors of the South-Sea ſcheme; the parliament entered into means for repairing in ſome meaſure, the loſs which had been ſuſtained by individuals. The capital ſtock of the company in their corporate capacity exceeded by 13,000,000 the ſtock allotted to all the proprietors; 7,000,000 of this ſtock was ordered to be paid to the public, and the remainder was to be divided among all the proprietors.

We have been more particular in the account of this bubble than was conſiſtent with our limits, but we thought it neceſſary for the ſake of ſhewing the ſecret and corrupt influence, which the great commercial companies have over parliament and the adminiſtration; and further, if the national debt created ſo much uneaſineſs when it did not amount to a twelfth part of its preſent ſum, and the temporary failure of the South-Sea company produced ſuch direful effects, what muſt be the conſequence of our preſent encreaſed and encreaſing load of debt?

During the infatuation produced by the South-Sea ſcheme, luxury, profligacy, and vice increaſed to a ſhocking degree. The earl of Nottingham complained in the houſe of peers of the growth of atheiſm, profaneneſs, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for ſuppreſſing blaſphemy and profaneneſs; but, as it contained many clauſes calculated to reſtrain the liberty granted to nonconformiſts, it met with violent oppoſition. The earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not deſire a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion. After a vehement debate, the bill was adjourned to a long day. The king ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, importing that he had agreed to pay a ſubſidy to Sweden, amounting to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The oppoſition took fire at this intimation: lord Moleſworth obſerved, that we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubble of all our allies; that the treaties made

made with Sweden at different times were inconsistent and contradictory; that the late engagements with that crown were contrary to treaties subsisting with Denmark, and the measures formerly concerted with the czar of Muscovy; that, in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the king of Prussia ought to give up Stetin, and the elector of Hanover to restore Bremen and Verden; that, after all, England had no business to interfere with the affairs of the empire. Nothwithstanding these, and other forcible arguments, the Swedish supply was granted. The king closed the session on the tenth day of August, when he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and his indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-Sea scheme. These professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which, from some circumstances, had incurred the suspicion of many people, who asserted, that he was not free from connections with the projectors of that design, and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices.

The parliament was again assembled in October, when great debates arose concerning the navy debt, which increased to one million, seven hundred thousand pounds. It was affirmed, that it could not be for the service of Great Britain, but for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain was undertaken without necessity, or just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any advantage; that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war, even while a British minister and secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid; that the war was neither just nor politic, since it interrupted the most valuable branch of English commerce, at a time when the nation was groaning under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long expensive war: he therefore moved, that the instructions given to sir George Byng, now lord Torrington, should be laid before the house; but this was rejected. The supplies being granted, and the business of the session executed as the court was pleased to dictate, the parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved. Thus was ended a parliament, who, though whigs, had done more injury to the liberties of their country, than any other parliament before or since. They began their career by prosecuting the last ministers of queen Anne, for having terminated an unjust and ruinous war; they usurped the rights of the people, and subverted the constitution, by extending the duration of parliament from three to seven years, without the consent of their constituents, they established a large standing army, and took away the trial by jury, in all cases, for crimes committed in the army and navy; they gave the minister an absolute power over the liberty of the subject, whenever he desired, by suspending the *habeas corpus act*, and thereby furnished profligate ministers with a precedent for more modern times.

A. D. 1722.] It is one misfortune attending monarchy, that on account of real or pretended conspiracies, such governments are often in a state of alarm; and, that the security of the crown may not be endangered, the liberties of the people have been abridged, and many lives have been sacrificed. In the beginning of May it was reported, that the duke of Orleans had given the king information of a new conspiracy, in which many persons of the first distinction were concerned. In consequence of this discovery, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over troops from that kingdom; and the states of Holland were called upon to have ready their stipulated body of troops. In this state of alarm, Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, was seized, with his papers, and committed to the Tower. Soon after the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, Christopher Layer, a young student of the Temple, and several others, were apprehended; the duke of Norfolk was afterwards added to the number of prisoners.

In the election of members for the new parliament the ministry exerted themselves, and

and procured a majority extremely well adapted for the purposes of administration. They were assembled in October, when the king acquainted them with the nature of the conspiracy. A bill was immediately brought into the house of lords for suspending the *habeas corpus* act for a whole year, but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to it. The opposition was so violent in the house of commons, that Mr. Robert Walpole, now prime minister, found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions with a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the pretender on the royal exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. Another bill was passed for raising one hundred thousand pounds from the personal and real estates of all papists, towards defraying the expences of the last rebellion. This bill was considered as a species of persecution, and therefore met with great opposition.

Mr. Layer was brought to trial, in the king's bench, on the twenty-first of November; and being convicted of having inlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to raise a rebellion, he received sentence of death; but was reprieved from time to time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons. We cannot help remarking on the cruelty and injustice of attempting to procure evidence against the other prisoners in this manner; and that it is a strong presumptive argument, this conspiracy was conjured up by the ministry to ruin the tories and strengthen their own power. Might not any man in Layer's situation have been prevailed upon to give a testimony that would ruin the credit, and affect the lives of the most virtuous and innocent characters? However, he either could not, or would not discover any particulars of the conspiracy; he therefore suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was stuck on Temple-bar. Notwithstanding this reservedness, or real ignorance, on the part of Mr. Layer, of any conspiracy, Mr. Pultney chairman of the committee of examination, reported to the house of commons, that from the examination of Layer, and others, it appeared that a detestable and horrid conspiracy had been formed and carried on by persons of distinction and their agents, in conjunction with traitors abroad; for invading these kingdoms with foreign forces; for raising insurrections and rebellion at home; for seizing the Tower; for laying violent hands on his majesty and the prince of Wales, in order to subvert our happy constitution in church and state, by placing a popish pretender on the throne; that it appeared from several letters and circumstances that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester, were concerned in the conspiracy; that their agents were Christopher Layer, John Plunket, George Kelly, and others. It is to be observed, that in this pretended conspiracy, the parties are charged with the absurd conduct of having made application to the Regent of France, though he was well known to be intimately connected with king George. The commons agreed with the report; and bills were passed for inflicting pains and penalties upon Plunket and Kelly, who were to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death.

A. D. 1723.] The bishop of Rochester was a man of respectable talents, but possessed very limited notions of government, and was closely connected with queen Anne's last Tory ministry. When the bill against him was before the commons, he sent a letter signifying his intention to reserve his defence till the bill was sent up to the lords. The bill being sent up from the commons, the bishop was brought, on the ninth of May, before the peers for his trial. The only evidence on which they could ground the colour of proof against him, was certain intercepted letters written in cyphers, which taken simply, contained no treason in them, but which were wrested into treason by a name in the direction of one of them, said to be a cant name of the pretender's; and in this case, the oaths of the clerks at the post-office were taken as a sufficient evidence for their being the hand-writing of Kelly, amanuensis to the bishop; nor were the decypherers,

cypherers, or the clerks of the office, ſuffered to anſwer thoſe queſtions, which the biſhop thought neceſſary for his defence; neither was Kelly, the ſecretary, permitted to be examined. Earl Paulet demonſtrated the danger and injuſtice of ſwerving in ſuch an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The duke of Wharton having ſummed up the depoſitions, and proved their inſufficiency, ſaid he hoped that ſuch a helliſh ſtain would never ſully the luſtre of that houſe, as to condemn a man without evidence. Lord Bathurſt obſerved, that if ſuch extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, nothing remained for him and others to do, but to retire to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families; ſince the leaſt correſpondence might be intercepted and made criminal. He remarked, that cardinal Mazarin boaſted that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumſtances, atteſted by witneſſes, deprive him of his life at pleaſure. Earl Cowper ſaid, that the known rules of evidence, as eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, were the birthright of every ſubject, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved; that the admitting the uncertain evidence of the clerks of the poſt-office, was a very dangerous precedent; that in former times, it was thought very grievous, that in capital caſes a man ſhould be affected by ſimilitude of hands; but here the caſe is much worſe, ſince it is allowed the clerks ſhould carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds; and added that ſuch proceedings were like Syſyphus's ſtone, frequently rolled back on thoſe who were the promoters of them. The other party were not ſo ſolicitous about anſwering reaſons, as to put the queſtion. All arguments in behalf of the biſhop were vain, the matter had been fixed in the cabinet, and the bill of pains paſſed by a majority of forty-five. By this act the biſhop was deprived of all offices and dignities, baniſhed the realm, and ſubjected to the pains of death if he ſhould return, as were all who ſhould correſpond with him. Notwithſtanding the aſſertions in the report of the committee of the houſe of commons, no evidence whatever appeared of the guilt of the other lords and gentlemen, and they were admitted to bail. The biſhop of Rocheſter was ſent out of the kingdom; and lord Bolingbroke, who had been attainted with the duke of Ormond and others, in the beginning of this reign, received a pardon, and returned to England.

A. D. 1724.] The parliament was aſſembled in January, when they readily granted all the ſupplies that were demanded, voted ten thouſand ſeamen, and the majority, though not without violent oppoſition, agreed to maintain four thouſand additional troops, which had been raiſed in the preceding year; ſo that the ſtanding army was now augmented to eighteen thouſand, two hundred, and ſixty effective men. Mr. Shippen, a man juſtly celebrated for his ſteady oppoſition to all unconſtitutional and ruinous meaſures, proved by the ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad, that the addition was unneceſſary, and therefore was to be avoided, as a dangerous innovation, and unneceſſary expence. After a prorogation, the parliament was reaſſembled in November, chiefly for the purpoſe of obtaining the ſupplies, which were readily granted without heſitation; and the ſame army and navy eſtabliſhments were continued. In this ſeſſion, the earl of Macclesfield, lord high chancellor, was impeached at the bar of the upper houſe, and convicted of certain fraudulent practices: for which he was fined in thirty thouſand pounds. This nobleman by conniving at certain venal practices touching the ſale of places; and the money of ſuitors depoſited with the maſters in chancery, had incurred ſuch a load of popular odium, that in the beginning of January he was deprived of the great ſeal. Sir Peter King, now created baron of Oakham, ſucceeded him in the office of chancellor.

A. D. 1725.] The courts of Vienna and Madrid negociated a treaty in April, on the baſis of the treaties of Utrecht and London, by which the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies; and Philip renounced all pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, which had been

adjudged to the emperor, His catholic majeſty guaranteed the Oſtend Eaſt-India company, and engaged to pay a ſubſidy to the emperor. The imperial forces were now greatly augmented, and as the emperor and king of England had not been upon good terms for ſome time, George took the alarm. He apprehended an attack on his German dominions, and projected a defenſive treaty with France and Pruſſia in September, limited to the term of fifteen years, and which contained a mutual guarantee of all their poſſeſſions. The king having concluded this treaty at Hanover, returned to England.

A. D. 1726.] The parliament was opened on the twentieth day of January, when the king gave them to underſtand that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their proteſtant brethren abroad; and the negociation and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeemed to lay the foundation for new diſturbances, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral branches of trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable: the enemies of his government, he added, were very buſy in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeemed moſt to favour their purpoſe, in promoting the cauſe of the pretender. It may be ſeen at firſt view, that the intereſts of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to ſecure the approbation of Great-Britain, upon which the ſupport of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged neceſſary to inſert the articles relating to commerce, and the proteſtant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage of England. The miniſtry rang the changes on a few words that have been repeated ever ſince like cabaliſtic ſounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a dangerous connexion with the affairs of the continent. They harrangued on the machinations of the diſaffected, the deſigns of a popiſh pretender, the proteſtant intereſt, and the balance of power, until theſe expreſſions became terms of ridicule. The people were told, that excluſive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, the emperor and the king of Spain had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialiſts ſhould join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port Mahon by force, if the king of England ſhould refuſe to return them amicably, according to a promiſe he had made; and that means ſhould be taken to place the pretender on the Britiſh throne. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover came under conſideration, Mr. Shippen, the honeſt and determined oppoſer of all continental connexions, in vain urged that the Hanover treaty would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to the act of ſettlement. Theſe arguments had loſt all weight; and ſo venal were the commons, that in defiance of that proviſion in the act, which was ſo eſſential to the peace and happineſs of their country, they voted an addreſs to the king, approving the alliances he had concluded at Hanover, and promiſed to ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacks that ſhould be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain. This flattering addreſs, encouraged the king to demand an extraordinary ſupply, which was granted, with every thing elſe the court thought proper to aſk. The parliament was then prorogued.

The malt tax had been paſſed ſome years before, when the Scottiſh members obſerved, that their conſtituents were ſo poor, they could not bear an equal tax with England; and the miniſters promiſed it ſhould not be rigorouſly exacted. To this it was objected, that it would be a bold aſſumption in miniſters to diſpenſe with poſitive laws; and that it would be much better to tax Scotland no higher than it could bear. The bill, however, paſſed; but the tax was found ſo grievous, that the people refuſed to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of that kingdom. At Glaſgow, the populace rifled the houſe of their repreſentative, who had voted for the bill, and maltreated ſome exciſemen who attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland,

The Duke of Queensberry presenting
the ACT of UNION *to*
Queen Anne.

Scotland, ſent captain Buſhel, with two companies of ſoldiers, to quell the tumult. He drew up his men in the ſtreet, where they were pelted by the multitude, which he endeavoured to diſperſe by firing among them without ſhot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load with ball, and when the magiſtrates were advancing towards him in a body, to aſſiſt him by their advice and influence, he commanded the ſoldiers to fire four different ways, without the ſanction of the civil magiſtrate. Above twenty perſons were killed or wounded; and the people ſeeing ſo many victims fall, were exaſperated beyond all ſenſe of danger; they procured arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Buſhel retreated to Dumharton, and was purſued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this tranſaction, aſſembled a body of forces, and took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow. The magiſtrates were apprehended and conveyed priſoners to Edinburgh, where the lords juſticiary, having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent, and they were diſcharged. Buſhel was tried for murder, convicted, and condemned; but inſtead of undergoing the puniſhment of the law, he was pardoned and promoted. The malt tax was ſo ſenſibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of royal burghs preſented a remonſtrance againſt it, as a grievous burden which their country could not bear: petitions to the ſame purpoſe were delivered to the commons from different ſhires; but without effect. Thus a people are to be goaded with taxes, and murdered by military aſſaſſins, who, inſtead of receiving the puniſhment due to their crimes, are honoured and rewarded!

A ſtrong fleet was ſent to the Baltic, under ſir Charles, to watch the conduct of the Ruſſians. Two other ſquadrons had been equipped for the ſouth. One, under ſir John Jennings, with a body of troops on board, cruiſed off the coaſt of Spain, ſo as to alarm that country with apprehenſions of an invaſion. Yet he committed no act of hoſtility; and was treated with great civility by the governor of Cadiz, who ſupplied him with proviſions. Admiral Hoſier, with the other ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of the line, proceeded to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, with orders to intercept the galleons, but the Spaniards being apprized of his deſign, the treaſure, amounting to ſix millions ſterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama. In return, the Spaniards ſeized the Engliſh South-Sea ſhip at la Vera Cruz, together with all the veſſels and effects belonging to the company. Hoſier in vain demanded reſtitution; he took ſome Spaniſh veſſels by way of repriſal, and continued cruiſing in thoſe ſeas until the greater part of his men periſhed by diſeaſe, and his ſhips were totally ruined by the worms. The admiral was ſo deeply affected by the diſaſters attending this expedition, that he died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly complained at the number of lives which were thrown away, and the quantity of money expended without the leaſt advantage to the nation. It was a mean, piratical attempt to rob the court of Spain of its expected treaſure, even while a peace ſubſiſted between the two nations.

A. D. 1727.] The king opened the parliament with an elaborate ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the ſecret offenſive alliances between the emperor and king of Spain, had laid the foundation of a formidable power; that they were levelled at the intereſts and privileges of the Engliſh nation, which muſt either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped exerciſe of commerce, or reſolve vigorouſly to defend her undoubted rights againſt thoſe reciprocal engagements. He aſſured them, that one of thoſe ſecret articles, was the placing the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain; and another the conqueſt of Gibraltar and Port Mahon (i. e. the iſland of Minorca). He affirmed, that theſe combinations extended themſelves into Ruſſia. He told them, that the king of Spain had ordered his miniſter reſiding in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial little ſhort of a declaration, in which he inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar. He exhorted the

commons

commons to grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain. As uſual, he expatiated on thoſe common place ſubjects the balance of power, the ſecurity of the Britiſh commerce, the deſigns of a popiſh pretender, the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and property of a free people.

In the debates on the addreſs, in the upper houſe, lord Bathurſt ſaid, he could not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with Spain; that the duke de Ripperda, the Spaniſh prime miniſter, was known to be a man of a violent temper, and he might have dropped ſome indiſcreet expreſſion, but he had been ſolemnly diſavowed by his catholic majeſty; that in the memorial left by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he imputed the violent difference between the two crowns to the miniſters of England; and mentioned a poſitive promiſe made by the king of Great-Britain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar. That methods of accommodation might be tried before the nation engaged in a war; that loaded as the nation was with a debt of fifty millions, the people would be ſoon exhauſted by raiſing the annual ſums requiſite to carry on the war. He obſerved, that in looking over the papers laid before the houſe, mention was made of great ſums diſtributed in divers places, to bring certain meaſures to bear. He declared, that for his own part he had touched neither Spaniſh nor Engliſh gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman: and ſo long as he had the honour to ſit in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country. He therefore conjured their lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, as nothing could be gained by the war, ſhould it prove ſucceſsful, and every thing would be loſt ſhould it be otherwiſe. Lord Townſend, in reply, affirmed, that one of the ſecret articles between the emperor and king of Spain, was in favour of the pretender, though the ſafety of the ſtate would not permit him to lay theſe advices before parliament; and denied that any promiſe had been made to reſtore Gibraltar. The addreſs, approving of his majeſty's meaſures, was at length carried, after much altercation; but a proteſt was entered againſt it by ſeventeen lords. In the houſe of commons, debates of the ſame nature aroſe, where Mr. Walpole acknowledged that a promiſe had been made to reſtore Gibraltar, which had been denied by lord Townſend in the houſe of lords. A motion was made for laying theſe engagements before the houſe; another member moved for the memorial preſented to the king of Sweden, and for the ſecret offenſive articles between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; a third motion was made, to addreſs the king for ſuch memorials and repreſentations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark as had induced his majeſty to ſend a fleet into the Baltic laſt year. In the account of the money granted for the ſervice of the preceding year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds charged in general terms for other expences, over and above ſuch as were ſpecified. Mr. Pultney moved for an addreſs to account for this ſum; but each of theſe motions were rejected, and the majority concurred in an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for the great wiſdom of his conduct; they expreſſed the moſt implicit confidence in his goodneſs and diſcretion; and promiſed to ſupport him in all ſuch further meaſures, as he ſhould find neceſſary and expedient.

The king's ſpeech gave ſuch offence to the court of Vienna, that Palms, the imperial reſident at London, was ordered to preſent a warm memorial to his majeſty, and afterwards to publiſh it to the nation. In this remonſtrance, he charged the king with having aſſerted as undoubted facts, ſeveral things which were either miſrepreſented or void of foundation. He affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance; that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the lawful advantages of the ſubjects of both parties, agreeable to the law of nations; and in no reſpect prejudicial to England. He declared, that there was no offenſive alliance concluded between the two crowns; that the ſuppoſed article relating to the pretender, was an abſolute falſehood; that the inſinuation with

with reſpect to Gibraltar was equally untrue; his maſter having entered into no engagements but ſuch as were ſpecified in the treaty communicated to his Britannic majeſty; he ſaid, however, the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the Weſt-Indies and elſewhere, againſt the king of Spain, ſeemed to juſtify that prince's undertaking the ſiege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, ſuitable reparation for the injury his honour had ſuſtained by ſuch calumnious imputations. The parliament, without taking the leaſt trouble to examine into the truth of what the memorial advanced, preſented another addreſs to the throne, expreſſive of their indignation at the inſolence of the memorial; and Mr. Palms was ordered to quit the kingdom. Theſe mutual affronts were followed with virulent declarations, preſented by the miniſters of the emperor and the king of England, at the diet of Ratiſbon.

The ſtates of Holland had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, but they now ſtood aloof; and the king of Pruſſia, though he had married George's daughter, deſerted his intereſt. To ſecure himſelf againſt the impending ſtorm, George entered into more ſtrict engagements with the French king; and agreed to pay fifty thouſand pounds for three years to the king of Sweden, in conſideration of his holding ten thouſand troops in readineſs for the occaſions of the alliance. A new treaty was concluded with the king of Denmark, who promiſed to furniſh a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a ſubſidy from France. His Britannic majeſty engaged to furniſh twenty-four thouſand men, and a ſtrong fleet to be ſent to the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who undertook to furniſh eight thouſand infantry and four thouſand horſe, in conſideration of ſeventy-four thouſand pounds, to be paid by Great-Britain immediately, and fifty thouſand pounds more in caſe the troops ſhould be required, beſides their pay and ſubſiſtence. Such was the fruit of all the alliances, ſo induſtriouſly planted ſince the acceſſion of George to the Britiſh throne. For the ſecurity of his German dominions, he had recourſe to the king of France, who was a precarious ally; to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. But none of theſe powers would contribute their aſſiſtance without exorbitant ſubſidies; the king had engaged them in a war, and England muſt pay for it. Is there any Briton ſo weak as to think, or ſo fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a Britiſh quarrel?

To ſupport thoſe expenſive treaties, Mr. Scroope, ſecretary of the treaſury, moved in the houſe of commons, that in the malt-tax-bill they ſhould inſert a clauſe of appropriation, empowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been, or ſhould be made before the twenty-fifth of September, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade, and reſtoring the peace of Europe. To little purpoſe did the oppoſition urge, that this method of aſking and granting ſupplies was unparliamentary; that ſuch a clauſe would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wiſdom of parliament had thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt miſapplication or fraud; that great ſums had already been granted; that ſuch unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government; that ſuch confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil miniſters, be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences. The motion was carried, the clauſe added, and the bill paſſed through the other houſe without amendment. Notwithſtanding this vote of credit, they granted an additional ſupply to the king, of three hundred, and ſeventy thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by loans on exchequer bills, which were made chargeable on the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm. This was vigorouſly oppoſed, but without effect, as a dangerous deviation from ſeveral acts of parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the diſcharge of the national debt, or to the increaſe of the ſinking fund.

While the parliament was thus beggaring the nation, and waſting every means left to recover the exhauſted finances and independence of the people, hoſtilities were commenced. The ſiege of Gibraltar was begun on the ele-

venth of February by the Spaniards; but the garriſon was well provided for defence, and a reinforcement was ſent from England under convoy of a fleet commanded by ſir Charles Wager. Another fleet was ſent to the Baltic, under ſir John Norris; however, the czarina dying, he had no occaſion to commit hoſtilities, as the Ruſſian armament was laid aſide. But, on the eve of a war which threatened to embroil all Europe for years, a ſudden ſtop was put to the farther effuſion of human blood, by the mediation of the king of France, which was conducted by the cardinal Richlieu, his ambaſſador at Vienna. Twelve preliminary articles were at length agreed upon by all parties, which were ſigned in May at Paris by the miniſters of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna by the Imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. Theſe articles imported:---That hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the charter of the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; and that a congreſs ſhould in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjuſting all differences, and conſolidating the peace of Europe. The congreſs was afterwards held at Seville, where the treaty was finally concluded.

King George did not live either to enjoy or interrupt the peace. He had gone over to the continent to viſit Hanover, but was ſuddenly ſeized in his journey with a paralytic diſorder, became inſenſible, and expired at Oſnaburgh on the eleventh of July, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his anceſtors. He married the princeſs Sophia, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, by whom he had king George II. and a daughter, married to Frederic II. king of Pruſſia.

George I. was plain and ſimple in his perſon and addreſs; grave and ſerious in his deportment, though eaſy and familiar in his converſation: raiſed from a petty German principality to the head of a powerful kingdom; he aſſumed to be the dictator of Europe, and was almoſt perpetually entangled in war, or expenſive negociations, for the abſurd purpoſe of ſettling the balance of power. Bremen and Verden were purchaſed with the ſweat of the brow of the Britiſh ſubject; and though the nation was fifty millions in debt, the wretched people were regarded in no other light by their venal repreſentatives, than as the inſtruments to raiſe money for the government; and their lives, as well as their treaſure, were ſacrificed to German intrigues. Notwithſtanding the money was granted by parliament as readily as it was aſked, that was not enough to pleaſe a German prince, who had governed his own dominions with the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm; and where, though the revenues were comparatively ſmall, the miſerable ſlaves were borne down by oppreſſive taxes. Such were the prejudices of this German elector, that, we are told by lord Cheſterfield, George was exceedingly hurt, even with the weak oppoſition he met with from parliament, on account of ſubſidies; and complained to his friends, that he was come over to England to be a begging king; that is, that he could not command without aſking, and iſſue mandates to raiſe arbitrary taxes by his own ROYAL AUTHORITY.

CHAPTER IV.

Acceſſion of George II.---Settlement of the Civil Liſt---New Parliament---Diſputes concerning the National Debt---Exciſe propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole---Playhouſe Bill---Diſpute with Spain---Porto Bello taken---England again involved in Continental Diſputes---Sir Robert Walpole obliged to reſign, and is created Earl of Orford---War with France---Pretender lands in Scotland---Peace, and Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle---Style altered---Naturalization of the Jews---Jew-bill repealed---War with France---Tranſactions in America---Tranſactions in the Eaſt-Indies---Taking Quebec---Death and Character of the King.

A. D. 1727. GEORGE II. aſcended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age, with the ſame ſtrong partiality for his continental dominions as his father. The nation had

had at this time great reaſon to wiſh for a change of meaſures; it was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and negociations, and engaged in pecuniary ſubſidies to many powers on the continent, with whom its real intereſts could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been laviſhed upon theſe foreign connexions, unneceſſary wars, and fruitleſs expeditions. Notwithſtanding the boaſted management and œconomy of miniſters; notwithſtanding the ſinking fund, which was intended as a growing treaſure ſacred to the diſcharge of national incumbrances; the public debt was now increaſed to fifty millions, two hundred ſixty-one thouſand, two hundred and ſeven pounds. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the conſtitution, by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent ſuſpenſions of the *habeas corpus act* upon frivolous occaſions; by repealing clauſes in the act of ſettlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a ſtanding army; and, above all, by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of corruption, which at all times would ſecure a majority in parliament. The liberties of the nation had formerly been endangered by the prerogative, but this was now ſo far reſtrained, that it could no longer be employed with ſafety for the ſame oppreſſive purpoſes; and the miniſters had recourſe to a more effectual method. The vice, luxury, and proſtitution of the age, the almoſt total extinction of ſentiment, honour, and public ſpirit, had prepared the minds of men for corruption and ſlavery. The means were in the hands of the miniſtry; they had the public treaſure at their devotion, and this was ſquandered on an infamous herd of placemen and penſioners: they employed a hoſt of the moſt abandoned emiſſaries, to vindicate and ſupport the worſt meaſures, in the face of truth, common ſenſe, and common honeſty; and every man who preſumed to queſtion the propriety of their conduct, was ſtigmatized as an enemy to the government, and a Jacobite.

At this period the affairs of government were chiefly conducted by lord Townſhend, who was reputed to underſtand well the intereſts of the different ſtates of Europe, and the duke of Newcaſtle, a nobleman of extenſive connections, but rather of inferior abilities; but he who ſhortly after engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of power was ſir Robert Walpole, who had early ſhewn his attachment to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion. This gentleman had raiſed himſelf from low beginnings to the head of the treaſury. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and underſtood the whole myſtery of ſtock-jobbing; a ſpecies of knowledge which, producing a connection between him and the money-corporations, ſerved to increaſe his importance. In parliament his diſcourſe was fluent, but without dignity. He poſſeſſed an inſenſibility to reproach, and had a diſpaſſionate manner of reaſoning, which, from its apparent want of art, was calculated to have the effect of convincing his hearers. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by the ſordid thirſt of lucre; he converted the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage, and on that alone he founded the whole ſuperſtructure of his adminiſtration.

When the death of the late king was known, the parliament aſſembled, purſuant to an act which had been made for that purpoſe, but was prorogued to the twenty-ſeventh of July; when the king, in his ſpeech, profeſſed a fixed reſolution to merit the affections of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious rights: he promiſed to leſſen the public expence, as ſoon as the circumſtances of affairs would permit: he obſerved, that the greateſt part of the civil-liſt revenue was now determined, and that it would be neceſſary to make a new proviſion for himſelf and family. If the patriotic party had formed any hope, on the king's aſſurances, that a plan of œconomy adequate to public exigencies was intended to be put in execution, great muſt be their diſappointment, when Mr. Walpole obſerved, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which had been ſettled on the late king, had fallen ſhort every year, and that his preſent majeſty's expences were likely to increaſe: he therefore moved, that the entire revenues of the civil liſt, which produced eight hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be ſettled on

his

his majeſty for life. Mr. Shippen, who during the late reign had oppoſed, with great ſtrength of argument and energy of expreſſion, every miniſterial meaſure which he conceived to be contrary to the public welfare, was now warmed into indignation: a compliance with the motion, he obſerved, would be inconſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in the parliament, as the repreſentatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in the exerciſe of the right of giving away the public money. The ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, he ſaid, was not obtained for his late majeſty without a long and ſolemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue. It was to be hoped, that many perſonal, many particular expences in the late reign, eſpecially thoſe for frequent journies to Hanover, would be diſcontinued and entirely ceaſe. He farther obſerved, that the civil liſt branches in queen Anne's reign did not often exceed the ſum of five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, nevertheleſs ſhe called upon her parliaments but once in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government, and theſe were occaſioned by the unparalleled inſtances of her generoſity. She gave the firſt fruits and tenths, amounting to nineteen thouſand pounds a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy; ſhe beſtowed five thouſand pounds per annum out of the poſt office on the duke of Marlborough; ſhe ſuffered ſeven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the ſame office for the ſervice of the public; ſhe expended ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds in building the caſtle of Blenheim; ſhe allowed four thouſand pounds annually to prince Charles of Denmark; ſhe ſuſtained great loſſes by the tin contract; ſhe ſupported the poor Palatines (proteſtants who had fled to England from perſecution); ſhe exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty, and immediately before her death would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thouſand, nine hundred and forty pounds. No reply was made to Mr. Shippen's ſpeech, nor to his propoſal, that inſtead of granting an addition to the civil liſt, they ſhould reſtrict that revenue to the yearly ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. The motion of Mr. Walpole was agreed to by a large majority; and, on a meſſage from his majeſty, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, together with the palace of Somerſet-houſe and Richmond old park, were ſettled on her majeſty, queen Caroline, by way of jointure in caſe ſhe ſurvived the king. The parliament was ſoon after diſſolved, and a new one called, when the miniſter ſecured a majority.

A. D. 1728.] At this period all Europe was freed from the calamities of war, and the peace of Great Britain neither ſuffered, nor was likely to ſuffer any interruption: yet this circumſtance was ſo far from producing any alleviation to the oppreſſive burthens ſhe had, with ſo much patience and long-ſuffering, ſuſtained, that the new parliament, which met on the twenty-third of January, on the pretence of ſome difficulties which had retarded the execution of the preliminaries of peace, voted twenty-two thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garriſons, and fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year; granted two hundred and thirty thouſand, nine hundred and and twenty-three pounds for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops; a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds to the king of Sweden, and half that ſum to the duke of Wolfenbuttle. The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the bank one million, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds: for the payment of this loan, annuities were granted to the amount of ſeventy thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by duties on coals imported into the city of London. A petition was preſented by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, ſetting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm imported into London affected the trade of that city only; and that the inequality of the burthen was a great diſcouragement to their manufactures. The petition was rejected, and the tax impoſed. The houſe having addreſſed the king for a particular account of the diſtribution of two hundred and

and fifty-thouſand pounds, ſaid to have been iſſued for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preſerving and reſtoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their requeſt, but ſignified that part of the money had been diſburſed by his late majeſty, and the reſt by himſelf, for carrying on the ſame ſervices, which required ſecrecy. Mr. W. Pultney reprobated ſuch a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments inſignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to ſcreen corrupt and rapacious miniſters. In conſequence of a meſſage from his majeſty, another vote of credit was granted, to enable him to ſecure the commerce, and preſerve the peace of the kingdom. The ſupplies having been all granted according to deſire, the parliament was prorogued.

A. D. 1729.] The parliament, which was reaſſembled in January, ſeemed as if they met only for the purpoſe of raiſing money. Without any decent pretext, they continued to load the people with the ſame oppreſſive burdens which they had borne during the heat of the war. The ſubſidies to Sweden, Heſſe-Caſſel, and Wolfenbuttle, were continued; while the land and ſea forces were kept up for the purpoſe of creating a number of dependents. Notwithſtanding the large addition which had been made to the civil liſt, it was moved, that the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds be granted to his majeſty on account of deficiencies. Mr. Pultney, and other members, expreſſed their ſurpriſe at this extraordinary demand, as it appeared from the examination of papers in the former ſeſſions, that the revenues of the civil liſt produced yearly much more than eight hundred thouſand pounds, the ſum for which they were given; and Mr. Pultney moved, that the accounts ſhould be laid before a ſelect committee, to inveſtigate the truth. This was oppoſed by the miniſters; and the majority voted for the ſum demanded.

The tranquillity of the nation was again likely to be interrupted by a diſpute with the Spaniards; the extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealouſy and cruelty of that nation, were every day productive of mutual encroachments and acts of violence. The people of our Weſt-India iſlands had long carried on an illicit trade with the ſubjects of Spain upon the continent; but when detected were rigorouſly puniſhed, and their cargoes confiſcated to the crown. In this temerity of adventure on one hand, and the vigilance of purſuit and puniſhment on the other, it muſt frequently have happened, that the innocent ſuffered with the guilty; and many complaints were made, that the Engliſh merchants were plundered by the Spaniſh king's veſſels upon the coaſts of South America. Theſe complaints becoming more loud and general, the merchants remonſtrated by petition to the houſe of commons, which accordingly entered into a deliberation on the ſubject. They examined ſeveral perſons who had been ſeized by the Spaniards and treated with great cruelty. One man, the maſter of a trading veſſel, had been uſed in the moſt ſhocking manner: beſides ſtripping and plundering him, the captain of a Spaniſh guarda-coſta, cut off his ears. This act of barbarity, excited univerſal indignation; and the commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to uſe his endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations, for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. His majeſty aſſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people, in an affair of ſuch importance. The king having reſolved to viſit his electoral dominions, prorogued the parliament, and appointed the queen regent.

A. D. 1730.] The parliament was again aſſembled in January, when the king gave them to underſtand, that the peace of Europe was now eſtabliſhed by the treaty of Seville; and obſerved, that there would be a conſiderable ſaving in the expence of the current year. Great objections were made to ſeveral parts of the treaty in the houſe of lords. The oppoſition members complained that it was a great hardſhip upon the Engliſh merchants to be obliged to make proof of their loſſes,

by the late depredations, at the court of Spain; and obſerved, that England having guaranteed, not only to Don Carlos, infant of Spain, but to all his ſucceſſors, the poſſeſſion of the duchies of Tuſcany and Parma, was a ſtipulation which in all probability would involve Great Britain in endleſs quarrels and diſputes, about a country with which they had no concern. Notwithſtanding theſe and many other objections, the majority agreed to a vote of entire approbation.

When the reduction of the army came under conſideration in the houſe of commons, Henry Pelham, ſecretary of war, moved that the ſtanding force for the enſuing year ſhould be fixed at ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred effective men. Mr. Pultney inſiſted upon its being reduced to twelve. That intrepid patriot, Mr. Shippen, obſerved, that the nation could have no occaſion for all the troops that were demanded, conſidering the glorious ſcene of affairs that was now opened to all Europe: that the motion tended directly towards eſtabliſhing an army in Great Britain, which, he hoped, would never be ſo far Germanized, as tamely to ſubmit to a military government. "Force and violence, (ſaid he,) are the reſort of uſurpers and tyrants only; becauſe they are, with good reaſon, diſtruſtful of the people whom they oppreſs; and becauſe they have no other ſecurity for their unlawful and unnatural dominion, than what depends on the ſtrength of their armies." The motion, however, paſſed in the affirmative. The ſubſidies were continued to the German princes as before, in ſpite of all that could be ſaid againſt theſe incumbrances. In this ſeſſion, one million of the ſurpluſſes ariſing from the ſinking fund, was appropriated towards the diſcharge of the national debt; and by another act, the duties on ſalt were extinguiſhed, by which the people were eaſed of a very heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but alſo from the ſalaries of a great number of officers employed to collect it. Parliamentary corruption had grown to ſuch an enormous height, by the augmentation of that vile herd of placemen and penſioners, who ſupported every meaſure of the miniſtry, that the country-party thought it neceſſary to bring in a bill, by which every member was compelled to take an oath, that he did not directly, or indirectly, enjoy any place of profit, or penſion, during pleaſure, or for any number of years, from the crown, and that he would not accept of any during his being a member of parliament. The miniſter ſuffered this bill to paſs the commons, as he knew it would ſtick in the upper houſe, where it was rejected, but not without much oppoſition, and a proteſt by twenty-ſix peers againſt the rejection.

A bill was brought into the houſe to prevent any ſubject of Great Britain from advancing ſums of money to foreign princes or ſtates; and paſſed into a law, notwithſtanding many arguments againſt it, from gentlemen, well acquainted with the commercial intereſts of the country. The term of the excluſive trade granted to the Eaſt-India company, drawing towards a period, many conſiderable merchants and others, made application for being incorporated and veſted with the privilege of trading to thoſe countries, propoſing to lay that branch of trade open to all the ſubjects of Great Britain, on certain conditions. In conſideration of an act of parliament for this purpoſe, they offered to advance three millions, two hundred thouſand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the preſent Eaſt-India company. This propoſal was rejected; and the excluſive privilege veſted in the company, was, by act of parliament, protracted to the year 1766, on condition that they ſhould pay into the exchequer the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, towards the ſupplies of the year, without intereſt, or addition to their capital ſtock: that the annuity, or yearly fund of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, payable to them from the public, ſhould be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand: that after the year 1766, their right to the excluſive trade ſhall be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years notice, and repayment of the capital. On the fifteenth of May, the king cloſed the ſeſſion, when he expreſſed his joy, that notwithſtanding all the clamours which were raiſed, the parliament had approved of all thoſe matters which fell under

under their conſideration; a circumſtance which could not fail to inſpire all mankind with a juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries, who, by ſcandalous libels, endeavoured to alienate the affections of his people, to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament.

While the king and *his* parliament were amuſing themſelves with pretty ſpeeches and addreſſes one to the other, while the conſtitution was daily undermined, while the miniſters were enriching themſelves, and ſeemed to be wholly engroſſed by public plunder, the internal police of the nation was entirely neglected. The peculiar depravity of the times was viſible, even in the conduct of thieves and robbers, who were now become more deſperate and ſavage than ever they had appeared ſince mankind were civilized. In the exerciſe of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and murdered, the unhappy ſufferers, through a wantonneſs of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding ſums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houſes to aſhes; and the houſe of a merchant in Briſtol, who had refuſed to comply with their demand, was burned. The ſame ſpecies of villainy was practiced in different parts of the kingdom, ſo that the government was at laſt obliged to interpoſe, and offered a reward for diſcovering the ruffians concerned in ſuch execrable deſigns. This year was alſo memorable for ſeven chiefs of the Cherokees, a nation of Indians bordering on South Carolina, being brought to England and introduced to the king; to whom, in the name of their countrymen, they acknowledged ſubjection; they agreed to articles of friendſhip and commerce; and having received ſuitable preſents, were re-conveyed to their own country. A ſurpriſing revolution was effected at Conſtantinople, in September, without bloodſhed or confuſion. Some Janiſaries diſplayed a flag in the ſtreets, exclaiming that all true Muſſelmen ought to follow them, and aſſiſt in reforming the government. Their number ſoon increaſed to an hundred thouſand men, and proceeding to the ſeraglio, demanded the grand vizier, the kiaja, and capitain pacha. Theſe miniſters were immediately ſtrangled, and their bodies being delivered to the inſurgents, were dragged through the ſtreets, and afterwards thrown to the dogs. Achmet, the grand Signior, was depoſed, and taken to the ſame priſon where his nephew Machmut had been confined twenty-ſeven years, and this laſt was raiſed to the throne.

A. D. 1731.] The ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the twenty-firſt day of January, when the king obſerved, that as the tranſaction depending in the different courts of Europe, were upon the point of being determined the event of peace or war might be very much effected by their firſt reſolutions; he ſaid, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto ſupported him and his engagements, muſt be of the greateſt weight, both with regard to his allies, and thoſe who were diſpoſed, by an accommodation, to prevent the conſequences of a general rupture. The former ſcene was repeated. Both houſes in their addreſſes, promiſed to ſupport his majeſty in all his engagements. Yet the oppoſition members demonſtrated the abſurdity of promiſing to fulfil engagements, before they could poſſibly know whether or not they were for the advantage of Great-Britain. Another bill to prevent placemen and penſioners from holding ſeats in parliament paſſed the commons, but was again rejected by the peers, notwithſtanding the former rejection had produced great diſcontent in the nation. Subſidies were ſtill continued to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle; and every article of expence was granted according to the eſtimates given in for the expence of the enſuing year.

Every law relating to public or private property, and in particular penal ſtatutes, ough to be rendered ſo clear and plain, and promulged in ſuch a manner to the public, as to give full information of its nature and contents to every citizen. Ignorance of laws, if not wilful, is a juſt excuſe for their tranſgreſſion; and if the care of the government does not extend to the proper education of the ſubject,

and

and to their proper information, on the nature of moral turpitude and legal crimes, and to the encouragement of virtue; with what appearance of juſtice can they puniſh delinquency? But if on the contrary, the citizens, by the oppreſſion of heavy taxes are rendered incapable by the utmoſt exertion of honeſt induſtry, of bringing up or providing for a numerous family;---if every encouragement is given to licentiouſneſs, for the purpoſe of amuſing and debaſing the minds of the people, or for raiſing a revenue on their vices;---is puniſhment in this caſe better than legal murder. Thoſe laws which were judged neceſſary to reſtrain the growing vices of a corrupt commercial ſtate, were drawn up with a negligence which totally defeated all the juſt ends of coercion: every new ſtatute was followed by another, to clear up its obſcurities and correct its deficiencies; and as the drawing up of theſe ſtatutes was committed to the care of lawyers, without the attentive inſpection and reviſal of the commons; the ample volume of the law, inſtead of containing perſpicuous and exact rules for the conduct of ſociety, leaves thoſe who are the moſt intereſted in the dark, whilſt it continues an inexhauſtible ſource to ſupply food for the chicanery of its practitioners, vexatious proſecutions of the litigious, and juſtice is delayed or perverted to the ruin of thouſands. But the multiplicity and obſcurity of our ſtatutes were not the only evils; at this time all legal proceedings were conducted in the Latin tongue.

If the ſtatutes were abridged and ſimplified, ſo as to be reduced within the comprehenſion of an ordinary capacity, and the proceedings of the courts rendered leſs complex and intricate; if, in ſhort, our laws were adapted, as they ſhould be, to promote the purpoſes of general juſtice, many litigations would be prevented, or when they became unavoidable, might be conducted, in ſimple caſes, by the parties themſelves; and, in the more intricate, where an attorney and council are neceſſary, without that ruinous expence and delay of which there has been ſuch long and juſt complaint: this would relieve the people from a ſet of harpies who have preyed upon their vitals; but as the profeſſion of the law has been conſidered as an excellent proviſion for the younger ſons of noblemen and great commoners, the parliament have never been willing to introduce ſuch changes as would affect their intereſt, however much it might be for the general good. While the parliament were thus careleſs of all the juſt ends for which they were inſtituted, and inſtead of making good and wholeſome laws for the regulation of ſociety, and the protection of the liberty and property of the people, they were wholly engaged in raiſing money from the public, in order to exact a large ſhare of the dividend: it is therefore no wonder that they ſhould reſiſt the law to prevent penſioners and placemen from ſitting in the houſe of commons, or any other law which would put an end to parliamentary corruption; neither is it ſurpriſing that they ſhould not endeavour to improve the laws of their country in the moſt ſimple and effectual manner, as the general depravity was more favourable to the ſyſtem of corruption, the increaſe of the revenues, and a baſe ſubmiſſion to every arbitrary and unconſtitutional meaſure, The proceedings in the different courts being all in Latin, or rather an unintelligible jargon of it, was felt by the people as a very great hardſhip; as by it great delays were occaſioned to juſtice, and an opportunity was furniſhed for many frauds. Two petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons for changing this practice; and a bill was brought in, enacting, that all proceſſes and pleadings in law ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language. Though one would imagine, that nothing could be advanced againſt ſuch a regulation, the bill met with warm oppoſition, on pretence that it would render uſeleſs the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confuſion and delay of juſtice, by altering the eſtabliſhed forms and methods of pleading. The bill, however, paſſed, and received the royal aſſent.

The duke of Parma having died in the beginning of the year, a new treaty was concluded between the courts of London and Vienna, by which the emperor agreed that the king of Spain might take poſſeſſion of that place

place for his ſon, don Carlos. Accordingly ſir Charles Wager ſailed from Spithead with a ſtrong ſquadron to Barcelona, where he joined the Spaniſh fleet, and convoyed the infant of Spain to his new dominions. By this ſettlement, in which England had no intereſt, ſhe was delivered from the proſpect of another calamitous war.

A. D. 1732.] The parliament was again aſſembled, and again voted an addreſs to ſupport his majeſty in all his engagements, without knowing what they might be. The ſupplies were granted according to deſire, and the ſame military eſtabliſhment continued as in the preceding year. Many arguments were urged, by the country party, againſt implicit confidence in the crown, the profuſe waſte of public money, and a large ſtanding army in the time of profound peace, but to no purpoſe, every meaſure of the court was carried by a venal majority. When the military eſtabliſhment was under conſideration in the houſe of peers, the earl of Winchelſea obſerved, that a ſtanding army rendered miniſters of ſtate more daring than they otherwiſe would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: ſchemes that never could enter into the heads of any, but thoſe who were drunk with exceſs of power.

The attention of the commons was now attracted by the ſtate of the Charitable Corporation. This company was erected in the year 1707, for the purpoſe of lending money at legal intereſt, to the poor, on ſmall pledges, and to perſons of higher rank, on indubitable ſecurities. Their capital at firſt was only thirty thouſand pounds, but by licences from the crown, was afterwards increaſed to ſix hundred thouſand pounds. In the preceding October, George Robinſon, member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral courts, and appointed a committee to inſpect their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of five hundred thouſand pounds, no equivalent was found; inaſmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thouſand pounds, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not diſcover. The proprietors, in a petition to the houſe of commons, repreſented, that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom the management of their affairs was entruſted, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmoſt miſery; they therefore prayed the houſe, that as they were unable to detect and puniſh the delinquents, without authority of parliament, the houſe would inquire into the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as ſhould ſeem meet. The petition was received, and a ſecret committee appointed to proceed upon the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many perſons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conſpiracy; and ſome of the firſt characters in the nation did not eſcape ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sir Robert Sutton and ſir Archibald Grant were expelled the houſe, as being concerned in theſe fraudulent practices; a bill was brought in, to prevent them and other delinquents, from leaving the kingdom, and alienating their effects. In the next ſeſſion, a bill was paſſed for eſtabliſhing a lottery, to raiſe five hundred thouſand pounds, for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by the Charitable Corporation.

Sir R. Walpole propoſed, that the duties on ſalt, which had been aboliſhed about two years ago, ſhould now be revived, and granted to his majeſty, for the term of three years; but to make his motion more palatable, he declared that the land tax for the enſuing year ſhould be reduced to one ſhilling in the pound. This motion provoked the indignation of the country party, who expreſſed their ſurprize at the groſſneſs of the impoſition; they obſerved, that ſcarce two years were elapſed, ſince the king, in a ſpeech from the throne, had exhorted them to aboliſh ſome of the taxes that were moſt burdenſome to the

poor. The houſe was then of opinion that the tax on ſalt was the moſt burdenſome, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impoſitions to which the poor were ſubject, and therefore it was taken off; but that no good reaſon could be given for altering their opinion ſo ſuddenly, and reſolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to eaſe a few rich men in the landed intereſt. They obſerved, that the land tax was raiſed at a very ſmall expence, and ſubject to no fraud, whereas that upon ſalt would require a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the miniſtry, whoſe influence in elections they would proportionably increaſe; they even hinted, that this conſideration was one powerful motive for the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an exciſe, and would be deemed a ſtep towards a general exciſe upon all ſorts of proviſions. Notwithſtanding theſe and many other objections, the bill was carried; but the courtiers were obliged to diſpute their ground by inches. The penſion-bill was again revived, and for the third time rejected by the peers. Mr. Pultney, who bore a conſiderable ſhare in all theſe debates, became ſo remarkable as to be thought worthy of a particular mark of his majeſty's diſpleaſure: the king called for the council-book, and with his own hand ſtruck the name of William Pultney out of the liſt of privy-counſellors; he further ordered him to be put out of all commiſſions of the peace, and the ſeveral lord lieutenants of counties, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them. The parliament having granted all the ſupplies, toward the payment of which they borrowed a ſum from the ſinking fund, was prorogued; and the king ſet out for Hanover, after having appointed the queen regent.

A. D. 1733.] The hiſtory of England at this period cannot be very intereſting, as it chiefly conſiſts of the proceedings in parliament. However, it may be neceſſary to mention ſome of theſe tranſactions, for the ſake of ſhewing how theſe men, who *call themſelves the repreſentatives of the people*, have abuſed the truſt repoſed in them, and ſacrificed the public intereſt to their own private emolument. The bill for excluding penſioners was again revived, and loſt in the houſe of lords. When the ſupply was under conſideration, ſir R. Walpole moved, that the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking fund, for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pultney, and ſir John Barnard expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a ſacred depoſit, ſolemnly appropriated to the diſcharge of the national debt; but all objections vaniſhed before the powers of miniſterial influence.

On pretence of preventing frauds in the revenues, ſir R. Walpole propoſed an exciſe on tobacco; in this he intended to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms. According to his plan, the further ſubſidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco ſhould ſtill be levied at the cuſtom-houſe, and payable to his majeſty's civil liſt as heretofore: that then the tobacco ſhould be depoſited in warehouſes, to be appointed by the commiſſioners of exciſe: that the part intended for exportation ſhould be weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound paid on its importation: and that the portion deſigned for home-conſumption ſhould be delivered to the owner on his paying the duty of four-pence per pound. This propoſal raiſed a violent ferment both in and out of parliament. It was aſſerted, that this ſcheme would expoſe the factors and merchants to ſuch hardſhips, that they would not be able to continue their trade, and that it would not even prevent the frauds againſt which it was intended to operate; that it was dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as it tended to introduce a general exciſe, which was in all countries conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion: that it would produce an additional ſwarm of exciſemen and warehouſe-keepers, who would ſwallow up great part of the revenue, and multiply the dependants on the crown in ſuch a manner, as to enable it ſtill further to influence the elections. After a warm debate, the motion was carried, and a bill brought into the houſe agreeable to the plan. Petitions againſt the bill were preſented

preſented by the cities of London, Coventry, and Nottingham, which were ordered to lie on the table. Had the miniſtry met with no oppoſition but within doors, his project would certainly have been carried into execution. But the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured againſt the exciſe bill. The populace ſurrounded the parliament houſe, and inſulted thoſe members who had voted for the miniſtry on this occaſion. Sir Robert Walpole began to be afraid of his life, and thought proper to drop his deſign, by moving that the ſecond reading of the bill might be poſtponed. The miſcarriage of this ſcheme was celebrated by public rejoicings, and the miniſter was burnt in effigy.

A. D. 1734.] As this parliament was approaching near its termination, the country party determined, if poſſible, to ſhorten the duration of the next; that if it ſhould prove as regardleſs of the liberty and intereſt of the people as the preſent, it might the ſooner be diſſolved. For this purpoſe, Mr. Bromley propoſed that a bill ſhould be brought in for repealing the ſeptennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The miniſters challenged the oppoſition to produce one inſtance in which the leaſt encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people ſince the ſeptennial act took place. Sir John Hinde Cotton, in reply, aſſerted that the ſeptennial law itſelf was an encroachment on the rights of the people; a law paſſed by a parliament that made itſelf ſeptennial. He obſerved, that the law of treaſon with regard to trials, were altered ſince that period: That formerly a man was tried within the county where the crimes alledged againſt him were committed; but by an act of a ſeptennial parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the miniſtry, could find a jury proper for their purpoſe; where the priſoner could not bring any witneſs in his juſtification, without an expence, which perhaps his circumſtances would not bear. He aſked, if the riot act was not an encroachment on the people? An act, by which a little dirty juſtice of the peace, the meaneſt and vileſt tool a miniſter can uſe, who perhaps ſubſiſts by his being in the commiſſion, and may be deprived of that ſubſiſtence at the pleaſure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the beſt ſubjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form, but that of reading a proclamation. "Was not the fatal South-Sea ſcheme (ſaid he) eſtabliſhed by the act of a ſeptennial parliament; and to the glorious catalogue, I might have added the late exciſe bill, if it had paſſed into a law; but, thank heaven, the ſeptennial parliament was near expiring before that infamous meaſure was introduced." Sir William Wyndham, in an excellent ſpeech on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, expoſed the miſerable ſituation to which the country might be reduced, if it ſhould ever happen that a weak and capricious prince was at its head, under the guidance of a profligate miniſter, who had at his command a corrupt and venal parliament. "A greater curſe (ſaid he) could not happen to a nation, than ſuch a prince on the throne, adviſed by ſuch a miniſter, and that miniſter ſupported by ſuch a parliament. The exiſtence of ſuch a prince, or ſuch a miniſter, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the exiſtence of ſuch a parliament, I think we may prevent, and as it may do more miſchief while the ſeptennial law remains in force than if it were repealed: Therefore, I am for its being repealed." Notwithſtanding the moſt warm and pathetic remonſtrances in favour of the motion, it was rejected by mere dint of numbers.

The king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, deſiring that he might be enabled to augment his forces between the diſſolution of the preſent parliament and the election of another, if occaſion ſhould require ſuch augmentation. For ſuch an extraordinary meaſure, there was not the ſmalleſt ſhadow of a reaſon. The kings of France and Spain were at war with the emperor, but the intereſt of England was not ever ſo remotely affected by the conteſt: ſuch an important point therefore as ſtruck at the very foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but on the contrary, diſputed with uncommon ardour. The motion however for taking his majeſty's meſſage into conſideration,

ſideration, was carried in the affirmative; and an addreſs preſented to the king, ſignifying their compliance with his deſire. The king was alſo empowered to ſettle an annuity for life of five thouſand pounds per annum on the princeſs royal, and a marriage portion of eighty thouſand pounds, was granted to her by parliament. Her nuptials with the prince of Orange, were ſoon afterwards celebrated. The buſineſs of parliament being finiſhed, they were prorogued, and then diſſolved.

A. D. 1735.] Warm conteſts were maintained in every part of the united kingdom, in electing repreſentatives for the new parliament; but the miniſterial intereſt predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The king in his ſpeech, informed both houſes, that he and the States-general, had concurred in a reſolution to employ their joint good offices in bringing about a ſpeedy accommodation between the powers at war, which was accepted, and in a ſhort time the plan of a general negociation would be offered. He told them he had uſed the power veſted in him by the laſt parliament, with great moderation; and had concluded a treaty with Denmark. He expreſſed his hopes that his ſubjects would not repine at the neceſſary means of procuring the bleſſings of peace, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be neceſſary for him to take. The addreſs of thanks produced a diſpute as uſual, which ended in an acquieſcence with the motion. Thirty thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice for the enſuing year, and the land forces were augmented to twenty-five thouſand, ſeven hundred, effective men. But theſe reſolutions were not carried without diſpute and diviſion, by the country-party, who refuted all thoſe fears of external broils, on which the miniſtry pretented to ground the neceſſity of ſuch augmentation. The treaty with Denmark, by which the king of Great Britain engaged to allow a ſubſidy of fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds to the Dane, was not obtained without great oppoſition. It was obſerved, that England had no particular intereſt of her own to induce her to engage in the preſent war, but the danger to which the balance of power might be expoſed in the event, and as all the powers of Europe were more intereſted in that balance than the Engliſh, they would certainly engage in its defence, when it was really endangered, without receiving a bribe from Great Britain: that the Dutch, notwithſtanding this pretended critical ſituation of affairs, had not made any preparation, nor expended a ſhilling.

In the houſe of peers the oppoſition of the minority was not leſs vigorous againſt every meaſure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. The moſt remarkable object which engaged their attention was a petition ſubſcribed by ſome Scotiſh peers, repreſenting that undue influence had been uſed in the election of the ſixteen peers for Scotland. The duke of Devonſhire moved, that the petitioners ſhould be ordered to lay before the houſe in writing ſome of the undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed. Their anſwer was delivered in the next day, in which they ſtated, that the liſt of the ſixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election by perſons in high truſt under the crown; that this liſt was ſhewn to peers as a liſt approved by the crown, and was called the king's liſt, from which there was to be no variation, unleſs to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they ſhould conform to meaſures: that peers were ſolicited to vote for this liſt, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were uſed to engage peers to vote for this liſt by promiſes of penſions and offices, civil and military, to themſelves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that ſums were given for this purpoſe: that penſions, offices, releaſes of debts owing to the crown, were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this liſt: that on the day of election, a battalion of his majeſty's troops were drawn up in the Abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to cuſtom, and without any apparent cauſe, but that of overawing the electors. This anſwer gave riſe to another violent conteſt; but the majority voted it unſatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the reſolution was clogged with a vigorous

gorous proteſt. Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, the earl of Abingdon moved, that although the petition was diſmiſſed, an enquiry might be ſet on foot, touching an affair of ſuch conſequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The earl of Ilay declaring his belief that no ſuch illegal methods had been practiſed, lord Bathurſt produced an authentic copy of the proteſts of a great number of noble lords, entered by them at the laſt general election of peers for Scotland. This copy was extracted from the journals of that election, ſigned by the two principal clerks, and witneſſed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. Theſe were accordingly read, and plainly demonſtrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more ſcandalous, arrogant, and ſhamefully flagrant than the conduct of thoſe who acted the part of under-ſtrappers to the miniſtry on this occaſion. But all this demonſtration, adorned and enforced by the charms of energy and eloquence, was like preaching in the deſart. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative. Thus the whole affair was conſigned to oblivion, though not without another proteſt. The uninterrupted ſucceſs of the miniſter did not prevent the lords in oppoſition from renewing the ſtruggle as often as an opportunity offered. They diſputed the continuation of the ſalt-tax, which was now granted for eight years; and the bill for enabling the king to apply the ſum of one million out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the current year; but ſucceſs did not attend their endeavours: they were obliged to yield to the invincible power of a majority. The king cloſed the ſeſſion on the fifteenth of May, when he declared that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the ſtates-general had not produced the deſired effect. Immediately after the prorogation, he ſet off for Hanover, leaving the queen regent.

The powers in alliance againſt Auſtria, having rejected the plan of pacification, Mr. Walpole, ambaſſador at the Hague, preſented a memorial to their high-mightineſſes, deſiring that they would put themſelves in a poſture of defence, by augmenting their ſea and land forces; and that they would take ſuch vigorous ſteps in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But before they would ſubject themſelves to any ſuch expence, they reſolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance againſt the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the miniſters of thoſe allies. In the mean time, a ſecret negociation was begun between France and the emperor; and preliminaries were ſigned, without the knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers.

A. D. 1736. George having returned from Hanover, opened the parliament in January, when he congratulated them on the proſpect of a general peace in Europe, in conſequence of the preliminary articles between France and the emperor. The number of men for the ſea ſervice was fixed at fifteen thouſand, for this year, and the land forces were reduced to ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred effective men. To add to the ſupplies, his majeſty was empowered to borrow ſix hundred thouſand pounds from the ſinking fund. A bill for limiting the number of officers to ſit in the houſe, which had been rejected in the former ſeſſion, was again revived, and met its former fate. The prince of Wales having married the princeſs Saxe-Gotha, Mr. Pultney moved for an addreſs of congratulation to his majeſty upon the occaſion. The parliament was ſoon after prorogued, and the king ſet out for Hanover.

A remarkable diſturbance happened at Edinburgh on the ſeventh of September, at the execution of a ſmuggler. Some of the ſpectators having pelted the executioner with mud when he was cutting the man down from the gibbet, captain Porteous, who commanded the town guard, paid by the city, a man of moſt brutal diſpoſition and abandoned morals, without waiting for the authority of the magiſtrate, ordered his men to fire among the crowd; by which precipitate order ſeveral perſons loſt their lives. Porteous was tried

for murder, convicted, and received ſentence of death; but the queen, as regent, reprieved him. The people of Edinburgh reſented this lenity ſhewn to a criminal, who was the object of their deteſtation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to ſeveral military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by the law; and they thought thoſe were encouragements to oppreſſion. Fired by a national jealouſy, and ſtimulated by the relations and friends of thoſe who had been murdered, they reſolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by executing juſtice on him, on the very day which had been fixed by the judges. Thus determined, they aſſembled about ten o'clock at night; and blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admiſſion of the troops that were quartered in the ſuburbs. They ſurpriſed and diſarmed the town guard; they broke open the priſon; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their habitations. This exploit was performed with ſuch conduct and deliberation as ſeemed to be the reſult of a plan formed by ſome perſons of conſiderable judgment, and became the object of a ſevere enquiry.

A. D. 1737.] In the preſent ſeſſion an enquiry was made in the houſe of peers relative to the death of Captain Porteous. Lord Carteret obſerved, that notwithſtanding the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been offered by government, none of the parties concerned in that murder had yet been diſcovered. He ſeemed to think that the magiſtrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter. The lords reſolved to examine the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and other perſons who might be able to give them the neceſſary information concerning this riot. After the examination they paſſed a bill for diſabling the lord provoſt, Alexander Wilſon, from enjoying any office of magiſtracy, and impriſoning him; for aboliſhing the city guard; and for taking away the Nether-bow-port, ſo as to open a communication between the city and ſuburbs, where the king's troops were quartered. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Argyle, as an unwarrantable proceeding, and contrary to the act of union. When the bill was ſent to the commons, a ſevere ſcrutiny was ſet on foot. From the teſtimony of the witneſſes it appeared, that the rioters were chiefly country people and 'prentice lads, who had been incited by the relations of the unhappy perſons, ſo wantonly murdered by Porteous and his men; that the lord provoſt had taken every precaution to prevent miſchief, that his reflection could ſuggeſt; and even expoſed his perſon to the rage of the multitude in his endeavours to diſperſe them. The Scottiſh members exerted themſelves greatly in defence of their capital. They were joined by ſir John Barnard, and others. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentlemen would ſhew where one argument in the charge againſt the lord provoſt and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that inſtant give his vote for the bill. Some amendments being made in the bill, by which it was reduced to a ſimple act, diſabling Alexander Wilſon from enjoying any office of magiſtracy, and impoſing a fine of two thouſand pounds on the city of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow of captain Porteous, it was returned to the lords, who agreed to theſe alterations, and the bill received the royal aſſent.

The national debt is a gulph that ſwallows up the induſtry of the people, and from the connexion between the monied intereſt and the miniſter, muſt always give an undue weight to the executive government. To relieve the nation from this intolerable burden, that ſteady patriot and worthy citizen, ſir John Barnard, made a motion for enabling his majeſty to raiſe money either by the ſale of annuities, or borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent, to be applied towards redeeming the South-Sea annuities. He expatiated on the advantages that would accrue from the reduction of intereſt. From eaſy and obvious calculations he inferred, that the intereſt on the South-Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent, without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the ſinking

ſinking fund would amount to 140,000l. per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the ſeveral trading companies; this meaſure would bring every one of them ſo much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. intereſt on any reaſonable terms; in which caſe the ſinking fund would riſe to 1,600,000l. per annum; then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, ſoap, leather, and other ſuch impoſitions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers; the remaining part of the ſinking fund might be applied towards the diſcharge of thoſe annuities and public debts which bore an intereſt of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminiſhing the capitals of the ſeveral trading companies, till the term of fourteen years ſhould be expired; then the ſinking fund would again amount to above 1,000,000l. yearly, which would be ſufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances. This ſcheme by the influence of miniſtry was rejected; and the public debt has gone on increaſing, and continues to increaſe, until by its enormous weight, it muſt inevitably prove the overthrow of the nation; however long the evil day may be protracted by artifice, unleſs an immediate ſtop is put to the ſyſtems of borrowing, war making, and corruption; and a new plan of œconomy is adopted in every department of the ſtate.

The conduct of the miniſter had been expoſed not only in every ſpecies of political writings, but in theatrical repreſentations, which met with uncommon applauſe among the people; and he reſolved to check theſe exhibitions. The manager of the Hay-market theatre communicated to him a farce, which, in all probability, was written on purpoſe to afford the pretence he wanted. It was called the Golden Rump, preſented to the ſtage for exhibition, and is ſaid to have contained treaſon and abuſe of the government. This performance was produced in the houſe of commons. The miniſter deſcanted on the inſolence, the malice, the immorality, and the ſeditious calumny, which had of late been propagated in theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouſes; to ſubject all dramatic writings to the inſpection of the lord chamberlain; and to compel the proprietors to take out a licence for every production, before it could appear upon the ſtage. Notwithſtanding a vigorous oppoſition, this bill paſſed both houſes. The earl of Cheſterfield made a ſpeech upon this occaſion, which muſt endear his memory to all thoſe who are warmed with a zeal for the liberties of their country. He demonſtrated that the exiſting laws were ſufficient to correct the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; that a new law was unneceſſary, and could not be unneceſſary without being dangerous. "Every unneceſſary reſtraint (ſaid he), is a fetter upon the legs, is a ſhackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greateſt bleſſings a people can enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has its allay of evil. Licentiouſneſs is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excreſcence; it is a ſpeck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand; leſt I deſtroy the body, leſt I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. A power lodged in the hands of a ſingle man to judge and determine without limitation, control, or appeal, is a ſort of power unknown to our laws, and inconſiſtent with our conſtitution. It is a higher, a more abſolute power than we truſt even to the king himſelf; and therefore, I muſt think we ought not to veſt any ſuch power in his majeſty's lord chamberlain." Notwithſtanding the eloquence and force of his arguments, the bill paſſed into a law. Thus, according to the preſent ſtate of dramatic exhibitions, the playhouſe is a vehicle for the fulſome flattery which the ſervile and the indigent load on men in power; and the people are denied the uſeful privilege of ſeeing the public vices and miſdemeanors of men in office expoſed to ridicule and cenſure, and that in a manner which, more effectually than any other, ſtrikes conviction to the mind.

A. D. 1738.] The eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army again produced warm diſputes in parliament. The partiſans of the miniſter fairly

fairly owned, that the preſent number of forces was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and diſcontent, as well as to ſupport the whig intereſt; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, ſhould it be found expedient, for that purpoſe. The oppoſition members replied, this was a tacit acknowledgment, that what they called the whig intereſt was only a ſmall faction, who depended for ſupport upon a ſtanding army, by which the nation was overawed and enſlaved. They affirmed, that the diſcontent of which the miniſter complained, was in a great meaſure owing to that ſtanding army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads as the inſtruments of arbitrary power and oppreſſion. Lord Polwarth explained the nature of whig principles, and demonſtrated, that the party which diſtinguiſhed itſelf by that appellation, no longer retained the maxims by which the whigs were originally characteriſed. Sir John Hynde Cotton ſaid, he never knew a member of that houſe, who acted on true whig principles, vote for a ſtanding army in time of peace. "I have heard of whigs (ſaid he), who oppoſed all unlimited votes of credit; who looked upon corruption as the greateſt curſe that could befall any nation; who eſteemed the liberty of the preſs to be the moſt valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments as the greateſt bulwark of their liberties." In the upper houſe, the earl of Carteret, when arguing for a reduction of the land forces, took notice of the great increaſe of the national expence. He obſerved, that before the revolution, the people of England did not raiſe above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now what was called the current expence, for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that ſum; beſides the civil liſt, the intereſt due to public creditors, and the ſinking fund, which added together, compoſed a burden of ſix millions yearly. The earl of Cheſterfield, on the ſame ſubject, affirmed, that ſlavery and arbitrary power were the certain conſequences of keeping up a ſtanding army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of ſlavery are rivetted upon a free people. They may be ſecretly prepared by corruption; but, unleſs a ſtanding army protected thoſe that forged them, the people would break them aſunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. At the acceſſion of the late king, the army did not exceed ſix thouſand men; and, on various frivolous pretences, has been augmented ſince, to eighteen thouſand. He therefore concluded, that ſlavery, under the diſguiſe of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees. If no reduction ſhould be made, he declared he ſhould expect in a few years to hear ſome miniſter terrifying the houſe with imaginary plots and invaſion, and making the tour of Europe in ſearch of dangers, to ſhew the neceſſity of keeping up a mercenary ſtanding army, three times as numerous as the preſent. In ſpite of all theſe ſuggeſtions, the ſtanding army maintained its ground.

The Spaniards in America, continued ever ſince the treaty of Seville, to diſtreſs the commerce of Great-Britain. They diſputed the right of the Engliſh to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and to gather ſalt on the iſland of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the late treaties concluded between the two nations. Their armed veſſels, known by the name of guarda-coſtas, under the pretence of ſearching for contraband goods, had made a practice of boarding and plundering Britiſh ſhips, on which occaſions they behaved with the utmoſt inſolence, cruelty, and rapine. They had ſeized and detained a great number of Britiſh veſſels, impriſoned the crews, and confiſcated the cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common juſtice and humanity. Repeated memorials were preſented to the Spaniſh court, to which evaſive anſwers were given, vague promiſes of enquiry, and cedulas of inſtruction to the Spaniſh govenors in America, to which they paid no regard. Not but the Spaniards had reaſon to complain of the illicit commerce carried on by Engliſh traders with their ſubjects, on the continent of South America;

America; though this could not juſtify the depredations and cruelties, which the commanders of the guarda-coſtas committed, without provocation or pretence. The Engliſh merchants complained loudly of theſe outrages, and the nation was fired with reſentment, and cried for vengeance; but the miniſter appeared cold and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in ſuch difficulties, as would endanger his adminiſtration; for the money which he now employed for domeſtic purpoſes, muſt then be expended in military armaments; and the impoſition of freſh taxes to ſupport the war, would fill up the meaſure of popular reſentment againſt him. But his apprehenſion of war did not proceed from Spain only; the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon were now united by politics as well as by conſanguinity; and he did not doubt, that in caſe of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces againſt Great-Britain. From theſe conſiderations, he had endeavoured, by negociation, to obtain ſatisfaction, and to prevent a war; but the Spaniards diſcovered his timidity, and were encouraged thereby to perſiſt in their depredations. Petitions were preſented to the houſe by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violence to which they were expoſed, and imploring relief of the parliament. The houſe having heard counſel in behalf of the merchants, and examined evidence, agreed to an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to uſe his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his ſubjects, to convince the court of Spain that his majeſty could no longer endure the repeated injuries and inſults he had ſuſtained, to the diſhonour of his crown, and the ruin of his trading ſubjects; and aſſuring him, that if his friendly inſtances with the catholic king ſhould miſcarry, the houſe would effectually ſupport his majeſty in taking ſuch meaſures as honour and juſtice ſhould make it neceſſary for him to purſue. The king returned a very favourable anſwer to this addreſs.

A. D. 1739] A convention was concluded at Pardo, on the fourteenth day of January, between the kings of England and Spain: importing, that two miniſters plenipotentiaries, ſhould meet at Madrid, to regulate the reſpective pretenſions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and the adjuſting other points according to former treaties; that his catholic majeſty ſhould pay to the king of Great-Britain, the ſum of ninety-five thouſand pounds, as a ſatisfaction for all demands, and to pay the whole within four months from the day of ratification. This treaty provoked the merchants, and excited the indignation of all thoſe who retained any regard for the honour of their country. The attention of the whole nation was now turned on the houſe of commons, and on the day appointed for taking the convention into conſideration, the two contending parties ſummoned their whole force, ſo that by eight o'clock in the morning, four hundred members had taken their ſeats. In a committee of the whole houſe, ſeveral Weſt-India merchants and planters were heard againſt the convention, which, with the reading of papers, employed the two firſt days. The houſe having obtained the neceſſary information, Mr. H. Walpole ſpoke in high terms of commendation of that agreement, and moved for an addreſs of approbation to his majeſty, when the debate began with extraordinary ardour. The oppoſition contended, that here was no ſecurity againſt the ſearching of Britiſh ſhips, an omiſſion which ſhewed the baſe ſubmiſſion and meanneſs of England on one hand, and on the other, the uſurpation and inhuman tyranny, claimed and exerciſed by Spain over the American ſeas; and the right which England derived from God and nature, and from treaties declared and aſſerted in parliament, were now referred to the diſcuſſion of plenipotentiaries. That to refer an undoubted right to diſcuſſion, was a flagrant ſacrifice of the intereſts of the nation. Neither was the indemnification propoſed ſatisfactory, as the loſſes ſuſtained by Spaniſh depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thouſand pounds. The miniſters in vindication of their conduct, aſſerted, that the ſatisfaction granted by Spain, was adequate to the injury received; that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all cauſ-

es of complaint; that war was always expenſive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its event: that France and Spain would join their forces in caſe of a rupture with Great-Britain; and that war would favour the cauſe of the pretender. Mr. Lyttleton obſerved, "That many arguments are uſed to perſuade us to peace, to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be ſo great as they are repreſented; and all theſe terrors are crowned with the name of the pretender. The people of England complain of the greateſt wrongs and indignities of the interruption and deſtruction of their trade; and in anſwer to all theſe complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to ſuffer all this, is the price they muſt pay to keep the king and his family on the throne. If this were true, it ought not to be owned; but it is far from true. Nothing can weaken the family: nothing ſhake the eſtabliſhment, but ſuch language and meaſures as theſe." The queſtion being put for the addreſs, was carried by a majority of twenty-eight only. Sir R. Walpole was ſo exceedingly heated in the courſe of this debate, that his uſual temper deſerted him, and he branded the oppoſition as traitors. To ſuch a degree of mutual animoſity were both ſides inflamed, that the moſt eminent members of the minority retired from parliament; and were revered as martyrs to the liberties of the people. A difference ſubſiſted at this time between the king and the prince of Wales; the latter eſpouſed the intereſt of the minority, and his houſe was viſited by all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the conduct of adminiſtration.

The oppoſition to government was as violent in the upper houſe as it had been in the commons, where the miniſtry were puſhed ſo hard by lord Carteret, as to be under the neceſſity of producing the copy of a declaration made by the king of Spain before he ratified the convention, ſignifying, that his catholic majeſty reſerved to himſelf, in its full force, the right of being able to ſuſpend the aſſiento of negroes, in caſe the company ſhould not pay within a ſhort time, the ſum of ſixty-eight thouſand pounds, owing to Spain, on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ſhip Caroline; that under the validity and force of this proteſt, the ſigning of the ſaid convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the aſſiento was a contract by which the South-Sea company imported to New Spain a certain number of negroes annually, on paying a certain duty for each, to the king of Spain; but over and above the ſum which he claimed from the company for theſe duties, he was a debtor to them in other articles upwards of a million ſterling. The addreſs was carried here as well as in the houſe of commons, and the victory was obtained with equal difficulty. At the head of thoſe who voted againſt the addreſs, was the prince of Wales; and a ſpirited proteſt was entered, ſubſcribed by thirty-nine peers, comprehending all thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for talents and virtue.

The duke of Newcaſtle preſented a ſubſidiary treaty, by which his majeſty engaged to pay to the king of Denmark, ſeventy thouſand pounds, on condition of his furniſhing ſix thouſand men to his Britannic majeſty when demanded. At the ſame time his grace delivered a meſſage from his majeſty, deſiring the houſe would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and alſo to raiſe what money and troops the exigencies of affairs might require during the receſs of parliament. Another vehement diſpute aroſe upon this propoſal. Lord Carteret obſerved, that from the nature of the treaty with Denmark, thoſe troops could not be employed againſt Spain, and ſeemed to be retained wholly for the defence of Hanover. Then he argued againſt the ſecond part of the meſſage with great vivacity. He ſaid, nothing could be more dangerous to the conſtitution, than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our anceſtors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with ſcorn. He obſerved, that the practice was but of modern date, and never heard of before the revolution; and that if ever a general vote of credit and confidence ſhould become a cuſtomary compliment from the parliament to the crown, or as often as the

the miniſter might think fit to deſire it, parliaments would grow deſpicable in the eyes of the people; a proclamation might then be ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and happy would it be for the nation if that was ſufficient; for when a parliament ceaſes to be a check on the miniſter, it becomes a uſeleſs and unneceſſary burthen upon the people. The repreſentatives muſt always be paid ſome way or other; if their wages are not paid openly and ſurely by their reſpective conſtituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them would be always ready to accept of wages from the adminiſtration; and theſe muſt come from the pockets of the people. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Cheſterfield enlarged on the ſame topics; nevertheleſs the houſe voted an addreſs to his majeſty, promiſing to ſupport him in his engagement with Denmark, and ſuch augmentation in his forces by ſea and land, as he ſhould think neceſſary for the honour and ſafety of theſe kingdoms. The ſame meſſage having been communicated to the commons, they voted ſeventy thouſand, five hundred and eighty-three pounds for the ſubſidy to Denmark, and five hundred thouſand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. The ſupplies being all granted, and the crown gratified in every particular, the king prorogued the parliament.

The very anxious deſire which the Engliſh government had ſhewn for peace had ſet that bleſſing for the preſent far out of their reach. The court of Spain, encouraged by the backwardneſs of England, neglected the payment of the ſum ſtipulated by the convention. Letters of marque and repriſal were now granted againſt Spain; a large fleet was aſſembled at Spithead; a reinforcement ſent out under admiral Haddock; the land troops were augmented; and an embargo was laid upon all merchant-ſhips outward-bound. The voice of the public in a manner extorted theſe preparations from the miniſter; he however continued, perhaps wiſely, to hold the olive-branch in his hand; and Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, was directed to declare to the court of Spain, that his maſter, although he had permitted his ſubjects to make repriſals, would not be underſtood to have broken the peace; and that this permiſſion would be recalled as ſoon as his catholic majeſty ſhould be diſpoſed to make the ſatisfaction which had been ſo juſtly demanded. But Keene was given to underſtand, that the king of Spain looked upon theſe repriſals as acts of hoſtility, and that he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of heaven and his allies, he ſhould be enabled to ſupport a good cauſe againſt his adverſaries. This hoſtile declaration was followed by a manifeſto, in which the king of Spain juſtified his conduct, and complained of the preparations which had been made by the court of England. The French miniſter at the Hague declared, that the king, his maſter, was obliged by treaties to aſſiſt his catholic majeſty by ſea and land in caſe of an attack; at the ſame time he prevailed on the ſtates-general to give him an aſſurance, that they would obſerve, to the utmoſt of their power, a ſtrict neutrality, though they could not avoid furniſhing his Britannic majeſty with ſuch ſuccours as he could demand by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers.

War now became inevitable, and was accordingly declared on the twenty-third day of October, the Mediterranean fleet having already captured two Caracca ſhips. Admiral Vernon was ſent out to take the command of the Weſt-India ſquadron. This officer had aſſerted in the houſe of commons, that he could take Porto-Bello, a Spaniſh town on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only. As he was rather a troubleſome member of the oppoſition, the miniſter took him at his word; perhaps he was not without hope, that Vernon might fail in his enterprize, and thereby bring diſgrace on himſelf and party: however, early in the enſuing year, the admiral attacked Porto-Bello with ſix ſhips, and the Spaniards acted with ſuch puſillanimity, as to ſuffer their town to be taken, and their forts to be demoliſhed almoſt without bloodſhed.

The parliament was aſſembled in November, when the ſeceding members again took their ſeats. Mr. Pultney thought proper to vindicate this extraordinary ſtep, by obſerving, that

that he thought it neceſſary, as affairs then ſtood, for clearing their characters to poſterity from the imputation of ſitting in an aſſembly where a determined majority gave a ſanction to meaſures evidently to the diſgrace of his majeſty and the nation; but their conduct was ſo fully juſtified by the declaration of war againſt Spain, that any further vindication would be ſuperfluous. Mr. Sandys obſerved, that there could be no immediate uſe for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and propoſed an addreſs to the king, deſiring that the marines might be compoſed of draughts from the old regiments: that as few officers ſhould be appointed as the nature of the caſe would permit; and he expreſſed his hope, that the houſe would recommend this method to his majeſty, in tender compaſſion to his people, already burdened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This ſcheme was repugnant to the intention of the miniſtry, whoſe aim was to increaſe the number of their dependents, and extend their parliamentary influence, by granting a great number of commiſſions. The propoſal was rejected, after a long debate. Motions were made for an enquiry into the conduct of thoſe who concluded the convention; but they were over-ruled. The penſion bill was revived, and paſſed the commons, but was again loſt in the upper houſe. The king having communicated to the houſe, his intention of diſpoſing the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederick of Heſſe, and deſired they would enable him to give her a ſuitable portion; the commons granted forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. The eſtimates for the expence of the war, during the enſuing year, amounted to four millions, to be raiſed by a land tax of four ſhillings in the pound, and twelve hundred thouſand pounds to be taken from the ſinking fund; and the king was empowered to defray certain extraordinary expences not mentioned in the eſtimate. The commons voted the ſubſidy to the king of Denmark. They provided for twenty-eight thonſand land forces, beſides ſix thouſand marines; and enabled his majeſty to equip a very powerful fleet. Every thing being granted that the crown thought proper to demand, the parliament was prorogued.

A. D. 1740.] This winter is memorable for a ſevere froſt, during which the poor ſuffered extremely, and muſt have periſhed with famine, if they had not been relieved by the more opulent. The Thames was frozen over, many manufactures were at a ſtand, and the price of proviſions roſe almoſt to a dearth. In the beginning of May, the king ſet out for Hanover, and concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe, who engaged to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men, for four years, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of ſixty-two thouſand pounds. The king of Pruſſia died in May, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Frederick III. Charles VI. emperor of Germany, died in October, and was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldeſt daughter, the archduchеſs Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Though this princeſs ſucceeded as queen of Hungary by virtue of the pragmatic ſanction guaranteed by all the powers of Europe, her ſucceſſion produced ſuch conteſts, as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young king of Pruſſia was no ſooner informed of the emperor's death, than he entered Sileſia, at the head of twenty thouſand men; ſeized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic ſanction. The elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowledge the archduchеſs as queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging, that he himſelf had pretenſions to thoſe countries, as the deſcendant of the emperor Francis I. who was head of the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria. The laſt event of importance, was the death of the czarina, Anne Iwanowna, who named for her ſucceſſor, Iwanon, or John, the ſon of her niece, the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunſwic-Lunenburgh-Bevern. She appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive; but this diſpoſition was ſoon ſet aſide.

The

The war had been profecuted with very indifferent ſucceſs; expenſive ſquadrons had been equipped, and returned without ſtriking a blow. The rich Aſſogue ſhips, containing the Spaniſh treaſure, had arrived in ſafety, notwithſtanding the Mediterranean ſquadron, under admiral Haddock; and a Spaniſh fleet had ſailed firſt from Cadiz, and then from Ferol, without interruption. Admiral Vernon was the only officer, whoſe enterprizes had been attended with any ſucceſs; and he wrote to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being ſacrificed. Notwithſtanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spaniſh privateers made prizes of Britiſh merchant-men with impunity. Commerce was in a manner ſuſpended, by the practice of impreſſing ſailors, and by an embargo, which had been laid upon all ſhips in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. The people were now more than ever ſenſible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned, and ſaw their burdens daily increaſing. Theſe cauſes of popular diſcontent, added to other cauſes of complaint, had rendered the miniſter ſo odious, that his name was never mentioned but with the utmoſt contempt and abhorrence, except by his dependents.

The king having returned from Germany, opened the parliament in November, when the country party ſeized this opportunity of taking vengeance on the miniſter. Mr. Sandys informed ſir R. Walpole, that on Friday next, he ſhould bring a charge againſt him in public. At the time appointed, Mr. Sandys entered into a long deduction of the miniſter's miſconduct, in the whole ſeries of his negociations. He charged him with having endeavoured to ſupport his own intereſt, and to erect a kind of deſpotic government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the intereſt and honour of Great Britain, in the late convention; and with having neglected to proſecute the war againſt Spain. He inſiſted that the diſcontents of the nation aroſe from meaſures which had been for many years purſued at home and abroad. That a ſingle perſon in the adminiſtration, was the chief, if not the ſole adviſer and promoter of all thoſe meaſures; therefore, the diſcontents, the reproaches, and even the curſes of the people, are all directed againſt that ſingle perſon. They complain of preſent meaſures; they have ſuffered by paſt meaſures; and they expect no redreſs, alteration, or amendment, while he has a ſhare in the adminiſtration. He concluded, by moving an addreſs to the king, that he would be pleaſed to remove ſir Robert Walpole from his preſence and councils for ever. Mr. Pelham undertook to defend, or excuſe all the meaſures which the other had condemned. He was anſwered by ſir John Barnard, and Mr. Pulteney. The miniſter ſpoke with great temper in his own defence; and the motion was rejected by a majority. The ſame fate attended a ſimilar motion in the upper houſe. But the character of ſir R. Walpole ſuffered ſo rude a ſhock from theſe attacks, that his authority ſeemed to be drawing towards a period. A new trade was at this time opened with Perſia, through Ruſſia; and the excluſive privilege of that commerce was veſted in the Ruſſia company, by act of parliament. The commons voted forty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and about thirty thouſand men for the land forces. They provided alſo for the ſubſidies to Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel.

A. D. 1741.] In the beginning of April, the king went to the houſe of peers, to ſign ſuch acts as were ready for the royal aſſent. He then informed both houſes, that the queen of Hungary had demanded the twelve thouſand men ſtipulated by treaty; and that he had ordered the ſubſidy troops of Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel to march to her aſſiſtance. He obſerved, that in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of affairs, many incidents might ariſe, and render it neceſſary for him to incur extraordinay expences for maintaining the pragmatic ſanction, at a time when he could not poſſibly have recourſe to parliament: he therefore, demanded of the commons ſuch a ſupply as might be requiſite for theſe ends. The lower houſe, in their addreſs, approved of all his meaſures, declared they would effectually ſupport him againſt all inſults and at-

tacks that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary. Mr. Shippen proteſted againſt any interpoſition in the affairs of Germany. He expreſſed his diſlike of the promiſe which had been made to defend his majeſty's foreign dominions: a promiſe inconſiſtent with that important and inviolable law, the act of ſettlement; a promiſe which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded that illuſtrious family from the ſucceſſion. The houſe, however, reſolved to grant to his majeſty, three hundred thouſand pounds, to enable him effectually to ſupport the queen of Hungary; and from that ſacred depoſit, the ſinking fund, which was intended to diſcharge the national debt, a million was taken for the ſervice of the year. The king having cloſed the ſeſſion and appointed a regency, ſet out for Hanover in May.

In the courſe of the preceding year, a ſquadron of ſhips was fitted out for diſtreſſing the enemy in the South-ſeas, and the command of it given to commodore Anſon. This fleet was deſtined to ſail through the ſtreights of Magellan, and ſteering northwards along the coaſt of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occaſionally with admiral Vernon, acroſs the iſthmus of Darien; but the latter part of the ſcheme was fruſtrated by the delays and miſtakes of the miniſtry. When the ſeaſon was too far advanced, the commodore ſet ſail with five ſhips of the line, a frigate, and two ſtore-ſhips, with about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coaſts of Brazil, he refreſhed his men for ſome time on the iſland of St. Catherine, whence he ſteered downwards to the tempeſtuous regions of the ſouth; and in about five months after, meeting a dreadful tempeſt, he doubled Cape Horn. His fleet was now diſperſed, and his crew miſerably afflicted with the ſcurvy; ſo that with much difficulty he gained the delightful iſland of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by one ſhip, and a ſmall frigate. Advancing thence northward, he landed on the coaſt of Chili, and attacked the city of Paita by night. The governor of the garriſon, and the inhabitants, immediately fled on all ſides, while a ſmall body of the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the town, and after ſtripping it of all its treaſures and merchandize to a conſiderable amount, ſet it on fire.

This ſmall ſquadron ſoon after advanced as far as Panama, ſituated on the iſthmus of Darien; on the weſtern ſide of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of thoſe valuable Spaniſh ſhips, which trade from the Philipine iſlands to Mexico. Not more than one or two of thoſe immenſely rich ſhips went on the voyage in a year. They were therefore, very large, in order to carry a ſufficiency of treaſure, and proportionably ſtrong to defend it. In the ſearch of his prize, the commodore with his little fleet, traverſed the great Pacific Ocean; but the ſcurvy again viſiting his crew, ſeveral of his men died, and almoſt all were diſabled. In this exigence, having collected all his men into one veſſel, and ſet fire to the other, he ſteered for the iſland of Tinian, where he continued for ſome time, until his men recovered their health, and his ſhip was refitted for ſailing. Thus refreſhed, he ſet forwards for China, where he laid in proper ſtores for once more traverſing back the immenſe ocean in which he had lately encountered ſuch difficulties. Having therefore taken on board ſome Dutch and Indian ſailors, he again ſteered towards America; and at length, after various toils, diſcovered the Spaniſh galleon which he had ſo long ardently expected. This veſſel mounted ſixty guns, and carried five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. The victory, however, was on the ſide of the Engliſh; and they returned home, after an abſence of three years, with their prize, which was eſtimated at three hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds ſterling, excluſive of their different preceding captures, which amounted to as much more.

When Anſon firſt ſailed, it was with a deſign of acting a ſubordinate part to a formidable armament intended for the coaſts of New Spain; conſiſting of twenty-nine ſhips of the line, and almoſt an equal number of frigates, furniſhed with all kind of warlike ſtores, near fifteen

fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and as many land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor never had the nation more ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. It proceeded to the Weſt-Indies under the conduct of Sir Chaloner Ogle, when the ſupreme command devolved to admiral Vernon, with power to act at diſcretion. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land forces; but he dying on the paſſage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whoſe abilities were ſuppoſed unequal to the importance of the undertaking. They at length arrived on the coaſt of New Spain, before the rich city of Carthagena. This place lies within ſixty miles of Panama, and ſerves as a magazine for the merchandize of Spain, which is conveyed from Europe thither, and thence tranſported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the commodities of the new world. The taking of Carthagena, therefore, would have entirely obſtructed the trade between Old Spain and the New.

In order to form the ſiege of this important fortification, the troops were landed on the iſland Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previouſly fortified by all the arts of engineering. Having got on ſhore, they erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, ſent a number of ſhips into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the forces that were landed. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops was commanded to ſtorm; but the Spaniards deſerted the forts, which, had they poſſeſſed courage, they might have defended with ſucceſs. The troops, upon gaining this advantage, approached a great deal nearer the city; but they there met with a much greater oppoſition than they had expected. It was alledged that the fleet could not lie near enough to batter the town, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by ſcaling. The leaders of the fleet and army began mutual accuſation, each aſſerting the probability of what the other denied. At length Wentworth, ſtimulated by the admiral's reproach, reſolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare ſhould be attempted by ſcalade. This undertaking proved extremely unfortunate. The forces marching up to the attack, their guides were ſlain, and they miſtook their way. Inſtead of attempting the weakeſt part of the fort, they advanced to where it was ſtrongeſt, and where they were expoſed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning of the attack. It was ſoon after found that their ſcaling ladders were too ſhort; the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops ſtood expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After ſuſtaining a dreadful fire for ſome hours with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving ſix hundred men dead on the ſpot. The rainy ſeaſon now began with ſuch violence, that it was impoſſible for the troops to continue encamped; and diſeaſes, produced by the climate, made great havock among them. To theſe calamities was added the diſſenſion between the land and ſea commanders, who blamed each other for every miſcarriage. At laſt they were induced to agree in one mortifying meaſure, which was to reimbark the troops, and withdraw them as quick as poſſible from this inauſpicious enterpriſe. The fortifications near the harbour, therefore, being demoliſhed, the troops were conveyed to Jamaica, which, though ſufficiently unhealthy, was regarded as a perfect contraſt to the infectious climate whence they had juſt eſcaped.

The miſcarriage of this expedition was no ſooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with clamour and indignation againſt the miniſter, who was alſo charged with various other acts of miſconduct. The principal among thoſe was the inactivity of the Engliſh fleet at home. Sir John Norris had twice ſailed to the coaſt of Spain, at the head of a very powerful ſquadron, without performing any thing of conſequence againſt the enemy; while the Spaniſh privateers annoyed the Britiſh commerce with ſuch ſucceſs, that in the courſe of the year, they had taken four hundred and ſeven ſhips.

This

This univerſal diſcontent had a manifeſt influence upon the general election, that followed ſoon after; and produced one of the moſt violent conteſts which had happened ſince the revolution. All the adherents of the prince of Wales concurred with the country party; and the duke of Argyle exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully in Scotland, that the miniſter could not ſecure the return of above ſix members. But he was more fortunate in the election of the ſixteen peers, who were literally choſen according to the liſt tranſmitted from court. Inſtructions were delivered to a great number of members, returned for cities and counties, by their conſtituents; requiring them to oppoſe a ſtanding army in time of peace; to vote for the mitigation of the exciſe laws; for the repeal of ſeptennial parliaments; and the excluſion of placemen and penſioners from the houſe of commons. They likewiſe inſiſted upon their examining into the particulars of the public expence; and endeavouring to redreſs the grievances of the nation. Such a ſpirit of oppoſition prevailed throughout the country, that notwithſtanding the weight of miniſterial influence, the elections were carried moſtly in favour of the other party.

The king having returned from Germany, opened the new parliament on the firſt day of December. The addreſs of thanks was carried as propoſed by the miniſter, though not without conſiderable oppoſition, and an unſucceſsful motion, that his majeſty ſhould be deſired not to engage theſe kingdoms in a war for the preſervation of his foreign dominions. This ſmall advantage, however, the miniſter did not conſider as a proof of his having obtained a majority; and there were numbers of diſputed elections which the people conſidered as the criterion of his power and credit. In the firſt which was heard at the bar of the houſe, he carried his point by a majority of ſix only; and this he conſidered as a defeat rather than a victory. This inconſiderable majority proved that his influence was upon the decline; and induced many individuals to declare againſt him, as a ſetting ſun, from whoſe beams they could expect no further warmth. In the next queſtion, the court intereſt was not powerful enough to ſupport their members for Weſtminſter; nay, more, the high bailiff was taken into cuſtody for illegal practices at the poll; and three juſtices of the peace, who, on the pretence of preventing riots, had ſent for a military force to over-awe the election, with the military officer who had ordered the ſoldiers to march, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the houſe. The oppoſite party maintained the advantage they had gained in other controverted elections; and the miniſter began to tremble for his own ſafety, and tried every art to break the confederacy, which he knew he had not ſtrength to oppoſe. His firſt attempt was by endeavouring, by promiſes of royal favour, and other emoluments, to diſengage the prince of Wales from the country party. The biſhop of Oxford was accordingly ſent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of ſubmiſſion to the king, he and all his counſellors ſhould be taken into favour, fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his revenue, two hundred thouſand ſhould be granted him to pay his debts, and ſuitable proviſion ſhould be made in due time for all his followers. This, to one in the prince's ſituation, was a tempting offer, but he generouſly rejected it; declaring he would not accept of conditions dictated to him under the influence of a miniſter, whoſe meaſures he diſapproved. Foiled in this attempt, and finding his party in the houſe of commons grow weaker, he declared he would no longer ſit in that houſe. The king adjourned the parliament for the ſpace of a fortnight; and in the interim, Sir Robert Walpole reſigned all his employments, and was created earl of Orford.

A. D. 1742.] A ſudden and frantic joy overſpread the nation on the diſmiſſion of ſir Robert Walpole and his obnoxious coadjutors. The people flattered themſelves, that all the grievances of which they complained would be completely redreſſed; that the expences of the nation would be diminiſhed; the infamous herd of placemen and penſioners reduced in their numbers; that all contracts, loans, and

and lucrative engagements ſhould be put up to auction, and a fair competition for them encouraged: but in all theſe they were diſappointed. They ſaw with aſtoniſhment the phalanx of oppoſition at once diſſolved by the ſunſhine of court-favour, and that theſe very places and emoluments were the objects which ſeduced them from their duty. Even during the receſs of parliament, thoſe pretended patriots who had made the loudeſt profeſſions of honour and virtue, who had repeatedly menaced the miniſter with the clamours of enquiry and denunciations of vengeance, and who had boaſted that no art could diſſolve the cement by which they were united, had ſecretly acceded to an inſidious and diſgraceful accommodation with the court.

The new adminiſtration was ſoon arranged, in which the duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Pelham kept their places; the earl of Wilmington ſucceeded ſir Robert Walpole, as firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury; and Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer: lord Carteret accepted the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department, and was regarded as prime miniſter; Mr. Pultney refuſed to accept any office of reſponſibility, but was ſworn anew of the privy-council, and ſoon afterwards created earl of Bath. He was, however, never admitted to the leaſt ſhare of royal confidence, and having deſervedly forfeited all his popularity, deteſted by both parties, he remained till the day of his deceaſe, a ſtanding admonition againſt the vices of duplicity and treachery.

The aſtoniſhed and indignant nation exclaimed in loud and ineffective murmurs againſt the new miniſters, as apoſtates and betrayers of their country: men were changed inſtead of meaſures: the ſame influence in parliament was exerted for the ſame purpoſes. As human nature is ever the ſame, the ſame ſyſtem of corruption and oppreſſion muſt and will continue, while the people have no controuling power over the government. By the conſtitution, this power is lodged in the parliament, and chiefly with the commons, as the repreſentatives of the people; but from the ſmall number of electors a majority of the members being choſen by no more than a two hundredth part of the perſons to be repreſented, and the undue influence employed at elections, the members, inſtead of being dependent on the people, are dependent on the miniſter, who can direct all the proceedings in parliament. The only effectual remedy for theſe evils ſeems to be, to limit the duration of parliament to one ſeſſion; to extend the rights of ſuffrage to every man; to exclude placemen and penſioners from the houſe of commons; and to aboliſh all other qualifications.

The court had ſtipulated with the new favourites that Orford ſhould eſcape with impunity; however, there was ſtill an independent party in the houſe, who were reſolved to ſcrutinize into his adminiſtration. Lord Limerick made a motion to enquire into the conduct of affairs for the laſt twenty years: he was ſupported by Mr. William Pitt and others; but, on a diviſion, the motion was loſt. Not diſcouraged by the event of this motion, lord Limerick made another, to enquire into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford for the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration, and after a ſharp debate, it was carried in the affirmative, when the houſe reſolved to chuſe a ſecret committee by ballot. The committee of ſecrecy being choſen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton, ſolicitor to the treaſury, refuſing to anſwer ſuch queſtions as were put to him by lord Limerick, was committed to Newgate. His lordſhip then moved for a bill to indemnify evidence againſt the earl of Orford, which paſſed by a majority; but in the houſe of peers it was vigorouſly oppoſed by lord Carteret, and at length negatived. Thoſe members in the houſe of commons who wiſhed to proſecute the enquiry were extremely incenſed at the fate of this bill, as it deprived them of much information. Notwithſtanding this obſtruction, purpoſely thrown in their way, the committee diſcovered many flagrant inſtances of fraud and corruption in which the earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared, that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections; that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the

West-Indies; that for secret service, during the last ten years, he had touched one million, four hundred and fifty-three thousand, four hundred pounds, of the public money; that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of newspapers, and political tracts, written in defence of the ministry; that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil list revenues for above thirty thousand pounds; but as the cash remaining in the exchequer did not much exceed fourteen thousand pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty thousand, by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further scrutiny, and had almost prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of parliament. In this manner, a guilty minister was screened from a penal retrospect.

Sir Robert Godschall having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parliaments, he was seconded by sir John Barnard; but warmly opposed by Mr. Pultney and Mr. Sandys; and the question passed in the negative. It is amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenour of their former conduct. Pultney and Sandys were strenuous advocates for this bill before they had a share in the administration. Mr. Pultney took his seat in the house of peers soon after, as earl of Bath. Lord Carteret, who was in the confidence of the king, knew his attachment to the interests of Hanover, and the ardour of his desires to extend his continental connexions; he therefore, pursued those measures which soothed the wishes of his master, and opened an extensive field for his own ambition. He excited wars which could produce no benefit, and commenced campaigns that could only terminate in misfortune. The ministry, who were formerly remarkable for declaiming against continental connections, had now the infamy and the assurance openly to defend them; and, at length, by force of numbers, carried all their measures.

Upon a committe of supply, the house of commons resolved to provide upwards of one hundred thousand landmen and seamen for the service of the current year; the sum of five hundred thousand pounds was granted to the queen of Hungary, and the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel continued. In the month of April, sixteen thousand regular troops, afterwards, increased to a much larger number, were embarked for Flanders, and were shortly after joined by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians, in British pay, and a numerous body of Austrians. The reflecting part of the people saw with abhorrence their pretended defenders sacrificing the blood and treasure of the nation upon destructive alliances; they knew not now on whom to depend; and began to suspect that patriotism was no more than an empty name.

The affairs of the continent had undergone some change. The Russians were dissatisfied with the late settlement to the succession; as well as the conduct of the princess Anne, mother to the young czar, who assumed the reins of government during her son's minority, and seemed to be governed by the maxims of her aunt, the late czariba. The nobility and generals, therefore, turned their eyes on the princess Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter I. and the darling of the empire. The concurrence of the troops being secured, two regiments took possession of the avenues leading to the Imperial palace at Petersburgh; and the princess Elizabeth putting herself at the head of one thousand men, on the fifth of December, entered the winter palace, where the princess of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar resided. Then advancing to the chamber where the princess and her consort lay, desired them to rise and quit the palace, adding, that their persons were safe, and that they could not justly blame her for asserting her right. Early in the morning, the senate assembling, declared all that had passed since the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and that the imperial dignity belonged of right, to the princess Elizabeth. She was immediately proclaimed empress of all the Russians, and acknowledged by the army.

The elector of Bavaria, was chosen emperor of Germany, at Frankfort, and crowned

by the name of Charles VII. Notwithſtanding he was ſupported by a powerful body of French auxiliaries, he was ſo preſſed by the Auſtrian armies, who poſſeſſed themſelves of Munich, the capital of Bavaria, that he offered to the queen of Hungary, to renounce all claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, and promiſed that the French forces ſhould quit that kingdom, and evacuate the empire, on condition that the Auſtrians would reſtore Bavaria: but theſe conditions were refuſed by the court of Vienna. The king of Pruſſia had been ſo ſucceſsful in his operations againſt the houſe of Auſtria, that the queen of Hungary offered him terms; and a treaty of peace was concluded between the two powers at Breſlau. The queen ceded to his Pruſſian majeſty, the upper and lower Sileſia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war. The Engliſh troops, with the allies, which had been ſent to the Netherlands, under the command of the earl of Stair, remained inactive during the campaign. The term of the ſubſidy treaty, between England and Denmark, expiring, the Danes refuſed to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breſlau. On the contrary, he became ſubſidiary to France, with which he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

The command of the Mediterranean fleet was now given to admiral Mathews, who deſtroyed five Spaniſh galleys, and took ſome merchantmen. A reinforcement having been ſent to admiral Vernon and general Wentworth in the Weſt-Indies, they undertook another expedition. Their deſign was to land the troops at Porto-Bello, and march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien, to attack the town of Panama. But in a council of war, it was reſolved, that as the troops were ſickly, and the rainy ſeaſon begun, the expedition was become impracticable; the troops were therefore re-embarked, and returned to Jamaica; exhibiting a ridiculous ſpectacle of folly and irreſolution. Vernon and Wentworth were recalled to England in September, with ſuch troops as remained alive; but theſe did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been ſent on that inglorious ſervice. The merchants complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured againſt the conduct of the war. They ſaid their burdens were increaſed to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the expence of inactive fleets, and pacific armies. The war with Spain was now become a ſecondary conſideration, and neglected accordingly, while the attention of the new miniſter was chiefly turned to the affairs of the continent.

The parliament was aſſembled in November. when Mr. Lyttleton made a motion for reviving the place and penſion bill; but it was oppoſed by a great number of members who had formerly been ſtrenuous advocates for that meaſure, and rejected upon a diviſion. This was alſo the fate of a motion made to enquire into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. As many ſtrong preſumptions of guilt had appeared againſt him in the reports of the ſecret committee, the nation had reaſon to expect that this propoſal would have been embraced by a majority; but ſeveral members who had been loud in their demands of juſtice, now ſhamefully employed their talents to ſtifle the enquiry.

When the lords took into conſideration the expence occaſioned by the forces in the pay of Great Britain, earl Stanhope, at the cloſe of an elegant ſpeech, moved for an addreſs, to beſeech and adviſe his majeſty, that, in compaſſion to his people, loaded already with ſuch numerous and heavy taxes, ſuch large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time before had ever ſuſtained, he would exonerate his ſubjects of the charge and burden of thoſe mercenaries who were taken into the ſervice laſt year, without the advice or conſent of parliament. This motion was ſupported by the earl of Sandwich, who took occaſion to ſpeak with great contempt of Hanover, and in mentioning the royal family, ſeemed to forget that decorum which the nature of the ſubject required. The earl of Bedford followed him on the ſame ſide of the queſtion; but the motion was hunted down by the aſſociates of the new ſecretary, who pleaded the

cauſe

cauſe of Hanover, and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of a land war againſt France. Their ſuggeſtions were anſwered by the earl of Cheſterfield, who obſerved, that the aſſembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the ſtates general or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the queen of Hungary, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure; and would inevitably involve the nation as a principal in the war. That the taking ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians into Britiſh pay, without conſulting parliament, was highly derogatory, to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times. That while Great-Britain exhauſted herſelf almoſt to ruin, the electorate of Hanover, though governed by the ſame prince, did not contribute any thing as an ally to her aſſiſtance; but was paid by Great-Britain for all the forces it had ſent into the field. That nothing could be more iniquitous and abſurd than to hire theſe mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under ſuch intollerable burdens. "This nation, (ſaid he) after having raiſed the elector of Hanover from a ſtate of obſcurity to the crown, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight in his cauſe." The motion of lord Stanhope was loſt. The ſupplies being all granted, and another ſum taken from the ſinking fund, the parliament was prorogued.

A. D. 1743. The queen of Hungary, now ſeemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia; and her general, prince Charles, of Lorraine, for the third time invaded Bavaria. The emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and ſtripped of his dominions, repaired to Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obſcurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary; and a treaty was concluded, by which the emperor was to remain neuter during the war, and the queen to keep poſſeſſion of Bavaria till the peace. The French king ordered his miniſter at Frankfort, to deliver a declaration to the diet, profeſſing himſelf extremely well pleaſed to hear they intended to interpoſe their mediation for terminating the war. He ſaid, that he no ſooner heard of the treaty of neutrality concluded by the emperor, than he ordered all his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. The queen of Hungary anſwered this declaration in a reſcript, in which ſhe affirmed, that the aim of the French king was ſolely to gain time to repair his loſſes, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The emperor complained of this tranſaction; and it gave riſe to a warm diſpute among the members of the Germanic body. Several princes reſented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the ſucceſs of the houſe of Auſtria. The kings of England and Pruſſia, as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, eſpouſed oppoſite ſides in this conteſt.

According to the plan of continental warfare which had been adopted by the Britiſh cabinet, the earl of Stair, generaliſſimo of the Britiſh forces in Germany, aſſembled the confederate troops early in the ſpring. The king of England, eager to gather thoſe laurels which imagination had already woven into wreaths and garlands, accompanied by his youngeſt ſon, the duke of Cumberland, arrived in June at the camp of Aſchaffenburg. The Britiſh monarch ſoon found himſelf and his army reduced to the moſt critical ſituation; and, by the maſterly movements of mareſchal Noailles, the French general, being in immediate danger of being ſtarved into a ſurrender, he reſolved to proceed forward, to form a junction, if poſſible, with twelve thouſand Hanoverians and Heſſians, who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped, but before the army had marched three leagues, he found that the enemy had incloſed him on every ſide near the village of Dettingen. To ſo perilous an extremity no king of England, in encountering a foreign enemy, had ever been reduced. In front were the narrow and dangerous defiles of Dettingen, occupied in force by the enemy; on the left flowed the river Maine, on the ſteep banks of which the French had planted

planted a formidable line of batteries; on the right were mountains and woods, interſected by a moraſs, and all retreat was precluded by the vigilance of the French commander. Such was the danger of the ſituation to the Britiſh army that the mareſchal de Noailles might reaſonably hope, that the glory of avenging the fatal cataſtrophe of Poictiers was reſerved for him. But the raſh and unexperienced valour of the duke de Grammont, blaſted theſe brilliant expectations. Advancing through the defiles, contrary to the expreſs orders of the mareſchal, who was compelled to move with the whole army, in order to ſuſtain this unſeaſonable attack, he offered the enemy battle upon equal terms in the incloſed plain. The French charged with their uſual impetuoſity, but were received by the allied army with cool and determined intrepidity. The king himſelf diſplayed much perſonal courage, and the French were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and compelled to repaſs the Maine with the loſs of ſix thouſand men; they ſuffered however no moleſtation in their retreat, and the king of England purſued without further delay, his march to Hanau, impatient to receive his expected ſupplies and reinforcements. The duke of Cumberland was wounded in the action.

The earl of Stair had long ſolicited the Dutch to ſupport the intereſt of the queen of Hungary, and they were at length prevailed upon to depart from that wiſe ſyſtem of neutrality, which they had hitherto obſerved. They furniſhed the queen with a ſubſidy, and in September, ſent twenty thouſand men to the allies, who were encamped at Spires; notwithſtanding the intrigues of the marquis de Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at the Hague, and the declaration of the king of Pruſſia, who diſapproved of this meaſure, and refuſed them a paſſage through his territories to the Rhine. In October, the troops in Britiſh pay, marched back to the Netherlands, and the reſt to their reſpective countries, to go into winter quarters. By this time, the earl of Stair, commander in chief of the Britiſh forces, threw up his commiſſion, declaring he would no longer lend his name to meaſures in which he had no concern. France had by this time loſt a very able miniſter in cardinal Fleury, who had managed the affairs of that kingdom for many years. His ſcheme of politics was altogether pacific; and for that reaſon, he ſeemed to pay very little regard to the military glory of France, and too much neglected her naval power. The perſon who after him acquired the greateſt ſhare in the councils of that kingdom, was cardinal Tencin, a man of an active and violent diſpoſition. While the French troops remained in the empire, that court pretended they only acted as auxiliaries to the emperor; but being now apprehenſive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that thoſe troops were no longer to be conſidered in that light, but as ſubjects acting in the ſervice of France. The fleet under admiral Mathews, continued to overawe all the ſtates that bordered on the Mediterranean. Two attempts were made upon ſome Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, by commodore Knowles; but the troops and ſhips met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to retire with great precipitation.

A. D. 1744.] Warm debates were again renewed in parliament, on the ſubſidizing of Hanoverian troops, but all arguments were borne down by ſuperior numbers. In the houſe of commons, a motion was made for laying a duty of eight ſhillings in the pound, on all places and penſions; but there were too many in the houſe who were intereſted in the motion to ſuffer it to paſs, it was therefore negatived. Such was the fate of another motion, to beſeech his majeſty not to engage the Britiſh nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-general, on certain ſtipulated proportions of force and expence. So great was the influence of miniſtry in parliament, that although the national debt was increaſed above ſix millions ſince the beginning of the war, the commons indulged them with an enormous ſum for the enſuing year. They granted ſix millions and an half; beſides three

millions and an half, paid to the ſinking fund in perpetual taxes; ſo that this year's expence roſe to ten millions.

An invaſion of England was at this time projected in favour of the young pretender, Charles, ſon of the chevalier St. George, who was now too old to undertake the expedition. But this was prevented by the appearance of ſir John Norris, with a fleet ſuperior to that which was intended to convoy the forces from Dunkirk. The commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, paſſed a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould maintain a correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. In the upper houſe, lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, extending the crime of treaſon to the poſterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's ſons. The duke of Bedford, earl of Cheſterfield, the lords Talbot, and Hervey, argued againſt it in the moſt pathetic manner, as contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the common rules of juſtice, and the precepts of religion. The motion was ſupported by the whole ſtrength of the miniſtry, and, though warmly conteſted, was carried in the affirmative. When the bill was returned to the commons with this amendment, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, but the majority declared for the amendment, and the bill received the royal aſſent.

Admiral Mathews, though a younger officer, had been ſent to the Mediterranean, to take the command over Leſtock; in conſequence of this, a miſunderſtanding aroſe between them, and they ſoon had an opportunity of ſhewing their mutual animoſity, in an action with the combined fleets of France and Spain, from Toulon. The Engliſh admiral made a ſignal to prepare for engaging, but his ſignals were not perfectly exact; and that furniſhed Leſtock with a pretence for not advancing with alacrity; ſo that Mathews, after waiting ſome time, reſolved to engage with his own diviſion. One ſhip belonging to the Spaniſh ſquadron, ſtruck to captain Hawke, but was burned next day by the admiral's order. The purſuit was continued for three days, when Leſtock ſeemed to be coming up with vigour; but Mathews now gave orders for diſcontinuing the purſuit, and ſailed for Port Mahon, to repair the damages he had ſuſtained. Both the admirals were tried by a court martial, on their return to England. Mathews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future, incapable of ſerving in his majeſty's navy; while Leſtock, who had kept at a diſtance during the engagement, was acquitted with honour. This action happened in February; and England and France declared war againſt each other in March.

The emperor of Germany had ſolicited the mediation of his Britannic majeſty, to compromiſe the differences between him and the queen of Hungary; and a negociation was begun at Hanau. His Imperial majeſty engaged to reſign all pretenſions to the ſucceſſion to the houſe of Auſtria; on condition of being re-eſtabliſhed in his own dominions, and recognized as emperor by the queen of Hungary. But ſhe was unwilling to part with her conqueſts in Bavaria, and the upper Palatinate; and truſted too much to the valour of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to liſten to ſuch terms of accommodation. Whatever arguments were uſed with the king of Great-Britain, certain it is the negociation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were diſapproved by the Engliſh miniſtry. In this manner they rejected the faireſt opportunity that could poſſibly occur of terminating the war in Germany, and of freeing their country from that intolerable burden under which ſhe groaned. The inflexibility of the houſe of Auſtria, and its chief ally, proved ſerviceable to the emperor, whoſe misfortunes excited the compaſſion of ſeveral princes. They reſented the inſolence with which the head of the empire had been treated by the court of Vienna; and they were alarmed at the increaſing power of a family, noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition. Theſe conſiderations gave riſe to the treaty of Frankfort, concluded in May, between the emperor, the king

king of Pruſſia, the king of Sweden as landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the elector Palatine: they engaged to preſerve the conſtitution of the empire, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia, and to ſupport the emperor in his rank and dignity.

The king of France aſſembled an army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, in the Netherlands, under the command of count Saxe, natural ſon of the late king of Poland, who poſſeſſed great military talents. The allied forces, conſiſting of Engliſh, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Auſtrians, to the number of ſeventy thouſand men, commanded by general Wade, and the duke d'Aremberg, poſted themſelves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard the progreſs of the enemy. The States-general, alarmed at the preparations of the French monarch, entreated him to deſiſt from his deſign of attacking their barrier; but he replied, he was determined to proſecute the war with vigour, as his moderation had hitherto ſerved no other purpoſe than to render his enemies more intractable. Accordingly his troops inveſted Menin, which was ſurrendered upon capitulation. The ſame fate befell Ypres, Fort-Knocke, and Furnes. The army of count Saxe being weakened, by having ſent off thirty thouſand men to Alſace, the allies paſſed the Schelde, and encamped in the plains of Liſle, in hope of drawing the French general from his lines, which were ſtrongly fortified. Liſle was only garriſoned by three battallions of militia, and would very probably have ſurrendered, if they had at firſt attacked it, but afterwards count Saxe threw in a reinforcement. The allies having ravaged the open country, returned to their old ſtation on the Schelde, and ſoon after went into winter quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines, and by way of retaliation, ſent detachments to ravage the low-countries, to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges.

Prince Charles of Lorraine entered Alſace, with the Auſtrian army, but was recalled to oppoſe the progreſs of the king of Pruſſia, who had entered Bohemia. The army of the latter being greatly inferior to that of prince Charles, he evacuated the places he had taken, and retreated into Sileſia. Count Seckendorf, the Imperial general, marched into Bavaria, with a powerful army, drove the Auſtrians out of that electorate, and the emperor regained poſſeſſion of Munich, his capital. The French army under marechal Coigny, croſſed the Rhine at Fort Louis, and took the city of Fribourg. The campaign in Italy was attended with various viciſcitudes; but the armies of France, Spain, and Naples, were in general more ſucceſsful than thoſe of Auſtria and Sardinia. In the courſe of the ſummer, the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declared for the queen of Hungary; ſo that by this time, almoſt all Europe was involved in war, which might have been prevented if the Engliſh miniſtry had not reſiſted the terms offered by the emperor early in the year. Nothing memorable occured at ſea, after the action in the Mediterranean.

The aſcendency which Lord Carteret, now earl Granville, had obtained over the king, excited the jealouſy of the duke of Newcaſtle, and his brother, Mr. Pelham; and as they determined upon his removal, they formed a political alliance with the leading men in the oppoſition. This coalition was dignified by the epithet of *the broad bottom*, as if it had been intended to comprehend all parties, but this appellation became afterwards a term of deriſion. The earl of Granville perceiving the gathering ſtorm, and the impoſſibility of withſtanding ſuch an oppoſition in parliament, wiſely avoided the danger and diſgrace, by a voluntary reſignation of his employments. The earl of Harrington ſucceeded him as ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty; the earl of Cheſterfield was declared lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Lyttleton was admitted as a commiſſioner of the treaſury; and ſome other changes were made for the accommodation of that party. But this was rather a change of men than meaſures, and turned out to the eaſe and advantage of the ſovereign, however much it might be to the prejudice of the people; for his views were no longer thwarted by an oppoſition in parliament. The commons unanimouſly

nimouſly granted ſix millions and a half for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by various duties, and another ſum of money taken from the ſinking fund. In January, the earl of Cheſterfield went to the Hague, in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to perſuade, if poſſible, the States-general to engage heartily in the war. About the ſame time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was ſigned at Warſaw, by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, the king of England, and the States-general. This was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties. But his Poliſh majeſty was paid for his concurrence, by an annual ſubſidy of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, one third of which was diſburſed by the United provinces, and the other two thirds by England. In May the king ſet out for Hanover.

A. D. 1745.] The king of France aſſembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands, under the command of mareſchal count Saxe; and inveſted the ſtrong town of Tournay, on the thirtieth of April. The duke of Cumberland aſſumed the command of the allied army; was aſſiſted by mareſchal Konigſeg, an Auſtrian general, and the prince of Waldeck, commander of the dutch forces. Though their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, they determined to make an effort for the relief of Tournay. The French were encamped on an eminence, with the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy in their front; and protected by a prodigious fire from their batteries. Though the enterprize was conſidered as a ſingular inſtance of military raſhneſs, the allied army were led on to the attack; and preſſing forward with impetuoſity, drove the French beyond their lines. But the Dutch failing in their attempt on Fontenoy, and the Engliſh general not making, it is ſaid, the proper uſe of his firſt ſucceſs, by dividing the column of attack after he had broken the centre of the French, mareſchal Saxe had time to bring up his *corps de reſerve*, and the Engliſh found themſelves incloſed as it were within a circle of five, from the redoubts they had already paſſed, from maſked batteries planted on each ſide, and the artillery, which played upon them with dreadful execution, in front. The Britiſh column received the ſurrounding fire with firmneſs, and continued a long time unſhaken, but at length they were obliged to retreat. Though mareſchal Saxe was ill with the complaint of which he died, he viſited the poſts in a litter, and aſſured his attendants, that their army would be victorious, notwithſtanding all appearances. This was one of the moſt dreadful battles in the courſe of the war; it begun about nine o'clock in the morning, and continued till three in the afternoon; the loſs of the allies was twelve thouſand men, and that of the French, was ſuppoſed to be nearly equal. The duke of Cumberland left his ſick and wounded to the humanity of the victors, and retiring to Aeth, encamped at Leſſines. The Dutch garriſon in Tournay, after a gallant defence, ſurrendered by an honourable capitulation. The duke of Cumberland apprehending the enemy had a deſign upon Ghent, ſent a reinforcement of four thouſand men to garriſon that place, but they fell into an ambuſcade, and were all killed or taken priſoners. Ghent and Bruges, were then taken by ſurpriſe; Oſtend, though defended by an Engliſh garriſon, was ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the ſame fate; while the allied army lay entrenched behind the canal of Antwerp. The French king having ſubdued the greateſt part of the Netherlands, returned in triumph to Paris.

The conqueſt of Louiſbourg on the iſland of Cape Breton, was projected at New England; and for this purpoſe, they raiſed ſix thouſand men, under the conduct of Mr. Peperel, a Piſcataquay trader. The ſcheme being approved by his majeſty, he ordered commodore Warren, with proper military officers, and eight hundred marines, to take theſe troops to Cape-Breton. Mr. Warren, with ten ſhips of war, having conveyed the New England forces to Louiſbourg, blocked it up by ſea, while the troops carried on the ſiege by land; and this important place, with the whole iſland, ſurrendered to the Engliſh by capitulation

In

In the courſe of this ſummer, the eldeſt ſon of the old chevalier reſolved to make an effort for regaining the crown of theſe kingdoms. Charles Edward, this adventurer, though bred in a luxurious court, was uninfected with its effeminacy. He was enterprizing and ambitious; but either from inexperience or natural inability, unequal to the bold undertaking. He had for ſome time been inſtigated by the tribe of adherents that ſurrounded him, was taught to believe that the nation was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immenſe load of taxes with which it was burdened. Being now, therefore, furniſhed with ſome money, and with yet greater promiſes, from the French court, which for its own views fawned his ambition, he embarked for Scotland on board a ſmall frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, ſir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other deſperate adventurers. Seven officers, and arms for two thouſand men, were all that he brought with him for the conqueſt of the whole Britiſh kingdom. After he had ſet ſail, his convoy, a ſhip of ſixty guns, was ſo diſabled in an engagement with an Engliſh man of war, named the Lion, that it was obliged to return to Breſt, while he continued his courſe to the weſtern parts of Scotland. Landing on the coaſt of Lochaber on the 27th of July, he was in a little time joined by ſome chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vaſſals, over whom they exerciſed a hereditary juriſdiction. Through the exertion of thoſe chieftains, he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of fifteen hundred men; while by his manifeſtos, which were diſperſed all over the kingdom, he invited the aſſiſtance of others.

Authentic intelligence of his arrival was no ſooner received by the miniſtry, than ſir John Cope, then commander in chief in Scotland, had orders to march with a ſmall body of forees to oppoſe his progreſs. The young adventurer had by this time reached Perth, where as well as in other places, the ceremony was performed of proclaiming his father king of Great-Britain. Proceeding thence with his forces, which were now daily increaſing, he advanced to Edinburgh, and entered that city without oppoſition; but the caſtle held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to beſiege it. Sir John Cope, being reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, reſolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give the enemy battle. The young adventurer, whoſe forces, though undiſciplined, were rather ſuperior in number, attacked him near Preſton Pans, about nine miles from the capital, and in a few minutes put him and his troops to flight. The iſſue of this engagement, in which five hundred of the royal army were killed, gave the rebels great triumph; and had the pretender, taking advantage of the general conſternation, marched directly to London, the conſequence might have been fatal to the reigning family; but in hope of promiſed ſuccours, which never arrived, he was induced to prolong his ſtay at Edinburgh, where he was joined by a few of the nobility, either attached to his cauſe from principle, or diſcontented with the preſent government. Theſe conſiſted of the duke of Perth, lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromarty, Elcho, Ogilvy, and Pitſligo, with the eldeſt ſon of lord Lovat, who all came in with their vaſſals, and augmented the army. Lord Lovat himſelf, though a warm partiſan in the cauſe, was unwilling to act openly, being afraid of incurring the reſentment of the miniſtry, whom he had reaſon to dread. Never was there a man more profligate or faithleſs, or who more actively rendered himſelf hated, and ſuſpected by all parties. He was at firſt outlawed for raviſhing the duke of Argyle's niece; he then offered his ſervice to the old Pretender in France, and it was accepted; he next betrayed to queen Anne, the forces which were ſent to his maſter's aſſiſtance; he a ſecond time invited the Pretender over in the reign of George I. and being put in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Sterling, by the Chevalier, he again betrayed it into the hands of the enemy. This man, falſe to every party, had now privately ſent aid to the Chevalier, while in converſation, he affected to declaim againſt his attempt.

While the young Pretender was idly ſpending his time at Edinburgh, the Britiſh miniſtry took every precaution to oppoſe him with ſucceſs. A body of ſix thouſand Dutch troops having

having come over to the aſſiſtance of the royal forces, were diſpatched northward, under the command of general Wade; but this army was compoſed of the garriſons of Tournay and Dendermonde, which had capitulated with the French, on condition of performing no military function before the firſt of January; ſo they could not be employed without breaking a ſolemn treaty. Through the remonſtrance of the French ambaſſador at the Hague, they were exchanged for ſix thouſand Heſſians. The duke of Cumberland ſoon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry.

The young Chevalier, unintimidated by theſe preparations, reſolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the weſtern border, and inveſting Carliſle, obliged it to ſurrender in leſs than three days. Here he found a conſiderable quantity of arms, and commanded his father to be proclaimed king. General Wade being informed of his progreſs, advanced acroſs the country as far as Hexham; but receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days march before him, he immediately returned to his former ſtation. The young Pretender meeting with no oppoſition, and receiving aſſurances from France, that a conſiderable body of troops would be landed on the ſouthern coaſt of Britain, to make a diverſion in his favour, determined to penetrate farther into the kingdom. He was alſo ſtimulated to carry his deſign into execution, from the hope of being joined on his march by a conſiderable number of malcontents. Leaving, therefore, a ſmall garriſon in Carliſle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in a Highland dreſs; and continued his route to Mancheſter, where he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. Here he was joined by about two hundred Engliſh, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of colonel Townly. He thence purſued his march as far as Derby, intending to go by the way of Cheſter into Wales, where he hoped to increaſe his army by a great acceſſion of the inhabitants of that country; but he was induced to deſiſt from this deſign, by diſſenſions which aroſe among his principal followers. He was now advanced within a hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and conſternation. The royal ſtandard was erected on Finchley common; the volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law determined to take up arms, with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raiſe a body for the ſervice of government.

While theſe aſſociations were forming, the young Chevalier began to heſitate with reſpect to the proſecution of his march. He knew that he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, the loſs of which might be attended with inevitable ruin to himſelf and his adherents. The Highland chiefs alſo, unaccuſtomed to ſubordination, began to contend with each other for preeminence. On theſe accounts it was determined, in a council at Derby, that they ſhould retreat with all poſſible expedition to their own country. Accordingly they effected their retreat to Carliſle, where having reinforced the garriſon, they croſſed the rivers Eden and Solway, into Scotland. It was obſervable, that in this march they committed no outrage, and were effectually reſtrained from the exerciſe of rapine. The duke of Cumberland ſoon after inveſted Carliſle with his whole army; and the garriſon, in about a week, ſurrendered at diſcretion.

A. D. 1746.] The young Chevalier proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glaſgow, from which city he exacted ſevere contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whoſe ſervice it had raiſed a regiment of nine hundred men, under the command of the earl of Hume. Quitting Glaſgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by ſome forces which had been aſſembled by lord Lewis Gordon, and lord John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. He now inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney; but general Hawley, who lay near Edinburgh with a conſiderable detachment of the royal army, undertook to raiſe the ſiege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days ſpent in mutually examining

examining each other's ſtrength, the rebels being impatient to engage, were led in high ſpirits to attack the king's army. The chevalier, who was in the front line, gave the ſignal to engage, and by the firſt fire Hawley's forces were put into confuſion. The horſe retreated with ſuch precipitation that they fell upon their own infantry; while the rebels, purſuing the advantage they had gained, put the greater part of the royal army to immediate flight: the latter retired in confuſion to Edinburgh, leaving the rebels in poſſeſſion of their tents and all their artillery.

Meantime the duke of Cumberland put himſelf at the head of the royal forces at Edinburgh, which conſiſted of about fourteen thouſand men. With them he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, attached to the family on the throne. After having refreſhed his troops for ſome time, he renewed his march, and in twelve days he arrived on the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. At this place the rebels had a fair opportunity of diſputing his paſſage; but they neglected every advantage, and retired to Culloden, a place about nine miles diſtant from Inverneſs, ſurrounded with hills, except on that ſide which was open to the ſea. The duke's army lay at Nairn, near Inverneſs, and the deſign of Charles was to march from Culloden, and ſurprize them at day-break; but his men had been under arms all night, and were ſo far overcome by fatigue and hunger, that many of them fell aſleep on the road. The prince, finding it impoſſible to reach the duke's camp before ſun-riſe, returned with great reluctance to Culloden, where he had no ſooner arrived than a great number of his followers diſperſed in queſt of proviſion, and many, overcome with wearineſs and ſleep, laid themſelves down on the heath; but they were ſoon diſturbed from their repoſe. Early in the morning of the ſixteenth day of April, the duke decamped from Nairn; and the prince pretender, having received intelligence of his approach, drew up his little army, conſiſting of about four thouſand men, in thirteen diviſions, ſupplied with ſome pieces of artillery, ill-manned and ſerved. The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the cannon of the king's army did great execution among the rebels, whilſt their's was totally unſerviceable. After the rebels had been kept in their ranks, and ſuſtained the fire of the Engliſh for ſome time, they at length became impatient for cloſer engagement, and about five hundred of them made an irruption upon the left wing of the enemy with their uſual ferocity. The firſt line being thrown into diſorder by this onſet, two battalions advanced to its ſupport, and galled the rebels with an inceſſant diſcharge: at the ſame time the Argyleſhire militia pulling down a park-wall that guarded the flank of the enemy, and making way for the dragoons under Hawley, they, with ſword in hand, fell in among the rebels, of whom they made great ſlaughter. In leſs than half an hour the highlanders were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and ſlain, to the number of twelve hundred men. The French piquets on their left ſtood inactive during the whole engagement, and afterwards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, with pipes playing, and the pretender's flag diſplayed, while the reſt were routed with great ſlaughter, and their leaders obliged to retire.

The duke of Cumberland ſullied the glory of his victory, by diſplaying a ſavage revenge, and a courage untinctured with the feelings of humanity. The ſoldiers, not contented with the blood which was ſo profuſely ſhed during the action, now traverſed the field, and maſſacred thoſe who lay maimed. Some were ſlain who were only excited by curioſity to become ſpectators of the combat; and, by the duke's order, thirty-ſix deſerters were executed immediately after the action. In the month of May the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort Auguſtus, where he encamped, and ſent off detachments on all hands to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waſte the country with fire and ſword. The caſtles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burnt; every houſe, hut, or habitation met with the ſame fate,

fate, without diſtinction; all their cattle and proviſions were carried off; the men were either ſhot upon the mountains, like wild beaſts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial; the women, after having ſeen their huſbands and fathers murdered, were ſubjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to ſtarve on the barren heaths; one whole family was incloſed in a barn and conſumed to aſhes. Thoſe miniſters of vengeance were ſo alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither houſe, cottage, man, nor beaſt to be ſeen in the compaſs of fifty miles; all was ruin, ſilence, and deſolation.

By this deciſive action, were blaſted all the hopes of the young adventurer, who immediately fled with a captain of Fitz-James's cavalry. When their horſes were fatigued, they both alighted, and ſeparately ſought for ſafety. He for ſome days wandered in the country, a forlorn fugitive, and the wretched ſpectator of all thoſe horrors which his ill-guided ambition had brought upon the adherents of his family. He was now ſurrounded by armed troops, who kept him in continual alarm. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other ſupport but what the pooreſt peaſant could ſupply. Sometimes he rowed in fiſher-boats from iſle to iſle, among the Hebrides, and often in ſight of his purſuers, who were animated in their ſearch by a reward of thirty thouſand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. For ſome days he appeared in woman's attire, and even paſſed unknown through the midſt of his enemies. During the whole of his diſtreſſes he is ſaid to have maintained an amazing equanimity and good humour. In the courſe of his concealment, he had occaſion to truſt his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whoſe veneration for his family prevailed over their avarice.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary for near ſix months, until at length a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochnanach, and in this veſſel he embarked in the moſt wretched attire. He had not been ſhifted for many weeks; his eyes were become hollow, his viſage wan, and his conſtitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Iriſh adherents, who had ſhared all his calamities; with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles. They ſet ſail for France, and after being chaſed by two Engliſh men of war, arrived in ſafety at Roſeau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne.

While the young chevalier was thus purſued, the ſcaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for his unfortunate adherents who had been taken priſoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London; nine were executed in the ſame manner at Carliſle, ſix at Brumpton, ſeven at Penrith, and eleven at York; and about fifty ſuffered military execution in Scotland: a few obtained pardons, and a conſiderable number of the common men were tarnſported to the plantations in North America.

Bills of indictment for high-treaſon were found by the county of Surry againſt the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, who were all tried by their peers in Weſtminſter-Hall, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, either convinced of his errors, or flattered to the laſt with hopes of pardon, declared a conſciouſneſs of his crimes, and profeſſed his repentance; but Balmerino, undaunted even at the approach of death, gloried in the cauſe for which he fell. His fellow-ſufferer, when commanded to ſay, "God ſave king George!" performed with a faint voice the injunction; while Balmerino, ſtill avowing his principles, cried out aloud "God bleſs king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in the former reign, being taken on board a ſhip as he was coming to join the pretender's army, and the identity of his perſon being proved, he was ſentenced upon a former conviction, and alſo

ſuffered

ſuffered on Tower-hill; where, ſome time after, lord Lovat concluded a life of diſſimulation and treachery.

The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, the legiſlature turned its attention to the eſtabliſhment of ſome regulations in Scotland, with a view of preventing the like commotions. The Highlanders had hitherto worn the old military dreſs of their anceſtors, and never went without arms; they therefore conſidered themſelves as a body of people diſtinct from the reſt of the nation, and were ready upon the ſhorteſt notice, to join in any inſurrection of their chiefs, to whom they ſtill regarded themſelves as bound by the feudal tenures of military ſervice. To remove theſe inconveniences, they were obliged by act of parliament to wear cloaths of the common faſhion, and they were prohibited from the uſe of arms: but, what was of greater importance, the hereditary juriſdiction which their chiefs exerciſed over them was aboliſhed by the ſame authority. The law prohibiting the Highland dreſs was repealed in the month of June, 1782.

Charles VII. elector of Bavaria, and emperor of Germany, having died, the grand duke of Tuſcany, conſort to the queen of Hungary, was raiſed to the Imperial throne. The continual ſucceſſes of the king of Pruſſia induced the empreſs-queen to make peace with him, and a treaty was concluded at Dreſden, by which he agreed to acknowledge the grand duke as emperor, and ſhe ceded Sileſia to him, according to the treaty of Breſlau, under the guarantee of his Britannic majeſty. Peace was now reſtored to the empire; but the war was renewed with additional vigour in the Netherlands and Italy. Thus Europe was ſtill involved in blood, and the wretched peaſantry, like the gladiators of old, were ſlaughtered for the ſport or intereſt of inſolent courtiers and contractors, whoſe luxuries or ambition could only be ſupported by wars and rapine. Even the Sublime Porte, actuated by motives of humanity, had delivered a reſcript to the miniſters of the belligerent powers reſident at Conſtantinople, hoping they would put a ſtop to thoſe calamities which a continuance of hoſtilities muſt bring upon their ſubjects; and ſtating, that war muſt give a ſanction to the breach of all laws, human and divine, by attributing to force what ought to belong to juſtice, and confounding all order, induſtry, and arts: but Chriſtian princes refuſed the peaceable mediation of the humane Mahometan, and proceeded in their work of blood.

The Britiſh parliament *generouſly* granted to his majeſty, by a vote of credit, five hundred thouſand pounds; four hundred and thirty thouſand pounds were voted to the queen of Hungary; three hundred thouſand pounds to the king of Sardinia; five hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds for the maintenance of Hanoverian and Heſſian auxiliaries, beſides ſeveral ſubſidies to other German connections. Theſe payments to our friends on the continent ſerved to load the Engliſh nation with perpetual taxes, with no other effect than to enrich at our expence the petty deſpots of Germany.

The king of France, with his general, count Saxe, took the field in April, and became entire maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. He obtained a great victory over the allies at Roucroux, who loſt above five thouſand men; but it procured him no real advantage, and their loſs of men was equal. An unſucceſsful attempt was made upon Port-l'Orient by a body of Engliſh troops; but after remaining ſome time in France, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Madras, in the Eaſt-Indies, was taken by the French in September. Italy felt all the horrors of war, or rather ſaw foreigners contending with each other for her dominions; the French and Spaniards on one ſide, the Imperialiſts and Sardinians on the other. Italy at length beheld the Imperialiſts maſters in the conteſt: the Spaniards and French loſt the moſt flouriſhing armies, notwithſtanding the maſterly exertions of their general, the prince of Conti.

By a treaty concluded at Worms in 1743, between the king of England, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, the queen yielded to the king of Sardinia her pretenſions to Final, at preſent in poſſeſſion of the re-

public of Genoa, which they hoped would give it up, on being repaid the purchaſe-money, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds. This ſum the king of England promiſed to diſburſe, and moreover to maintain a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which ſhould act in concert with his Sardinian majeſty. Nothing could be more unjuſt than this treaty, by which the Genoeſe were negociated out of their property. They had purchaſed the marquiſate of Final of her father, the emperor Charles VI. for a valuable conſideration, and the purchaſe had been guaranteed by Great Britain. They preſented remonſtrances againſt this article to the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin, but as no attention was paid to them, they threw themſelves into the arms of France and Spain. The imperialiſts being now victorious, appeared before Genoa; and the ſenate of the city, thinking it incapable of defence, ſubmitted to a very mortifying capitulation. The court of Vienna, which has always patronized oppreſſion, exacted ſuch heavy contributions, and its directions were ſo rigorouſly executed, that the people were reduced to deſpair; and reſolved to make a laſt effort for their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in ſecret, ſeized ſeveral important poſts of the city, ſurpriſed the Auſtrians, cut them in peices, and drove them out of the city.

The parliament was aſſembled in November, when they granted ſupplies to the amount of nine millions and an half; a ſum almoſt incredible, if we conſider how the nation had been already drained of its treaſure. It may not be amiſs to obſerve that the ſupplies of this year exceeded by two millions and an half, the greateſt annual ſum that was raiſed during the reign of queen Anne, though ſhe maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year a freſh harveſt of glory and advantage; whereas this war had proved an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of events, big with diſaſter and diſgrace. England numbered among her mercenaries before the end of the ſummer, two empreſſes, five German princes, and a powerful monarch.

A. D. 1747.] The duke of Cumberland aſſembled the allied forces in February, and took the field in March. The whole army amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, who lay inactive ſix weeks, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, and almoſt deſtitute of forage and proviſions. Count Saxe continued his troops within their cantonments, declaring, that when the allied army ſhould be weakened by ſickneſs and mortality, he would convince the duke of Cumberland, that the firſt duty of a general is to provide for the health and preſervation of his troops. This able commander took the field in April, at the head of one hundred and forty thouſand men; and the count de Clermont commanded a ſeparate body of nineteen batallions and thirty ſquadrons. The Dutch were greatly diſinclined to enter into the war, and had hitherto acted only as auxiliaries; but the French miniſter at the Hague, preſented at this time a memorial to the States, intimating that his maſter, from the neceſſity of the war, ſhould be obliged to invade Dutch Brabant; and declaring that the places of which he might take poſſeſſion, ſhould be detained only as a pledge, to be reſtored as ſoon as the United Provinces ſhould give convincing proofs that they would no longer furniſh the enemies of France with ſuccours. While the ſtates deliberated on this declaration, count Lowendahl was detached with twenty-ſeven thouſand men to invade Dutch Brabant. He reduced Sluys, Sas-van-Ghent, and ſeveral other places, even within hearing of the confederate army; and began to prepare for a deſcent on the iſland Zealand, but this was preſerved by the Britiſh ſquadron, under commodore Mitchel.

The factions, which for upwards of a century had divided the United Provinces, were increaſed by theſe diſaſters. One party declared for the prince of Orange and a ſtadtholder, who was cloſely connected with the Engliſh; the other, oppoſing this election, deſired rather friendſhip than to be at variance with France. The meaſures of theſe two factions, if adopted in their full extent, would be equally fatal to public liberty; for if a ſtadtholder were elected, the conſtitution became

became changed from a republican government to a kind of limited monarchy. If, on the contrary, the oppoſite party prevailed, the whole power of the ſtate would be put in the hands of an ariſtocracy, univerſally known to be under the influence of the French. Of the two evils, therefore, the Dutch choſe the former. The people in ſeveral towns, inflamed almoſt to ſedition, compelled their magiſtrates to declare the prince of Orange ſtadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The conſequences of this important reſolution immediately appeared. All commerce with France was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were iſſued for proſecuting hoſtilities againſt the French by ſea and land.

The French king arrived at Bruſſels in the latter end of May; and count Saxe having reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Maeſtricht, advanced towards Louvain. The confederates perceiving his deſign, began their march to take poſt between the town and the enemy; and on the twentieth of June, they took poſſeſſion of their ground, having the village of La Feldt in front of their left wing, in which they placed ſeveral battalions of Britiſh infantry. The French had taken poſſeſſion of the heights of Herdereen, immediately above the allies. Next morning the French infantry marched down the hill and attacked the village of La Feldt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obſtinacy. The action was chiefly confined to this poſt, where the field exhibited a horrible ſcene of carnage; at length the French maintained poſſeſſion of the village, after it had been three times loſt and won. The duke of Cumberland then ordered a general attack of the enemy, but after a ſevere conflict, they were completely routed, and retreated to Maeſtricht. The allies loſt ſixteen pieces of cannon, and ſix thouſand men; but the victory was purchaſed by the French at a much greater expence. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of count Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdereen, mareſchal Bathiani aſked permiſſion of the duke of Cumberland to attack them before they ſhould be reinforced; but this was refuſed, and he retired in diſguſt. The ſubſequent diſpoſition has likewiſe been blamed, as not above one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force. Thus the common cauſe was ſacrificed to the pride and ignorance of the commander in chief, who, from many parts of his conduct, ſeems to have had no claim to ſuch high rank, but his being the king's ſon. Mareſchal Saxe afterwards amuſed the allied army by marches and counter marches, while he detached count Lowendahl with thirty-ſix thouſand men, who reduced Bergen-op-zoom, a place which was thought impregnable.

Theſe ſucceſſes of the French were, however, counterbalanced by ſeveral diſappointments. In Italy, mareſchal Belliſle's brother attempting to penetrate into Piedmont at the head of thirty-four thouſand men, was routed, and himſelf ſlain. A fleet ſent out for the recovery of Cape Breton, proved unſucceſsful. Two more were fitted out, one to make a deſcent upon the Britiſh colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the Eaſt Indies; but theſe were attacked by Anſon and Warren, and nine of their ſhips taken. In a ſhort time after, commodore Fox, with ſix ſhips of war, took above forty French ſhips laden from St. Domingo; and this loſs was followed by another defeat, in which the French loſt ſeven ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates.

Amidſt this variety of events, the belligerent powers began at length to wiſh for the bleſſings of peace. The Dutch had for ſome time endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of a war, in which they had all to loſe, and nothing to gain. The king of France, even after his victories on the continent, had expreſſed his deſire of general tranquillity to ſir John Ligonier, who had been made priſoner at the battle of La Feldt. But now the bad ſucceſs of his fleets, as well as of his troops in Italy, with the frequent bankruptcies of his merchants, and the election of a ſtadtholder in Holland, who gave ſpirit to the oppoſition; all theſe motives contributed to make him weary of the war, and to propoſe an accommodation

modation. Though the allies were averſe to the making of this offer, it was an event of which they had long been extremely deſirous. The Engliſh miniſtry in particular, finding themſelves unable to manage a parliament ſoured by frequent defeats, and now beginning to be diſguſted with continental connexions, acceded with great pleaſure to the propoſal. A negociation was, therefore, reſolved upon; and the contending powers agreed to come to a congreſs at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and ſir Thomas Robinſon, aſſiſted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

A. D. 1748.] The parliament had been diſſolved, and the new elections ſo conducted, as fully to anſwer the purpoſes of the duke of Newcaſtle, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, who had for ſome time wholly engroſſed the adminiſtration. The king informed both houſes, that a congreſs would ſoon be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means of a pacification. The new houſe of commons, in imitation of their predeceſſors, readily gratified all the requeſts of the government. They voted upwards of a hundred thouſand men for the ſea and land ſervice; the ſubſidies were continued to the empreſſes of Ruſſia and Germany, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Heſſians, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle. Five hundred thouſand pounds were given to his majeſty for the vigorous proſecution of the war; and two hundred and thirty-five thouſand, ſeven hundred pounds, was granted to the New-England provinces, to reimburſe them for the expence of reducing Cape Breton. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the thirteenth of May, when the king informed both houſes, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually ſigned, and that the baſis of this accommodation was a general reſtitution of conqueſts which had been made during the war.

The plenipotentiaries continued ſitting at Aix-la-Chapelle till the ſeventh of October, when the articles of the definitive treaty were concluded and ſigned. Great hopes were entertained of conditions honourable to the Engliſh; but the treaty ſtill remains a laſting memorial of the precipitate and puſillanimous reſolutions of the Britiſh cabinet. By this it was agreed, that all priſoners on each ſide ſhould be mutually reſtored, and all conqueſts given up. That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spaniſh throne; but in caſe of his ſucceeding to the crown of Spain, that then theſe dominions ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk to the ſea ſhould be demoliſhed: that the Engliſh ſhip annually ſent with ſlaves to the coaſt of New Spain, ſhould have this privilege continued for four years: that the king of Pruſſia ſhould be confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary ſhould be ſecured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was particularly diſpleaſing to the Engliſh. It was ſtipulated, that immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the king of Great Britain ſhould ſend to France two perſons of rank, as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of Cape Breton, and all other conqueſts which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clauſe; but to add to the general error of the negociation, no mention was made of the ſearching the veſſels of England in the American ſeas, a point upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their reſpective poſſeſſions in North America were not aſcertained; nor did the nation receive any equivalent for thoſe forts which it reſtored to the enemy. It is difficult, if not impoſſible, to find out how Great Britain could be intereſted in the moſt diſtant manner in any one article of this treaty, for the obtaining of which ſo many millions had been expended. This treaty, however inglorious, was not unwelcome to the people, who had been wearied with repeated diſaſters, and expected, from a continuance of the war, nothing elſe but an accumulation of misfortunes.

A. D. 1749.] A propoſal was made to colonize Nova-Scotia, with the men who had been diſcharged from the army and navy. Four thouſand of theſe adventurers, with their families, ſailed from England, under the conduct of colonel Cornwallis, who was appointed

ed their governor; and in June they arrived at the place of their deſtination, which was the harbour of Chebuctou. To each man was allotted fifty acres of land, and if he had a wife and children, they had ten acres each. The colony was to be maintained for one twelvemonth; and to be furniſhed with arms and ammunition, and the neceſſary implements for building, agriculture, and fiſhing, at the expence of government. Having fixed on a convenient ſpot, they began to build a regular town, which was called Halliſax, in honour of their noble patron, and before the winter they had erected three hundred comfortable wooden houſes. It was ſuppoſed that this ſcheme would increaſe the fiſheries on the coaſt, and at the ſame time repreſs the encroachments of the French; but the coldneſs of the climate, the barrenneſs of the ſoil, and the incurſions of the ſavages, threw greater difficulties in their way than was expected.

Mr. Pelham propoſed to reduce the national debt by reducing the intereſt from four to three per cent. on all redeemable debts; and thoſe lenders who might not chuſe to accept of this reduced intereſt, were to receive the principal. For this purpoſe, his majeſty was enabled to borrow any ſum of money, not exceeding that part which remained unſubſcribed, at the rate of three per cent intereſt. All the duties intended for the payment of the intereſt were ſtill continued, and the ſurplus of theſe incorporated with the ſinking fund for the diſcharge of the principal. This ſcheme being approved in parliament, paſſed into a law. The greater part of the creditors complied with the terms, and ſubſcribed their reſpective annuities.

A. D. 1750.] The American colonies had hitherto been reſtricted, by ſevere duties, from exchanging their iron with the mother country for her manufactures, while Great Britain imported this article from Sweden, for which they paid ready money. This was conſidered as a very great diſadvantage both to England and America. Accordingly the duties on American iron were taken off; but a clauſe was inſerted in the bill, prohibiting the coloniſts from making ſteel, or eſtabliſhing mills for ſlitting and rolling iron, that they might not interfere with the Britiſh manufacture. For the encouragement of the Britiſh white herring and cod fiſheries, a ſociety was incorporated, by the name of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery, and they were empowered to raiſe a capital of three hundred thouſand pounds; but their charter was not excluſive. The ſucceſs of this undertaking did not anſwer the expectation of the projectors. The African company was aboliſhed, and that trade laid open.

After the prorogation of parliament, the king went over to Hanover, for the purpoſe of dabbling in continental politics, which again threatened to involve Europe in blood and ſlaughter. The houſe of Auſtria had long aſpired to eſtabliſh an hereditary right of ſucceſſion to the empire. The king of England, in concert with the court of Vienna, agreed to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould ſecure the ſucceſſion of the imperial dignity to the archduke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon of the emperor. As a previous ſtep to that elevation, it was propoſed to elect the young prince king of the Romans, during the life of his father. No ſtone was left unturned to reconcile this expedient to the German princes. Subſidies were offered to the electors, a majority of whom were ſecured, and ſuch foundations laid for the ſucceſs of this project, that it was generally believed it would be accompliſhed in his majeſty's next viſit to Germany. But the king of Pruſſia, elector of Brandenburg, oppoſed the election, as contrary to the conſtitution of the German empire. The oppoſition was joined by the elector Palatine, and countenanced by the French king, who proteſted that he would not oppoſe the election, though contrary to the golden bull, if ſanctioned by the unanimous conſent of the electors; but ſhould any one member diſſent, and claim his protection, he could not withhold it, in conſequence of his being guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, by which he was obliged to ſuccour thoſe princes who might ſuffer any grievances contrary to that conſtitution. This declaration, co-operating with the known character of his Pruſſian majeſty, whoſe great army overawed Hanover and Bohemia, damp-

ed the vigour of this negociation. After the king of England had made ſeveral expenſive trips from London to Hanover, and expended conſiderable ſums of money in ſubſidizing the German princes for three or four years, the emperor thought proper to decline his intention.

A. D. 1751.] After the diſmiſſion of ſir Robert Walpole, the prince of Wales was received into his majeſty's favour; but this was of ſhort continuance. The new miniſters, purſuing all the arbitrary and unpopular meaſures of the old, were oppoſed by his royal highneſs; and the king finding himſelf thwarted by what he conceived to be undutifulneſs in his ſon, the breach between them became wider than ever. His royal highneſs having caught a cold, was ſeized with a pleuritic fever, and expired on the twentieth day of March, in the forty-fifth year of his age, to the unſpeakable grief of every well-wiſher to his country. This excellent prince poſſeſſed every amiable quality which could engage the affections of the people; liberal, candid, generous, and humane; a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well-diſpoſed to aſſert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the intereſt of Great Britain. The nation could not but be afflicted at ſeeing a prince of ſuch expectations raviſhed from their hopes.

The prince of Wales left the education of his numerous offspring to the care of his widow, but though her maternal virtues were eminent, the principles and maxims of government which ſhe had brought from the court of Saxe Gotha, were ſuppoſed not entirely to correſpond with thoſe which form the baſis of the Britiſh conſtitution. Soon after the death of his father, prince George was committed to the care of the earl of Harcourt as governor, and to that of the biſhop of Norwich as preceptor. But it was ſoon diſcovered that the earl of Bute had obtained the principal influence at Leiceſter houſe: at length lord Harcourt complained to the houſe of lords that he had no authority over the prince's education, nor could he be of any ſervice unleſs the ſub-governor, and others, were diſmiſſed, whom he regarded as tainted with tory principles. Impreſſed with this ſentiment, he and the biſhop reſigned their offices, and to them lord Waldegrave and the biſhop of Lincoln ſucceeded.

A. D. 1752.] This year is memorable of the alteration of the Stile. The year did not properly begin till the twenty-fifth of March, though it was generally reckoned from the firſt of January, and the intermediate time was conſidered as belonging both to that and the preceding year. In the laſt ſeſſion a bill was paſſed for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calender according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all the other nations in Europe. By this new law it was decreed, that the new year ſhould begin on the firſt of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the ſecond and fourteenth days of September 1752, ſhould for that time be omitted, ſo that the day ſucceeding the ſecond ſhould be denominated the fourteenth of that month. By this eſtabliſhment of the new ſtile, the equinoxes and ſolſtices will happen nearly on the ſame nominal days on which they fell in the year 325, at the council of Nice; and the correſpondence of Engliſh merchants is greatly facilitated with thoſe of foreign countries, with reſpect to dates of letters and accounts.

The hiſtory of England is at this time rather barren of events; and the debates in parliament turn chiefly on the old conteſted points, ſtanding armies, and foreign ſubſidies: but miniſterial influence had reduced the oppoſition to almoſt nothing.

A. D. 1753.] It is a melancholy conſideration, that the circumſtances which moſt engage the paſſions of the public, and produce the moſt violent ferment in this country, are often of leaſt importance. While with a ſupine and ſtupid inattention, the nation beheld the treaſures of Britain ſquandered in unneceſſary ſubſidies to the deſpots of Germany, a bill which was paſſed in this ſeſſion, for the naturalization of Jews born out of the realm, under certain reſtrictions, had almoſt produced a general inſurrection. The bill by its operation,

tion was expected to draw an immenſe influx of opulent foreigners into the kingdom; but mercantile jealouſy ſeizing on the pretext of religion, defeated the liberal and ſalutary views of the miniſtry and the legiſlature. In the enſuing ſeſſion this equitable bill was repealed, as one of thoſe neceſſary ſacrifices which wiſdom is occaſionally compelled to make at the altar of prejudice and folly.

In the ſame ſeſſions, an act was paſſed for the better preventing clandeſtine marriages, and for the more public ſolemnization of that ceremony This ſtatute enacted, that the bans of marriage ſhould be regularly publiſhed three ſucceſſive Sundays in the church of the pariſh where both parties had reſided for one month at leaſt before the ceremony. It declared, that any marriage ſolemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the biſhop's court, ſhould be void; and that the perſon who ſolemnized it ſhould be tranſported for ſeven years. This act was at that time thought to be replete with conſequences injurious to ſociety; and, after the experience of many years, it ſeems better calculated to guard the tranquillity of a few, than to promote the general happineſs of the whole. It has confirmed the eſtabliſhed diſtinctions among the people, laid an impaſſable barrier between the rich and the poor, and promoted the accumulation of property in opulent families.

About the ſame time an act was paſſed for the better regulating and preſerving the game. By this bill, none but men poſſeſſed of a ſtated fortune, were inveſted with the privilege of killing game, though even on the grounds which they rented. The body of the rich, indeed, at this period, no longer apprehenſive of oppreſſions from the throne, or any infringement of their own privileges, now began to lean heavy on the poor, and to conſider the intereſts of that uſeful branch of ſociety, as entirely diſtinct from their own. If the people are oppreſſed by heavy taxes, the landed intereſt advance their rents; and the enormous loans are an additional means of wealth to the monied intereſt; while the price of labour admits of little or no increaſe, and the conſumption of manufactures decreaſes from the increaſing poverty of the great body of the people.

Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated phyſician and naturaliſt, had directed by his will, that his valuable muſeum and library, ſhould be offered to the parliament, for the uſe of the public, in conſideration of their paying a certain ſum in compenſation to his heirs. His terms were accepted by the commons, who agreed to pay twenty thouſand pounds for the whole, ſuppoſed to be worth four times that ſum; and at the ſame time, the Harleian collection of manuſcripts, ſo denominated from its founder, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord high treaſurer of England, was purchaſed from his daughter, the ducheſs of Portland. Theſe purchaſes were joined to the famous Cottonian library, and the king's library; and this noble muſeum was depoſited in Montague-houſe, where it is ſubjected, without reſerve, to the inſpection of the public, under certain reſtrictions, and exhibits a glorious monument of national taſte and liberality. Perſons deſirous to ſee this valuable collection, are admitted upon leaving their names and addreſs at the lodge of the muſeum; and reading tickets are to be procured from the proper officers.

The incident which, next to theſe, chiefly diſtinguiſhed the preſent year, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the numerous and warlike tribe which had joined the young pretender in the late rebellion. This gentleman, who had been included in the act of attainder, ventured to return privately to Scotland; but being diſcovered, was apprehended and conducted to London, where he was confined in the Tower. He was ſoon after produced in the court of King's Bench, and his identity being proved by ſeveral witneſſes, he received ſentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. His unblemiſhed character, and the manly compoſure with which he underwent his fate, ſo moved the compaſſion of the ſpectators, that during the execution, many of them burſt into tears.

Soon

Soon after the peace of Aix-la-chapelle, a diſpute aroſe between the crowns of Great Britain and France relative to the boundaries of Nova-Scotia. To compromiſe theſe diſputes, commiſſaries were appointed to meet at Paris; but their conferences proved ineffectual. The French had been the firſt occupiers of Nova Scotia, and though the country was naturally barren, they had, by great induſtry, improved it to ſuch a degree, that it was capable of affording ſubſiſtence to its inhabitants, with the help of ſome ſupplies from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed maſters, until, at length, the Engliſh were ſettled in the poſſeſſion, and acknowledged as the rightful owners, by the treaty of Utrecht. The poſſeſſion of this territory was reckoned indiſpenſable for the ſecurity of the Engliſh colonies to the North, and for preſerving their ſuperiority in the fiſheries in that part of the world. The French, however, obſerving with envy, the growing colony which Britain had lately ſent there, reſolved to diſpoſſeſs the new-comers, and for this purpoſe, ſpirited up the neighbouring Indians to hoſtilities, which were repreſented to the Engliſh miniſtry ſome time without redreſs.

During the conferences on this ſubject between the commiſſaries of the two crowns, the French proceeded in encroaching upon the Britiſh colonies in North America. Their plan was to engroſs the whole fur trade of that continent; which they propoſed to ſecure by extending a chain of forts along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, and thus to connect their ſettlements on the river Miſſiſſippi with their poſſeſſions in Canada. By theſe means they hoped to exclude the Engliſh from all communication with the Indian nations, even thoſe that lay contiguous to the Britiſh ſettlements. For determining the diſputes which aroſe in conſequence of theſe encroachments, negociations had long been carried on; but it was difficult to adjuſt pretenſions which the parties were determined not to relinquiſh: and the limits of thoſe countries had never been defined with any degree of preciſion.

The ſeeds of a new war were alſo ripening in Aſia. On the coaſt of Malabar, the Engliſh and French had, in fact, never ceaſed from hoſtilities. The war between the Engliſh and French in thoſe parts, began by their reſpectively ſiding with two contending princes of the country; and from being ſecondaries in the quarrel, they at length became principals.

A. D. 1754.] The government of England had long remonſtrated to the French court concerning theſe encroachments; but the mutual claims and recriminations had rendered all negociations ineffectual, they therefore determined on having recourſe to other, and more forcible methods. Orders were accordingly diſpatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual defence; and, if poſſible, to bring the Indians over to eſpouſe their quarrels. But this meaſure having been long neglected, was now become a work of extreme difficulty, if not abſolutely impracticable. It had long been the method of the Engliſh to cultivate the friendſhip of this people in times of danger; but to ſlight it in circumſtances of ſafety; a conduct which had alienated the affections of the Indians from the Engliſh government. This averſion was increaſed by the avarice of our merchants, particularly of the Ohio company, which enjoying an excluſive monopoly, ſold them bad commodities, and treated them likewiſe with great inſolence.

In this manner the Engliſh had to contend, not only with the French, but the whole body of the Indian nations; while internal diſſenſions rendered their ſituation ſtill more deplorable. Some of the Engliſh provinces, which had either little to fear, or few advantages to expect from ſucceſs, declined furniſhing their ſhare of the ſupplies. At the ſame time, the governors of ſome other provinces became ſo odious by their rapacity, that the colonies refuſed to lend any aſſiſtance under the direction of ſuch obnoxious leaders. From theſe cauſes, the ſucceſſes of the French, in the beginning, was uninterrupted. There had been for ſome time, frequent ſkirmiſhes between their troops and thoſe of the Britiſh government. They had fought with general Laurence

rence in Nova-Scotia, and colonel Washington on the Ohio; and had usually come off victorious.

A. D. 1755.] The English ministry now began to take more effectual measures for the defence of the colonies. Four operations were undertaken in America at the same time. Of these, one was commanded by colonel Monkton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia; the second, farther to the south, was directed against Crown-point, under the command of general Johnson: the third, under the conduct of general Shirly, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth, which was yet farther southward, against Fort du Quesne, under general Braddock.

In these expeditions, Monkton was successful, as was likewise Johnson, though he failed in taking the fort which had been the chief object of his enterprize. Shirly was thought to have lost the season for operation by delay. Braddock was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat. This commander set forward upon his expedition in June, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival, he was informed, that the French at Fort du Quesne, against which he was destined, expected a reinforcement of five hundred men, and would then become his equals in the field; he, therefore, resolved to advance with all haste, and attack them, before they should become too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as possible, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a hideous country, inhabited only by wild beasts, and hunters still more formidable. Proceeding however, with intrepidity, he soon found himself advanced into the desarts of Oswego, where no European had ever before penetrated. But his caution was not equal to his courage. He took no care previously to explore the woods and thickets; and the nearer he approached the enemy, he seemed to become less heedful of danger. Having arrived within ten miles of the fortress which he was appointed to besiege, and marching forward through the forests with confidence of success, on a sudden his whole army was astonished by a general discharge of arms, from an enemy that still remained unseen. The vanguard of the English fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself still continued to command his brave associates, discovering at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence. At length, having received a musket-shot through the lungs, he immediately expired, and a general confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition and baggage, belonging to the detachment, were left to the enemy. About seven hundred men having perished in this expedition, the shattered remains of the army joined colonel Dunbar, and, returning by their former route, they arrived among the provincials of Philadelphia, where they spread a general consternation.

Admiral Boscawen, with a large fleet, having on board six thousand troops, sailed for America in April. When he arrived off Newfoundland, he waited to intercept the French fleet, which sailed from Brest in May, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe, with four thousand troops commanded by baron Dieskau. The great part of the French fleet entered the river St. Lawrence in safety, but two of them, the Alcide and Lys, which had been separated from the fleet, were taken after a sharp engagement with two ships of superior force, belonging to admiral Boscawen. The French king had continued his ambassador, the duke de Mirepoix, at London, who held frequent conferences with the ministry, in hopes of bringing about an accommodation. He had declared that his master would consider the first gun fired at sea in an hostile manner, as a declaration of war. Accordingly when the news of this action arrived at Paris, Mirepoix was recalled by his court, which complaine

complained loudly of Boſcawen's attacking the ſhips as a breach of national faith; but it was retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered repriſals both juſtifiable and neceſſary. In conſequence of the orders which had been given to ſeize the enemy's ſhips wherever they might be found, the Engliſh ports were ſoon filled with veſſels taken from the French; notwithſtanding that court would gladly have avoided a war at this time, and forbore to make repriſals; they even releaſed an Engliſh ſhip which had been carried into Nantes.

A. D. 1756.] All negociations being now ended between the two powers, a declaration of war followed ſoon after on each ſide. The French began by intimidating England with menaces of a formidable invaſion. Several bodies of their troops had for ſome time been ſent down to the coaſts that lay oppoſite to the Britiſh ſhores; and theſe were inſtructed in the diſcipline of embarking, and relanding from flat-bottomed boats, which were prepared in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men ſaid to be deſtined for this enterpriſe, amounted to fifty thouſand; but they diſcovered the utmoſt reluctance for the undertaking. Whether theſe preparations were really intended for deſcent, or meant only to terrify the Engliſh, appears to be uncertain. It is evident, however, that they anſwered the latter purpoſe. The Engliſh miniſtry at this time being weak, unpopular, and divided among themſelves, they, in this exigence, applied to the Dutch for ſix thouſand men, which they were obliged to furniſh by treaty in caſe of invaſion. The Dutch, however, refuſed the ſupply, alledging that their treaty was to ſupply troops in caſe of an actual, and not a threatened invaſion. The miniſtry being diſappointed of this aſſiſtance, brought over a body of Heſſians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thouſand men. Theſe ſuccours were no ſooner arrived than the miniſtry was execrated for reducing the nation to ſuch diſgrace as to ſeek for ſecurity in the aid of foreign mercenaries. The people demanded only a vigorous exertion of their own ſtrength and dreaded no force that could be led to invade the kingdom.

Mr. Onſlow, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, on preſenting the money bills for the royal aſſent, addreſſed the king in a ſpeech replete with ſentiments ſo juſt and conſtitutional, expreſſed in language ſo bold and animated as to merit the moſt diſtinguiſhed regard. After ſpecifying the extent and liberality of the grants, he obſerved, "that his majeſty's faithful commons apprehended that the preſent critical juncture evinces, that alliances on the continent, as they are unnatural, ſo they muſt ever be prejudicial to the true intereſt of England; and that there is no dependance to be placed on ſuch allies, who, ſupported as they have been by the blood and treaſure of this kingdom, have taken the opportunity of the firſt proſpect of preſent profit to break through every tie. Notwithſtanding ſubſidies to foreign princes, and an enormous debt of its own, an army of foreign troops, a thing *unprecedented* and *unknown*, brought into England; ſtill the nation had reliance upon his majeſty, and hoped that their burdens might be lightened, their fears removed as ſoon as poſſible, and, in the mean time, that the ſword of theſe *foreigners* ſhould not be truſted a moment out of his own hand to any other perſon whatſoever."

While the miniſtry introduced a horde of foreign mercenaries into the kingdom, and expended its treaſure on others, who betrayed and turned their arms againſt it; while they were idly alarming the nation with the report of an invaſion, they neglected to procure the neceſſary information reſpecting the deſtination of the French armament; though general Blakeney, governor of fort St. Philip, in the iſland of Minorca, ſent repeated advice of the weakneſs of his garriſon, and the Engliſh conſuls reſiding in Spain and Italy, ſent notice that a ſquadron of twelve or fifteen ſhips of the line, were fitting out in the harbour of Toulon, victualed only for two months, and therefore could not be deſtined for America; and that large bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of France to the neighbourhood

of

of Toulon: notwithſtanding theſe particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of the expedition, the miniſtry neglected to ſend any reinforcement to that iſland till the French fleet were ready to ſail, and their deſtination univerſally known; and then, inſtead of ſending a force that ſhould be every way ſuperior to the French, they allotted only ten ſhips to this ſervice, in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hoſpital or fire-ſhip. The command of this fleet was given to admiral Byng, who took out with him a regiment of fuzileers, commanded by lord Robert Bertie, intended as a reinforcement to fort St. Philip's; and on the ſeventh of April they ſet ſail for Gibraltar. After all the intelligence which had been received, the Engliſh government appeared to be ignorant of the enemy's force and deſtination, for by the inſtructions given to Mr. Byng, he was to enquire, upon his arrival at Gibraltar, whether any French ſquadron had paſſed the ſtraits? and if there had, as it was probably deſigned for America, he ſhould immediately detach Mr. Weſt, his rear admiral, to Louiſbourg, with ſuch a number of ſhips as when joined to thoſe at Halifax, would conſtitute a force ſuperior to that of the enemy; but if they had not paſſed the ſtraits, he was to take a battalion of troops from Gibraltar, and proceed with them to Minorca; and to exert himſelf for the defence of both thoſe places. When the admiral arrived at Gibraltar, he was joined by three other ſhips, making his whole force thirteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates. Here he was informed, that M. de la Galiſſionere, with a fleet of thirteen ſhips of the line, and a great number of tranſports, having on board fifteen thouſand troops, had made a deſcent on Minorca. As ſoon as the admiral received this intelligence, he ſent diſpatches to England, lamenting that he was not ſent out in time to prevent the landing of the French; complaining of the bad condition of the ſhips, and of the total deficiency which he found at Gibraltar of all neceſſaries for refitting. He pointed out the impracticability of relieving the fortreſs, and the impolicy of throwing men into it, if it was poſſible, as they could not be ſaved without a land force ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege. The miniſtry conſidered this latter as an accuſation of their negligence and incapacity, and foreſaw the loſs of the place, which would not fail to excite a national clamour; they therefore determined to ſhift the blame from themſelves, to the man who had preſumed to hint a diſapprobation of their conduct.

Many of the officers at Gibraltar ſuggeſted the impoſſibility of relieving Minorca at that time, and with his force. However he reſolved to make the attempt; and accordingly ſet ſail for that iſland, which he approached on the 19th of May. He perceived the Britiſh colours were ſtill flying at the caſtle of St. Philip, and ſeveral French batteries playing upon it. He detached captain Hervey with three ſhips to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, and land, if poſſible, a letter to general Blakeney, giving him to underſtand the fleet was come to his aſſiſtance. Before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the ſouth eaſt, and the wind blowing ſtrong off ſhore, he recalled the ſhips, and formed the line of battle. The enemy advanced in order, and about ſeven in the evening, tacked to gain the weather gage; Mr. Byng, in order to preſerve that advantage, and to make ſure of the land-wind, in the morning followed their example. At day break the enemy was not to be ſeen, but on their re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each ſide, and about two o'clock, admiral Byng threw out ſignals to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his diſtance from the enemy was ſo great, that rear admiral Weſt perceiving it impoſſible to comply with both orders, bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, in a ſlanting courſe, and cloſing down upon the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity that the ſhips which oppoſed him were driven out of the line; but as he was not ſupported by the van, he could not purſue his advantage, without the danger of having his communication with the reſt of the fleet cut off. In the beginning of the action the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's diviſion, was ſo diſabled in her rigging, that ſhe could not be

managed,

managed, and drove on the ſhip that was next in poſition; a circumſtance which obliged ſeveral others to throw all a-back to avoid confuſion, and for ſome time retarded the action. At this period, the Trident, which was next admiral Byng's ſhip, got between him and the enemy, and muſt have received his fire, if he had not ceaſed firing ſuddenly. From theſe circumſtances, it is obvious the admiral could not come to a cloſe engagement without breaking his line; and when his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he replied, that he would avoid the error of admiral Mathews, who in his engagement with the French fleet off Toulon, during the late war, had broke the line by his precipitation, and expoſed himſelf ſingly to a fire that he could not ſuſtain. By endeavouring therefore, to keep the line of battle entire, in order to fight with more advantage, it could ſcarcely be affirmed that he fought at all---the diſtance at which he engaged being ſo great, that he only received a few ſhot in his hull and rigging, nor was a ſingle man killed or wounded on board his ſhip, the Ramilies, a fine ſecond rate of ninety guns. But it muſt be acknowledged, in juſtice to the memory of this unfortunate commander, that though he was unwilling to break his line, he approached the enemy during the battle, and if they had continued in their ſtation, would in all probability have come to a cloſe engagement. As the French admiral was not deſirous of a continuance of the battle, he bore away under an eaſy ſail, about four o'clock. The Engliſh admiral chaſed a little way with his own diviſion; but as their ſhips were clean, while his were, many of them, extremely foul, he could not bring them to an engagement againſt their will; and judging it imprudent to leave his diſabled ſhips behind, he brought to, and remained in the place of action till the morning, when the enemy were out of ſight. The number of ſhips in both fleets were alike; but the French had the ſuperiority in the number of men and guns, and the weight of metal, as well as the ſize of their veſſels.

The action had taken place on the 20th of May, and the Engliſh fleet continued in this ſtation till the 24th, during which time the admiral detached cruiſers to look for ſome miſſing ſhips, which joined him accordingly, and made an enquiry into the condition of the ſquadron. The number of killed and wounded amounted to two hundred, beſide a great number of men that were ſick, and he had no veſſel that could be converted into an hoſpital ſhip. Three capital ſhips were ſo diſabled that they could not keep the ſea with ſafety, and five others greatly damaged. Mr. Byng now called a council of war, at which the land officers aſſiſted. He laid before them the preſent ſtate of the fleet, and the inſtructions he had received for his conduct in the Mediterranean. They unanimouſly agreed, that if there was no French fleet cruiſing off Minorca, the Engliſh fleet could not raiſe the ſiege; that if any further accident befel the Engliſh fleet, it would endanger the ſafety of Gibraltar; that as his inſtructions directed him to protect that fortreſs as well as Minorca, it was moſt for his majeſty's ſervice that he ſhould proceed immediately to Gibraltar. He accordingly ſailed for that place; and the French fleet again took their ſtation off Port Mahon.

Admiral Byng's letter, containing a detail of this action, arrived in England a conſiderable time before it was publiſhed, and when it appeared was curtailed of whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own juſtification, or implied a cenſure on the conduct of his ſuperiors. What uſe was made of this letter while it remained a ſecret from the public, we are not acquainted with; but the reaſon for publiſhing it in that mutilated ſtate is very obvious. To uſe the admiral's own words, when complaining of this iniquitous tranſaction, in his defence, it was, "To render him criminal in the eyes of the people, and make him ſubſcribe his name to his own defamation." On the 16th of June, admirals Hawke and Saunders ſailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to ſupercede Byng and Weſt in their command; and Mr. Byng's letter was not publiſhed till the 26th day of the ſame month, when it produced all the effect which the moſt bitter enemies of that gentleman could deſire. The populace broke out into the moſt ſavage reſentment againſt the devoted admiral, which could

could ſcarcely have been exceeded, had he, by his criminal miſconduct, ſacrificed the whole navy of England, and left the coaſt naked to an invaſion. This diſpoſition in the people was artfully promoted by emiſſaries, who mixed in all companies, and ridiculed and calumniated the unfortunate admiral, now devoted as the ſcape goat of the miniſtry. In order to keep up the popular deluſion, recourſe was had to the loweſt artifices, even mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

General Blakeney continued to make a gallant defence of fort St. Philips, which had been beſieged ever ſince the beginning of April; but he was obliged to capitulate with the duke de Richelieu, the French commander, early in July. The conqueſt of Minorca was celebrated by every demonſtration of joy in France, while it produced a depreſſion in England much greater than the loſs deſerved, and ſerved to increaſe the popular indignation againſt Mr. Byng. Admiral Hawke having received a reinforcement of five ſhips, ſailed to Port Mahon, where he ſaw the French colours flying at St. Philips. He then went in queſt of the French fleet under Galiſſionere, but as they had ſailed for Toulon he reſolved to block them up in their harbour. Finding himſelf diſappointed of bringing the French admiral to an engagement, he ſailed back to Gibraltar, from whence he returned to England with the homeward bound fleet, leaving part of his ſquadron for the protection of our commerce, which ſoon began to ſuffer extremely from French privateers that now ſwarmed in the Mediterranean.

In the mean time, admiral Byng was brought home under arreſt, and lodged in cloſe confinement at Greenwich-hoſpital, from whence he was removed to Portſmouth harbour, and brought to trial before a court martial. The trial laſted nineteen days, and a great number of witneſſes were examined. The admiral made an excellent defence; notwithſtanding the court were unanimouſly of opinion, that he did not do his utmoſt to deſtroy the ſhips of the enemy, and relieve St. Philips's caſtle; (but they took no notice in their reſolutions of the council of war which he had called while he lay off Port Mahon.) They therefore agreed unanimouſly, that as the twelfth article of war poſitively preſcribed *death* for ſuch offences without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court, they adjudged him to be ſhot to death: but as they did not believe his miſconduct to ariſe either from cowardice or diſaffection, but an error in judgment, they unanimouſly recommended him to mercy. During the trial, the admiral preſerved the moſt cheerful compoſure, and was ſo conſcious of his own innocence, that he made no doubt of his acquittal. He had even ordered his coach to be ready to take him to London as ſoon as the trial was finiſhed. However, being appriſed of his ſentence by a friend, who thought proper to prepare him for the occaſion, he heard his fatal doom with becoming fortitude; while, on the contrary, many members of the court martial manifeſted grief and anxiety, ſighing and ſhedding tears.

The lords of the admiralty having reviewed the proceedings of the court, and not finding the crime of negligence, for which the admiral was condemned, once mentioned therein, they ſent a letter to his majeſty, expreſſing their doubts of the legality of the ſentence. Great exertions were made by the relations of the unfortunate convict, and as circumſtances were ſo ſtrong in his favour, it was ſuppoſed the ſceptre of royal mercy would be extended to him. But in his defence, he had proved that he was ſent out too late to relieve Minorca, and that his force was not ſufficient, if it had arrived there earlier. This was an offence not to be forgiven by the miniſtry, as it threw upon them the blame of his miſcarriage. Infamous arts were uſed to whet the appetite of the populace for blood; the cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land, and his majeſty was perſuaded to believe, that the execution of admiral Byng was a victim abſolutely neceſſary to appeaſe the fury of the people. In conſequence of the repreſentation from the lords of the admiralty, the king referred the ſentence to the conſideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimouſly of opinion that the ſentence was legal. This report being

tranſmitted to the lords of the admiralty, they iſſued a warrant for the admiral's execution; but one gentleman at the board refuſed to ſubſcribe it, aſſigning for his reaſons, that the court martial had expreſsly acquitted the admiral of cowardice and diſaffection, and had not named the word negligence; he was therefore of opinion, that he did not come within the meaning of the twelfth article of war. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board the Monarque, in Portſmouth harbour, he advanced from the cabin where he had been confined, upon deck, the place appointed for him to ſuffer. At firſt he refuſed to have his eyes bound, but his friends repreſenting that his looks might intimidate the ſoldiers who were to ſhoot him, and prevent their taking a proper aim, he permitted his eyes to be bound up; after which, he kneeled down, dropped his handkerchief as a ſignal, and was killed inſtantaneouſly. Thus fell admiral John Byng, who ſeems to have been raſhly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly ſacrificed to vile conſiderations. Juſt before he was executed, he gave up a paper, in which he aſſerted his innocence: noticed the artful means which had been uſed to raiſe the popular clamour againſt him; declared his firm conviction; that impartial poſterity would do juſtice to his reputation, and conſider him as a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper object.

The king of England expected an attack on his German dominions, in conſequence of his war with France. He had therefore gone over to Hanover in the preceding year, to ſtrengthen himſelf by continental alliances. Saxony and Bavaria, notwithſtanding the large ſubſidies which they had received during the peace, now entered into oppoſite connexions, and the people of Great Britain ſaw themſelves duped and fleeced for the benefit of German princes. Notwithſtanding this inſtance of their perfidy and treachery, his majeſty entered into a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was to furniſh him with eight thouſand troops, during four years, and four thouſand more if they ſhould be demanded. Another treaty was at the ſame time ſet on foot, with the empreſs of Ruſſia, but not concluded till after his majeſty's return to England. By this treaty, the czarina engaged to furniſh his Britannic majeſty with forty thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand cavalry, and a naval force of fifty gallies, to be in readineſs to act at the requiſition of the king of England, ſhould his electoral dominions be invaded, for which he was to pay her an annual ſubſidy of five hundred thouſand pounds during four years, four months to be paid in advance. But the king of Pruſſia, conſidering one article of this treaty as a menace levelled at him, declared that he would oppoſe, with all his force, the entrance of any Foreign troops into the empire, on any pretence whatever; a declaration which probably flowed from his averſion to the court of Peterſburgh, as well as from a reſolution he had formed of ſtriking ſome great ſtroke in Germany, without any riſque of being controlled.

His Britannic majeſty perceived, by this declaration, he ſhould derive no advantage from his treaty with the czarina; and as the king of Pruſſia was conſidered as an ally of France, his electoral dominions might be overrun in a week by that monarch, if he gave him umbrage. In theſe circumſtances he ſought and obtained an alliance with Pruſſia, which involved England in a cruel and bloody war on the continent, and entailed upon her the enormous expenſe of extravagant ſubſidies, without being productive of one advantage. On the contrary, this connexion obliged the empreſs queen of Hungary, to throw herſelf into the arms of France, for protection from Pruſſia. To obtain the friendſhip of his Chriſtian majeſty, ſhe gave up the barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treaſure of England and Holland; and, after all, Hanover was ſubdued by the enemy. The empreſs queen and France had no ſooner ratified their defenſive treaty than the czarina was invited to accede to it, which ſhe accordingly embraced.

The court of Vienna, for her own preſervation, formed two conſiderable armies in Bohemia and Moravia, while the king of Pruſſia, having

having reſolved on his plan of operations, entered Saxony with a powerful army, and took poſſeſſion of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of an entrance into the Auſtrian dominions. He declared that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and that they ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt order and diſcipline. A body of his forces, under prince Ferdinand, brother of the duke of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of Leipſic, and publiſhed a declaration, ſignifying that it was his Pruſſian majeſty's intention to conſider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own ſubjects. As the firſt mark of his affection, he ordered them to furniſh the army with all ſorts of proviſions, on pain of military execution. He gave notice to the corporation of merchants, that they ſhould pay their taxes and cuſtoms to the king of Pruſſia: he took poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe and exciſe-office, and ordered the magazines of corn to be opened for the uſe of his ſoldiers. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, apprehenſive of ſuch a viſit, had aſſembled the troops of the electorate in a ſtrong camp, between Pirna and Konigſtein: thither he retired, with his ſons, Xaverius and Charles; while the queen, and the reſt of the royal family, were left at Dreſden. Of this capital, his Pruſſian majeſty took poſſeſſion, and though he promiſed that all due reſpect ſhould be paid to the royal family, this faithleſs tyrant, regardleſs of all entreaties from the queen, poſted guards in the palace, and broke open the cabinet where the papers relating to foreign tranſactions were depoſited. He ſoon after fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, near Pirna, and poſted his army ſo as to intercept all convoys of proviſions to the Saxon camp.

During theſe tranſactions, the greateſt part of the Pruſſian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of field-martial Keith, brother to the earl Mareſchal of Scotland, and encamped near Auſſing, at no great diſtance from the imperial army commanded by count Brown, an officer of Iriſh extract. The king of Pruſſia, having left a ſtrong body of troops for the blockade at Pirna, aſſumed in perſon the command of Keith's corps, and advanced to give the enemy battle. On the firſt of October, both armies drew up in order of battle, near Lowoſhutz, when a ſevere conflict enſued, in which between two and three thouſand men were loſt on each ſide. Both armies claimed the victory, but the Pruſſians were obliged to return to Saxony, where they rejoined that body which had been left for the blockade of Pirna.

His Poliſh majeſty, with his troops, were reduced to ſuch extremity as to be under the neceſſity of attempting an eſcape, or ſurrendering to the king of Pruſſia. He choſe the former alternative, and his army quitted their camp unobſerved; but at length they were ſurrounded by the Pruſſians, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The ſoldiers were afterwards, by compulſion, incorporated with the Pruſſian troops; and the king, who had retired to the fortreſs of Konigſtein, ſeeing himſelf ſtripped of his hereditary dominions, eſcaped into Poland. In his diſtreſs his Poliſh majeſty ſolicited the protection and mediation of neutral powers. His miniſter at the Hague preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, in which he repreſented that Saxony, a free and neutral ſtate, had been invaded in the midſt of a profound peace, without any pretence whatever; the lawful government aboliſhed, and a directory eſtabliſhed, which acknowledged no other law but the arbitrary will of the conqueror. That this was an attack upon the law of nations, which demanded the aſſiſtance of every power intereſted in its own liberty and independence.

The operations in America were very inconſiderable this year. Lord Loudoun was appointed commander in chief in that quarter; but, from unknown cauſes, he did not embark from England till May, and upon reaching the head-quarters, in June, at Albany, in the back-ſettlements of New York, he found all military operations, in a manner, ſuſpended in expectation of his arrival. After ſome deliberation general Webb was detached with ſome troops for the relief of Oſwego, but hearing that it was taken, he was obliged to return. Oſwego and Ontario

are two forts, built on oppoſite ſides of the river Onondago, at its mouth, where it empties itſelf into the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the lake Ontario, a kind of inland ſea on which veſſels are navigated. The garriſons conſiſted of fourteen hundred men, chiefly militia and new raiſed recruits, under the command of colonel Mercer. The marquis de Montcalm, commander of the French forces, firſt laid ſiege to Ontario, which the Engliſh were obliged to abandon, and retired acroſs the water to Oſwego: here colonel Mercer was killed, and the garriſon finding further reſiſtance in vain, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The victors demoliſhed the forts, in which they found one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, with great quantity of military ſtores, beſide two ſloops and two hundred batteaux. Lord Loudoun finding the ſeaſon too far advanced to admit of any enterpriſe againſt the enemy, exerted himſelf in making preparations for an early campaign next ſpring.

A. D. 1757.] The diſaſters with which the war had been attended, was attributed to the want of wiſdom and vigour in the miniſtry; and the proſpect of their acquieſcing in a continental war brought them ſtill farther into contempt and deteſtation with the people. In order to remove from their own ſhoulders part of what future cenſure might enſue, they admitted into a ſhare of the adminiſtration Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge and ſome other gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity. The former of theſe was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department; and the other, chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by the brilliancy of his parts, and had acquired the eſteem of the people by his oppoſition to ſtanding armies, foreign ſubſidies, continental connexions, and every other meaſure that was either unconſtitutional or inimical to the intereſt of the country. After the laſt excluſion of the earl of Granville from his majeſty's council, when the duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Pelham came into office again, they thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen themſelves by an alliance with Mr. Pitt. Accordingly, in 1746, he was made paymaſter-general of the land forces; and his preſent elevation gave great ſatisfaction to the people, as they hoped from the virtue and abilities of him and his friends, who now came into office with him, to ſee the war proſecuted with effect, and brought to a ſpeedy iſſue. But the old junto found their new aſſociates very unfit for their purpoſes. They could neither perſuade nor intimidate them into meaſures which they thought repugnant to the true intereſts of their country, even though diſtinguiſhed by the predilection of the king. Thoſe who immediately ſurrounded the throne are ſuppoſed to have repreſented to his majeſty, that their new colleagues were obſtinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with ſuch men they could not move the machine of government according to his inclinations. Theſe ſuggeſtions produced the deſired effect: by his majeſty's command Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, on the 9th of April; and Mr. Legge, the office of chancellor of the exchequer. What was intended as their diſgrace turned out to their honour. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man in vindication of their character: every mouth was opened in their praiſe; and ſeveral cities preſented them with the freedom of their corporations in a gold box. A great number of addreſſes were preſented to the king, requeſting him to reſtore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. His majeſty complied with their requeſt, and re-delivered the ſeals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him ſecretary of ſtate, on the 29th of June, and Mr. Legge was reſtored to the office of chancellor of the exchequer. To prevent any diſagreeable effects from an oppoſing faction, a coalition was formed between the parties, and ſeveral members of the old adminiſtration were permitted to have a ſhare in the preſent. Mr. Pitt was without any competitor of equal talents but Mr. Fox. This gentleman had likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his commanding eloquence. He was appointed ſecretary of

war

war about the ſame time Mr. Pitt came firſt into office. After the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754, ſir Thomas Robinſon was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, but feeling himſelf unequal to the office he reſigned, and the ſeals were given to Mr. Fox; but he was removed when Mr. Pitt became ſecretary: however, under the laſt arrangement, he was made paymaſter of the land forces.

The ambition of the king of Pruſſia had excited the fear and jealouſy of a majority of the other ſtates of the empire as well as Ruſſia and Sweden. He was therefore put under the ban of the empire, as elector of Brandenburgh, by the Aulic council; declared to have forfeited all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were eſcheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles ordered to furniſh their reſpective contingencies for putting this ſentence in execution. The king of Pruſſia having prepared for a vigorous campaign, entered Bohemia by four different routes, with four large armies, all of which were victorious. At the head of one of them, he laid ſiege to the city of Prague, the capital, great part of which he reduced to aſhes, and overwhelmed many of the inhabitants in the conflagration, while famine ſtared the ſurvivors in the face. In this extremity, they reſolved to ſend twelve thouſand uſeleſs mouths out of the town; but the inhuman barbarian drove them back again.

The empreſs queen, ſeeing her armies defeated and diſperſed, her territories over-run by the enemy, and Vienna itſelf threatened, was filled with the utmoſt conſternation. In this ſituation of her affairs, Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to command the Auſtrian army, to ſtem the torrent of diſgrace, and turn the fortune of war. This general collected the broken remains of the Auſtrian army, and took poſt at Kolin, where he ſtrongly entrenched himſelf, opened the ſupply of recruits, and inſpired the garriſon of Prague with the hopes of being ſoon relieved. Here he kept cloſe within his camp, divided the Pruſſian forces, by obliging the king to ſend part of his army to watch his motions, and harraſſed the enemy by cutting off their convoys. His army grew every day more numerous; and the king of Pruſſia determined to attack him before he ſhould be too powerful to cope with. He accordingly marched to Kolin with a body of thirty-two thouſand men, infantry and cavalry, while he left the greateſt part of his army to continue the ſiege of Prague. The Pruſſians animated by their former victories, fought with uncommon reſolution; they were many times repulſed, and as often renewed the attack, till victory at length declared for the Auſtrians. The loſs of both armies was very conſiderable; on that of the Pruſſians, it amounted to eight thouſand in killed and wounded. This defeat obliged the king immediately to raiſe the ſiege of Prague; and the impriſoned Auſtrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpreſſible joy. Their united forces were now ſuperior to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia, who was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retreat into Saxony.

The duke of Cumberland was at the head of the allied army in Weſtphalia, amounting to forty thouſand men, for the protection of Hanover. The French, under the mareſchal d'Etrees, having taken Pruſſian Guelderland, croſſed the Rhine, and obliged the allies to retreat over the Weſer. It was imagined that the paſſage of the Weſer, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been diſputed by the duke, as it might have been maintained without great difficulty; but he retreated to Haſtenbeck, while the French croſſed the river. On the 25th of July, the French attacked the allied camp, when the duke was defeated, and the enemy remained entire maſter of Hanover, which together with Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle and the duchies of Bremen and Verden, were laid under contributions. A detachment was alſo ſent to take poſſeſſion of the territories of Heſſe-Caſſel, which met with no oppoſition; another detachment had taken poſſeſſion of Emden, the only ſea port belonging to the king of Pruſſia, on the German ocean. The duke was now in an alarming ſituation, he had retreated to Stadt; in front he had the German ocean, the rivers Elbe and Weſer on his right and left, and the French had taken poſſeſſion of

all the paſſes, ſo that he had no alternative remaining but to capitulate, which he did in September, at the treaty of Cloſter-ſeven, by which the troops were diſarmed and diſbanded. The duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he was greatly cenſured, and he reſigned his military employment in diſguſt.

One of the firſt meaſures of the new miniſtry was a projected deſcent on the coaſt of France. It was thought this would make a powerful diverſion in favour of the duke of Cumberland, by drawing the forces that were attacking him to the defence of that country; and that by deſtroying their ſhipping in their harbours, the ſuccours would be cut off from America, and the Britiſh commerce would be ſecured. For this expedition, a fleet of eighteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, were equipped, and the command given to ſir Edward Hawke; and ten regiments of foot, under the command of ſir John Mordaunt, were ordered on this ſervice. By various impediments, the ſailing of this armament was retarded till the eighteenth of September: when they reached the iſle Aix, at the mouth of the Charente, they landed ſome troops, and demoliſhed the fortifications It was intended to have proceeded up the river, and deſtroy the ſhipping and fortifications of Rochefort; but, after ſpending ſeveral days in ſounding the coaſt, and holding councils of war, the ſcheme was pronounced impracticable, and they returned to England. The failure of this expedition, which coſt near a million of money, produced diſcontent in the nation, equal to the high expectations that had been formed of it. The miniſtry blamed the commanders for not having done their duty; and they recriminated upon the miniſters for having put the nation to ſuch an expence, before they procured the neceſſary information: in the end, ſir John Mordaunt was tried by a court-martial, and honorably acquitted.

After the defeat of the duke of Cumberland, the command of the French army was given to the mareſchal duke de Richelieu. The king of Pruſſia was at this time in a perilous ſituation; ſurrounded by numerous and powerful enemies, he knew not which way to turn, and the ſame fate which threatened the empreſs but a few months before, through his means, ſeemed now ready to burſt upon himſelf. The duke de Richelieu entered Brandenburgh with his army, plundering the towns, and exacting heavy contributions. The Ruſſians, under mareſchal Apraxin, who had been long hovering on his territories, haſtened forward into ducal Pruſſia, marking their progreſs by unbridled cruelty, luſt, and rapine. Twenty-two thouſand Swedes penetrated into Pruſſian Pomerania, and laid the whole country under contribution. A large body of Auſtrians penetrated as far as Breſlau, in Sileſia; then turning back, they took the important fortreſs of Schweidnitz. Another body entered Luſatia, and took Zittau. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubiſe, in full march to Saxony, left the greateſt part of the Auſtrian forces for the reduction of Sileſia. An Auſtrian general, penetrating through Luſatia, paſſed the Pruſſian armies, and entering Berlin ſuddenly, laid the capital under contribution; but he retired on the approach of a body of Pruſians. Amidſt ſuch numerous invaders, it was in vain that the king of Pruſſia faced about to every incurſion. While he purſued one body, another penetrated from behind; and even while he was victorious, his territories were daily diminiſhing. The greater part of his dominions was laid under contribution, moſt of his ſtrong cities were taken, and he had no other reſources but what the Britiſh parliament might think fit to ſupply. How different is this picture from that which he exhibited when he firſt entered Saxony. But what muſt be the ſituation of a country torn to pieces by ſuch numerous foreign armies, often actuated by motives of revenge, and who enter, not always for the purpoſe of making a permanent conqueſt, but to drain it of it's wealth, and retain it as the price of peace. Could thoſe men who are dignified with the appellation of kings, think of the miſeries they entailed upon their ſubjects by their wild ambition, they would ſurely reflect before they plunged their country into war.

The

The war in America had proved as unſucceſsful as in Europe, on the part of England. Lord Loudoun having collected all the troops he was able, marched to Halifax with a view to attack Louiſbourg; but he learned that the French were in ſuch force that he was obliged to lay aſide his deſign. Montcalm made three attacks on fort William-Henry, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of Lake George, but he was repulſed. Colonel Parker, with a detachment of four hundred men, went by water to attack the advanced guard at Ticonderago; but they fell into an ambuſh, and were all cut to pieces, except ſeventy. Montcalm again beſieged Fort William-Henry, when the garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, made a vigorous reſiſtance, but their cannon being almoſt all burſt, and their ammunition expended, they were obliged to capitulate on condition of not ſerving for eighteen months. The Fort was demoliſhed; and thus terminated the campaign.

In the Eaſt Indies, hoſtilities had never been wholly ſuſpended ſince the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but, under the conduct of Mr. Clive, the Engliſh affairs gained the aſcendency. This gentleman went out as a clerk; but he afterwards entered the army, and roſe to the chief command. His firſt atchievement was clearing the province of Arcot; after which the French general was taken priſoner, and the nabob, whom the Engliſh ſupported, was reinſtated in the government. The French, diſcouraged by theſe misfortunes, and ſenſible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, ſent over to Europe a commiſſary, with the view of reſtoring peace. A convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded; importing that the territories taken on either ſide, ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the nabobs, advanced by the influence of either party, ſhould be acknowledged by both; and that for the future, neither ſhould interfere in the differences that might ariſe between the princes of the country. But this treaty, which promiſed ſuch quiet to both parties, proved of ſhort duration. In a few months they renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce.

Ali Verdi Khan, ſubah or viceroy of Bengal, dying in April 1756, was ſucceeded by his adopted ſon, Sou Rajah al Dowla, the grandſon of his brother. The new ſubah viewed, with alarm and apprehenſion, the additional fortifications carrying on at Fort William, in conſequence of the war declared againſt France, and frequently deſired the governor to deſiſt. His menaces, however, were diſregarded by the Engliſh, and he ſent a large body of troops to ſummon Calcutta to ſurrender. What were the remote cauſes of the jealouſy of the ſubah, and induced him to take this meaſure, is not eaſily explained; for great pains have been taken to throw a veil over ſome tranſactions from whence it was derived. The governor being intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and took refuge in a ſhip in the river. Mr. Holwell, to whom the command now devolved, made a gallant defence, but he was obliged to yield to ſuperior force, when the garriſon, amounting to one hundred and forty-ſix perſons, were made priſoners. They expected the uſual treatment of captives of war; but ſoon found what mercy was to be expected from a ſavage conqueror. They were all crouded together into a narrow priſon, called the Black-hole, of about eighteen feet ſquare, and admitting air only by two ſmall iron windows to the weſt, which by no means afforded a ſufficient circulation. Such a ſituation would have been intolerable in the coldeſt regions; but in the climate of India it was peculiarly peſtilential. Their firſt efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, was to break open the door of the priſon; but as it opened inward, they found the attempt impracticable. They next endeavoured to excite the compaſſion, or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large ſum of money for his aſſiſtance in removing them to ſeparate priſons; but with this requeſt he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was aſleep, and no perſon dared to diſturb him. They were now, therefore, left

to

to die without hopes of relief; and the priſon was filled with groans, ſhrieks, conteſt, and deſpair. This turbulence, however, ſoon after ſunk into a calm ſtill more hideous. Their ſtrength was exauſted, and nothing remained but an expiring languor. In the morning, when the keepers came to viſit the priſon, all was horror, ſilence, and deſolation. Of a hundred and forty-ſix perſons who had entered alive, twenty-three only ſurvived, and of theſe the greater part died of putrid fevers upon being ſet free.

The deſtruction of this important fortreſs interrupted the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh company; but in a ſhort time, the ſcale was again turned in their favour, by the fortune of Mr. Clive, ſeconded by the activity of an Engliſh fleet, under the command of admiral Watſon. In the number of thoſe who in this part of the world, experienced the power of the Engliſh, was the famous Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince, who had long infeſted the Indian ocean, and made the princes on the coaſt his tributaries. He maintained a great number of gallies, with which he attacked the largeſt ſhips, and generally with ſucceſs. As the company had been greatly moleſted by his depredations, a reſolution was formed of attacking this formidable enemy in his own fortreſs. Admiral Watſon and colonel Clive, therefore ſailed into his harbour of Geria; and though they ſuſtained a warm fire as they entered, they ſoon ſet all his fleet on fire, and obliged his fort to ſurrender at diſcretion. Here the conquerors found a large quantity of warlike ſtores, and effects to a conſiderable amount.

After demoliſhing this fortreſs, colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge for the cruelty practiſed upon the Engliſh at Calcutta. About the beginning of December he arrived at Balaſore, in the kingdom of Bengal. He met with little oppoſition either to the fleet or the army, until they came before Calcutta, which ſeemed reſolved to ſtand a regular ſiege. The admiral, with two ſhips, having arrived before the town, he received from all the batteries a furious fire, which he ſoon returned with greater execution, and in leſs than two hours, obliged them to abandon their fortifications.

Soon after theſe ſucceſſes, Hughly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the ſtore-houſes and granaries belonging to the viceroy of Bengal were deſtroyed. This barbarous prince, in order to repair theſe loſſes, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot, and declared a firm reſolution of expelling the Engliſh from all their ſettlements in that part of the world. On receiving intelligence of his march, colonel Clive, obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ſhips, advanced with his little army to meet theſe numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and though the numbers were ſo diſproportioned, victory ſoon declared in favour of the Engliſh.

A conqueſt ſo eaſily obtained by a ſmall body of foreigners, ſoon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his own ſubjects. His cowardice now made him deſpicable, as his former cruelty odious. A conſpiracy, therefore, was projected againſt him by Ali Khan, his prime miniſter; and the Engliſh having private intimation of the deſign, they reſolved to ſecond it with all their endeavours. With this view, colonel Clive, knowing that he had a friend in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and ſoon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army. After a ſhort conteſt, Clive was as uſual victorious. The whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible ſlaughter. Ali Khan, who firſt incited his maſter to this undertaking, concealed his attachment to the Engliſh until he ſaw there was no danger from his perfidy. But upon the aſſurance of the victory, he openly eſpouſed the ſide of the conquerors, and in conſequence of his private ſervices, was, by order of colonel Clive, proclaimed viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, in the room of the former nabob, who was ſolemnly depoſed, and ſoon after put to death by his perfidious ſucceſſor.

After the conqueſt of the Indians, colonel Clive turned his arms againſt the French, who had long contended for empire in that part

part of the world. In a ſhort time, Chandenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was forced to ſubmit to the Engliſh power. The goods and money found in this place were conſiderable; but the loſs of the ſettlement affected the vanquiſhed yet more. Thus in one campaign, through the activity of Clive, and the co-operation of the admirals, Watſon and Pococke, the Engliſh became poſſeſſed of a territory ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any kingdom in Europe. Above two millions ſterling were paid to the company and the ſurvivors of the impriſonment at Calcutta; the ſoldiers and ſeamen ſhared ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and the Engliſh power gained an inconteſtible ſuperiority in the Eaſt.

The French, alarmed at this ſucceſs, ſent out a conſiderable reinforcement, under the command of general Lally, an Iriſhman, from whoſe bravery and experience they entertained great hopes of retrieving their affairs in India. Under his direction the affairs of the French for ſome time ſeemed to wear a better aſpect. He took from the Engliſh their ſettlement of fort St. David's, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying ſiege to Madras, the chief ſettlement of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel. In the ſiege of this important place, however, he met with greater difficulties than he expected. The artillery of the garriſon was well-managed, while on the other ſide, the French ſoldiers behaved with the greateſt timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry ſecond the ardour of the general. In vain did Lally attempt to lead on his troops to a breach that had been practicable ſeveral days. Though it continued open a fortnight, not one dared to venture the aſſault. To add to his embarraſſments, he was ill-ſupplied with proviſions; and he found that the garriſon had been ſtrengthened by a reinforcement. In deſpair of ſucceſs, therefore, he raiſed the ſiege; and this miſcarriage ſo diſpirited the troops, that they ſeemed to proſecute every ſucceeding operation with the greateſt reluctance.

During theſe conteſts, an enterprize ſeemed to be meditating in a quarter where the Engliſh leaſt ſuſpected any hoſtile deſign. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing their garriſons in Bengal, equipped an armament of ſeven ſhips, which were ordered to ſail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chinchura ſo formidable as to exclude all other nations from the ſaltpetre trade, which was carried on at that place, and thus monopolize the commodity. This deſign, however, colonel Clive judged fit to oppoſe. He accordingly informed the Dutch commander by a letter, that he could not permit the accompliſhment of his enterprize, as he foreſaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this meſſage the Dutchman replied, that he had no ſuch deſigns of a monopoly as were imputed to him, and he only requeſted the liberty to land and refreſh his troops. This appearing reaſonable, was quickly granted: but the Dutch commander was no ſooner informed that the ſhips intended to ſecond his operations were come into the river, than he proceeded higher up to Tannah fort, took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the Engliſh, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have received, and debarked the troops, who immediately marched for Chinchura. Whether the Calcutta Indiaman was ſent out upon this occaſion to oppoſe the Dutch, or only purſuing her voyage down the river to England, is uncertain; but ſhe was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return to Calcutta, Colonel Clive, when informed of this treatment, ordered three India ſhips which were in the harbour to ſail towards the Dutch fleet, and ſink them if they offered to reſiſt. The command was received, and would have been executed with great alacrity; but after a few broadſides, the Dutch commander ſtruck, and his example was followed by the reſt of the fleet. The troops which had been ſent to Chinchura were not more fortunate. Colonel Ford was ſent with a detachment to intercept their march: when in an

engagement many of the Dutch were killed, and the ſurvivors taken priſoners. At length an accommodation was ſet on foot with colonel Clive, by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. After all, perhaps the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory on a more reſpectable footing, that they might acquire more conſequence among the people of the country, and thereby extend their commerce. At any rate, the Dutch could not be debarred the privilege of ſending a reinforcement to their own garriſons, without violating the law of nations.

Meanwhile the operations againſt the French were carried on with great ſucceſs. The troops, headed by colonel Coote, an officer of prudence and valour, marched againſt general Lally, with the reſolution of coming to a deciſive engagement. On his march he made himſelf maſter of the city of Wandewaſh; he afterwards reduced the fortreſs of Carangoly, and at length came up with the French general, who had no thought of declining the engagement. Early in the morning, the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the Engliſh line; and the cannonading began with great fury on both ſides. The engagement continued with obſtinacy until about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled towards their camp. They ſoon, however, abandoned this retreat, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors.

In conſequence of this victory, the city of Arcot was retaken; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the ſtrong town of Pondicherry, their moſt important ſettlement in that country. As ſoon as the adjacent fortreſſes were reduced, colonel Coote ſat down before this city, in the reſolution of blockading it by land, while admiral Stevens ſhut up the harbour by ſea. A regular ſiege, on account of the periodical rains, was at that time impracticable; but neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate were able to abate the ardour of the beſiegers. The blockade was continued, and the garriſon ſo cloſely preſſed, that it was reduced to extreme diſtreſs. Lally, however, was determined to hold out the place to the laſt. During this interval, fortune ſeemed to give the beſieged an opportunity of relief, had it been ſeized with vigour. By one of thoſe dreadful tempeſts, common in that climate, a large part of the Engliſh fleet, employed in blocking up the harbour, was wrecked. Lally wrote the moſt preſſing letters to the French reſidents at the Dutch ſettlements, to be ſupplied with proviſions; but, to his mortification, inſtead of ſeeing the French boats come to his relief, he only ſaw, in leſs than four days, the Engliſh admiral returning into the harbour, after repairing the damage which his ſhips had ſuſtained. Lally, though he ſaw his troops conſumed with fatigue and famine, perſevered, with a ſavage obſtinacy, to hold out; until at length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that only one day's proviſion remained, he permitted a ſignal to be made for ceaſing hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding this meaſure, he continued to act with the unaccountable perverſeneſs of his temper: he ſent a paper filled with the bittereſt reproaches againſt the Engliſh; and alledged, that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had tranſgreſſed all the laws of honour. He at laſt ſurrendered the place, not in his own perſon, but permitted ſome inferior officers in the garriſon to obtain terms of capitulation. By this important conqueſt, the French power in India was overthrown; and the chief part of the territory and trade of that vaſt peninſula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was now annexed to the Britiſh empire.

A. D. 1758.] Whatever the people might promiſe themſelves from the new miniſter, who has been the ſubject of ſo much panegyric, they were not relieved from foreign ſubſidies. The king of Pruſſia, in his diſtreſs addreſſed a letter to the king of England, containing the following expreſſions: "Conſider the ſtep you have made me undertake, and remember you are the cauſe of all my misfortunes. I ſhould never have abandoned my former alliances, but for your flattering aſſurances.

ances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I intreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." While this serves to shew where the war in Europe originated, it likewise shews that the people of England are to be burdened with the whole expence of maintaining it. The parliament granted a subsidy of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds to Prussia; another of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to Hesse-Cassel; besides subsidies to other German mercenaries.

In the reign of king William, when the act of settlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause in that act, that the commissions of the judges should continue *during good behaviour*, and that their salaries should be established; but, in the present session, a sum of money was granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation. If it was necessary, in the first instance, to secure the independence of the judges, by fixing their salaries, the present increase of prerogative must be dangerous to the liberties of the people. It should moreover be considered, that the act of settlement was a condition on which this family came to the throne, and therefore should be held sacred; but by the shameful concessions of parliament almost all its salutary provisions have been rendered nugatory. Another noble, but ineffectual struggle was made for shortening the duration of parliaments. It was now opposed, because the country was at war; and formerly, because the country was in peace. These two *substantial* reasons will, at all times, suit the ministers of corruption and venality.

Commodore Howe was appointed to make a descent on the coast of France, with four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, ten cutters, and one hundred and thirty transports; and an army consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. This armament having sailed for France, the troops were landed in Cancalle bay, and marched to St. Maloes, which being strongly fortified, they made no attempt upon it. But in a bason behind the town, they discovered two ships of war, and a great number of privateers and merchant-men, which they set on fire, and reduced to ashes, besides a great quantity of naval stores that were in the magazines. After pillaging the country, and collecting contributions, the troops were re-embarked, and returned to England.

The success of this enterprize induced the ministry to appoint another expedition, and, on this occasion, the command of the land forces was given to general Bligh. The fleet sailed for the bay of Cherbourg, where the troops were landed with very little opposition, and marched to the town, which was quite defenceless. A manifesto was published, assuring the inhabitants of protection, and they received their new guests with great civility, for which they met with a very ungrateful return: their houses were pillaged, and many acts of barbarity were committed. The general, however, took measures for putting a stop to these outrages; but he levied contributions to the amount of three thousand pounds, and sent out detachments of light horse to scour the country. He destroyed the forts and bason of Cherbourg, and then, taking away twenty pieces of brass cannon, embarked.

Their next expedition was against St. Maloes, but this place is so strongly fortified, both by art and nature, as to resist any attack, either by land or sea; however, the army having landed, general Bligh was unwilling to re-embark, without taking some further steps to annoy the enemy. The fleet sailed to the bay of St. Cas, and he followed at no great distance from the coast. The general had marched within three miles of the bay, when he received intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, and eighteen pieces of artillery. He therefore broke up his camp, and marched to the beach

of

of St. Cas, to embark his troops. Here he was attacked by the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of an eminence, and opened a battery, from whence they fired upon the ſoldiers on the beach and in the boats, with conſiderable effect. They afterwards marched down the hill, but ſuffered extremely from the cannon of the ſhipping in their deſcent. Though the greateſt part of the troops were embarked, the rear-guard, amounting to fifteen hundred men, under the command of general Dury, remained on ſhore.

The French formed themſelves in an extended line on the plain; while the Engliſh line was drawn up on uneven ground. A conflict enſued; the Engliſh were routed, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion, purſued by the enemy, who fell in among them with fixed bayonets and made a great carnage. General Dury, being wounded, ran into the ſea, where he periſhed; and this was the fate of a great number. Many ſwam towards the boats and veſſels, which gave them every poſſible aſſiſtance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water. A ſmall body retired to a rock, where they made a ſtand until they had exhauſted their ammunition, and then ſurrendered at diſcretion. The ſlaughter would not have been ſo great had not the French ſoldiers been exaſperated by the fire from the frigates, which was maintained even after the Engliſh troops were routed; but this was no ſooner ſilenced by a ſignal from commodore Howe, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquiſhed. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the Britiſh troops in this expedition had been ſhamefully guilty of pillage, burning, and other outrages.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick aſſumed the chief command of the allied army this ſeaſon; and was in ſuch force that the French were obliged to quit Hanover, and were driven from one poſt to another till they croſſed the Rhine. At Crevelt he gave them battle, and obtained a victory; but by no means deciſive. The prince having in vain endeavoured to bring the French to a ſecond engagement, re-croſſed the Rhine, into Weſtphalia, where he was joined by the Britiſh forces, who came too late to ſignalize themſelves in the field. The French having been reinforced, followed the allies into Weſtphalia, in which country both armies took up their winter quarters.

The money granted by the Britiſh parliament to the king of Pruſſia, enabled him to renew the miſeries of thoſe devoted countries which were occupied by his armies. Frederick, having commenced the campaign, inveſted the fortreſs of Olmutz, in Moravia. Count Daun was not ſtrong enough to encounter him in the field; but he took a ſtrong poſition among the mountains, by which he was able to harraſs the beſieging army, and cut off their convoys, ſo that he compelled the king to raiſe the ſiege. Frederick now marched into Bohemia, thither he was followed by mareſchal Daun. But the attention of the king was drawn towards another object. The Ruſſians had ravaged Pruſſia, and were now in Sileſia, ſo that Frederick was obliged to leave the conqueſt of Bohemia to protect his own dominions. Accordingly he began his march for Sileſia, and reached Zorndorf, where he drew up his army in order of battle. The Ruſſians did not decline the engagement; a furious action enſued, and the Pruſſians obtained the victory. After all reſiſtance was at an end, the king of Pruſſia did not ſtop the carnage: the wretched Ruſſians were hewn down without mercy. In this battle they are ſaid to have loſt above fifteen thouſand men, while that of the Pruſſians did not exceed two thouſand.

When the king of Pruſſia quitted Bohemia, count Daun marched to Saxony, with a view to attack the army of prince Henry, brother to his Pruſſian majeſty. But Frederick was no ſooner acquainted with his perilous ſituation, than he procured a reinforcement, and marched to his relief. The king poſted himſelf at Hochkirchen; the Auſtrians were in his neighbourhood, and a battle was deſirable to both parties. Count Daun had reſolved to attack the Pruſſians by ſurpriſe, which was ſuggeſted

ſuggeſted to him by an overſight of the king's. Having taken his meaſures with wonderful ſecrecy and circumſpection, the troops began to move in the night of the thirteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog which greatly increaſed the darkneſs. The action began at four in the morning, and continued for ſeveral hours with great fury amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion. The king exerted all his known abilities; but about ten o'clock he was obliged to retire with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Auſtrian general much cauſe to boaſt of his victory; his loſs of men was nearly equal. Count Daun contented himſelf by amuſing the king of Pruſſia in Luſatia, while two other Auſtrian generals were carrying on their operations in Sileſia. As Frederick could not ſpare detachments to oppoſe every different corps of enemies, he marched off in perſon to Sileſia, leaving prince Henry in Saxony.

In the mean time mareſchal Daun, taking advantage of the king's abſence, laid ſiege to Dreſden, the capital. As the houſes that conſtituted the ſuburbs were generally ſo high as to overlook the ramparts and command the city, count Schmettau, the governor, prepared combuſtibles, and gave notice to the magiſtrates, that they would be ſet on fire as ſoon as an Auſtrian ſhould appear within the place. This muſt have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of theſe ſuburbs which compoſed one of the moſt elegant towns in Europe. In theſe houſes, which were lofty and magnificent, the moſt faſhionable and wealthy claſs of the people reſided, and here a number of artiſts carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magiſtrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Pruſſian governor, and repreſented in the moſt ſubmiſſive ſtrain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they ſhould be exempted from the horrors of devaſtation. In vain the royal family who remained at Dreſden, conjured him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and allow them at leaſt a ſecure reſidence, ſince they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his maſter, which he could not diſobey with any regard to his own ſafety. On the ninth of November, the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſt of the garriſon and drove them into the ſuburbs, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled all his troops within the city, after they had ſet fire to the ſuburbs. At three in the morning the ſignal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to aſhes the beautiful ſuburbs of Pirna, which had ſo lately flouriſhed as the ſeat of gaiety, pleaſure, and the ingenious arts. Every boſom warmed with benevolence muſt be affected at the recital of ſuch calamities. It excites not only our compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers, but our reſentment againſt the perpetrators of ſuch enormity. The king of Pruſſia having relieved thoſe places that were in a ſtate of ſiege in Sileſia, returned to Dreſden, when he approved of the conduct of the governor. Count Daun had retired at his approach, and marched back to Bohemia.

In September, the preſident of the Pruſſian military directory at Dreſden, ſent a letter to the magiſtrates of Leipſic, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns. In anſwer to this demand, the magiſtrates repreſented that the city having been exhauſted by the enormous contributions already raiſed, was abſolutely incapable of furniſhing further ſupplies; that the trade was ruined, and the inhabitants ſo impoveriſhed that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonſtrance made no impreſſion. At five in the morning the Pruſſian ſoldiers aſſembled, and were poſted in all the ſtreets, ſquares, market places, towers, and ſteeples; then the gates being ſhut, the ſenators were brought into the town-hall, and accoſted by general Hauſs, who told them, the king his maſter would have money; and if they refuſed to part with it, the city ſhould be plundered. To this peremptory addreſs, they replied, "*We have no more money,---we have nothing left but life;---and we recommend ourſelves to the king's mercy.*" In conſequence

of this declaration, diſpoſitions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannons were planted in the ſtreets, the inhabitants were ordered to keep within doors, and every houſe reſounded with diſmal lamentations. A party of ſoldiers, commanded by a ſubaltern, went from houſe to houſe, ſignifying to every burgher that he ſhould produce all his ſpecie, on pain of immediate pillage and maſſacre; and every inhabitant gave up his all without further heſitation. The ſoldiers then returned to their quarters, but the magiſtrates were detained in confinement, and the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and conſternation.

But this execrable meaſure was not ſufficient to fill up the ſufferings of the unfortunate Saxons, and gratify the tyrant. When the king of Pruſſia firſt entered Saxony, he declared he had no deſign to make a conqueſt of that electorate; but on his laſt arrival at Dreſden, it was ſignified by a decree of the Pruſſian directory, that though his majeſty had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his ſpecial protection, he would for the future conſider it in no other light than as a conquered country. Though the city had been impoveriſhed by former exactions, and very lately ſubjected to military execution, the king of Pruſſia demanded freſh contributions, and even extorted them by ſeverities that ſhock humanity. He ſurrounded the exchange with ſoldiers, and confining the merchants to ſtraw-beds and naked apartments, compelled them to draw bills for very large ſums on their foreign correſpondents. Both the king of England and the king of Pruſſia proſecuted the war on the continent, under the ſtale pretence of maintaining the proteſtant religion; but theſe outrages were committed in a country where that religion flouriſhed; a country that was in profound peace, until invaded by a mercileſs uſurper.

No attempt had hitherto been made upon the French ſettlements in Africa; but after repeated ſolicitation from Mr. Thomas Cumming, an intelligent quaker, the miniſtry agreed to ſend a ſmall ſquadron on this expedition. This gentleman, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, and contracted an acquaintance with the king of that country. He found this prince well diſpoſed towards the ſubjects of Great Britain, whom he preferred to all other Europeans, and ſo exaſperated againſt the French, that he declared that he ſhould never be eaſy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal: at that very time he had commenced hoſtilities againſt them, and earneſtly deſired that the king of England would ſend out an armament to reduce fort Louis and Goree, for which he promiſed to grant an excluſive trade to the ſubjects of Great Britain. The French had wholly engroſſed the gum trade, from cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, as well as eſtabliſhed factories nine hundred miles up the river Senegal. The gum Senega, of which a great quantity is uſed by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the Engliſh dealers were obliged to purchaſe it at ſecond hand from the Dutch, who bought it of the French, and ſold it again with an exorbitant profit. But that country contains various other important articles of commerce, ſuch as gold-duſt, elephant's teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, ſlaves, oſtrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Theſe conſiderations forwarded the plan of annexing the country to the poſſeſſion of Great Britain. In the beginning of the year a ſmall ſquadron was fitted out for this expedition under the command of captain Marſh, and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition.

This little armament ſailed to Pontenderrick, when Mr. Cumming found his old friend the king was up the country engaged in war, and the queen dowager gave him to underſtand, that ſhe could not ſpare any troops to join the Engliſh in their expedition againſt Senegal: but ſhe aſſured him, that ſhould the French be exterminated, ſhe and her ſubjects would go thither and ſettle. In the meantime, one of the chiefs diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, with advice of their arrival and deſign, and declared that he would aſſemble as ſoon as poſſible,

poſſible three hundred warriors to aſſiſt them, Captain Marſh, fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his deſign, reſolved to proceed on the expedition without waiting for the promiſed reinforcement, and weighing anchor, ſailed to the mouth of the Senegal.

The river Senegal is one of the largeſt rivers in Africa, which has its ſource many hundred miles up the country, and proceeding weſtward, until it comes within two leagues of the ſea, when it takes a ſudden turn to the ſouth, and for the remainder of its paſſage, which is twenty-five leagues, is divided from the ocean by a narrow tongue of land, in ſome places leſs than the eighth part of a mile over. The entrance to the river is barred by a ſand-bank, which is perpetually ſhifting, and very dangerous, even to ſmall veſſels. Fort Louis is on the iſland of Senegal, in the middle of the river, about four miles from its entrance. Captain Marſh, having come to an anchor in Senegal road, perceived one brig and ſix armed ſloops, which the French had diſpatched to defend the paſſage of the bar. All the boats were employed in conveying the ſtores into the ſmall craft, while three of the ſloops continued exchanging fire over the tongue of land with the enemy. The channel being at length diſcovered, the London buſs paſſed the bar, and dropped anchor within-ſide, where it lay till night, expoſed to the enemy's fire. Next day the other ſmall veſſels paſſed the bar, when a regular engagement enſued, which was warmly maintained on both ſides, until the buſſes and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged. The troops took to their boats, and reached the ſhore with difficulty, where being joined by their companions from the other veſſels, their whole force amounted to four hundred marines, beſides a detachment of artillery. They were afterwards joined by three hundred and fifty ſeamen, who paſſed the bar in ſloops. At length two French deputies arrived, with propoſals for a capitulation, from the governor of Fort Louis, which was accepted by captain Marſh. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter ſituated nine hundred miles higher up the country, were included in the capitulation. Fort Louis being ſecured by an Engliſh garriſon, and ſome ſmall veſſels left to guard the bar at the mouth of the river, captain Marſh proceeded with the great ſhips to make an attempt on the iſland of Goree, which lies at the diſtance of thirty leagues ſouth of Senegal; but this miſcarried through the weakneſs of his force.

The conqueſt of Senegal being conſidered as incomplete without the reduction of Goree, commodore Keppel, with four ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, was ſent on this expedition. Goree is a ſmall barren iſland, about three quarters of a mile in length, and on the ſouth-weſt ſide riſing into a rocky hill, on which is ſituated the paltry fort of St. Michael. The commodore having ſtationed his ſhips on the weſt ſide of the iſland, poured in their broadſides with unremitting fury, that the garriſon deſerted their quarters, in ſpite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himſelf like a man of honour, but he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, after a ſhort but warm conteſt. Commodore Keppel, in his return to England, was overtaken by a ſtorm in which his ſquadron was diſperſed, and the Litchfield was wrecked on the coaſt of Morocco. One hundred and thirty perſons periſhed on this occaſion; but the captain and the reſt of the company reached the ſhore, where they were cruelly treated by the natives, and enſlaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ranſomed by the Britiſh government, although a treaty of peace at that time ſubſiſted between the two nations.

The chief command in America this year devolved upon general Abercrombie; but as the operations were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many commanders. General Amherſt, with twelve thouſand men, being joined by admiral Boſcawen with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, amounting to one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail, took their departure from Halifax, and ſailed to Cape Breton. Mr. Amherſt having landed his troops, laid ſiege to Louiſbourg, which was defended

defended by about three thouſand men in the garriſon, and ſix ſhips of the line were in the harbour, acroſs the mouth of which they had ſunk ſome frigates, to obſtruct the entrance of the Engliſh men of war. The fire of the beſiegers was ſerved with great effect, and as briſkly anſwered by the garriſon. Two of the ſhips eſcaped, one was taken, and three were burnt by the fire from the Engliſh batteries. The works of the garriſon were deſtroyed, and the guns moſtly broken or diſmounted. The governor, perceiving further reſiſtance in vain, propoſed a capitulation; but this was rejected, and he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Engliſh were now maſters of Cape Breton, and the ſmall iſland of St. John, in the gulph of St. Laurence, ſurrendered ſoon after.

The ſecond operation was directed by general Abercrombie, with ſeventeen thouſand men, for the reduction of the French forts on the lakes, in order to protect the Britiſh frontiers, and open the way for the future reduction of Canada. He laid ſiege to Ticonderago, which is ſituated on a tongue of land, extending between lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with lake Champlain. This fort is waſhed on three ſides with water, and in front defended by a moraſs. The French had encamped before the fort, and raiſed an entrenchment eight feet high, with the ground in front covered with abbatis, or felled trees, having the branches pointed outwards. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the Britiſh troops marched to the aſſault, and endeavoured to cut their way through theſe embarraſsments; but the enemy was ſo well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire, without the leaſt danger to themſelves; the carnage was therefore conſiderable, and the troops began to fall into confuſion, after ſeveral repeated attacks, which laſted above four hours. The general, perceiving that no hopes of ſucceſs remained, retired, with the loſs of eighteen hundred men.

In the mean time colonel Bradſtreet, with a detachment of three thouſand provincials, attacked fort Frontenac, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance. He alſo made himſelf maſter of the enemy's ſhipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed veſſels, ſome of which carried eighteen guns. Two of theſe Mr. Bradſtreet carried to Oſwego, whither he returned with his troops after he had deſtroyed fort Frontenac. This place was ſituated on the north ſide of the river St. Laurence, juſt where it takes its origin from the lake Ontario; and was of great importance to the French, as the Indians came hither with their furs to exchange for European commodities, from places a thouſand miles diſtant, in which journies, they frequently paſſed the Engliſh ſettlements, where they might have obtained the articles they wanted at a much cheaper rate; and preferred going all the way to Frontenac and Montreal; ſo much did the French traders excel the Engliſh in the art of conciliating the affection of theſe ſavages.

Brigadier Forbes, with eight thouſand men, conducted the third expedition, which was againſt fort du Queſne. After paſſing through a prodigious tract of country little known, and encumbered with mountains, woods, and moraſſes, in which he had many ſkirmiſhes with the Indians, and his advanced guard had a ſevere action, with a detachment from the garriſon, he arrived at fort du Queſne; but the enemy dreading a ſiege, diſmantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the Ohio, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſipi. Mr. Forbes changed the name of this fortreſs from Du Queſne to Pittſburg, in honour of the miniſter.

In October, peace was concluded between the Indian nations inhabiting the plains between the lakes and the Ohio. At a grand conference which preceded this treaty, an Indian chief made a forcible oration, in which he obſerved, that the cauſe of the Indians of the Ohio deſerting the Engliſh was in themſelves. The governor of Virginia ſettled in their lands, and diſregarded the Indian meſſages. But, when the French came among them they traded with the Indian people, uſed them kindly, and gained their affections. "You deal hardly with us," exclaimed the Indian Sachem, "you claim all the wild animals of the foreſts, and will not let us come

on

on your lands ſo much as to hunt them; you will not let us peel the bark of a ſingle tree to cover our cabins---ſurely this is hard! our fathers, when they ſold the land, did not purpoſe to deprive themſelves of hunting the wild deer, or of uſing a branch of wood."

In the beginning of the war, the Britiſh government attempted to drag the United Provinces into the confederacy, but they wiſely determined to preſerve a neutrality; and their merchants became the carriers of the produce of the French Weſt-India iſlands. The Engliſh cruiſers had orders to ſtop neutral veſſels with French property, in conſequence of which a great number of Dutch ſhips were ſeized, and condemned as legal prizes. The Dutch merchants contended that it was not only contrary to the law of nations to ſeize their veſſels, becauſe they had French property on board, but contrary to an expreſs ſtipulation in a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the United Provinces, the tenth article of which ſays, "That whatever ſhall be found on board the ſhips of the ſubjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, ſhall go free and unmoleſted, except theſe be prohibited goods," which were liable to confiſcation. Exaſperated by their repeated loſſes, they exclaimed againſt the piratical depredations of the Engliſh, petitioned the ſtates for redreſs, and even clamoured for a war with Great Britain. Conferences were opened at the Hague with the Britiſh miniſter, but theſe proving ineffectual, the merchants renewed their complaints, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that oppoſed the houſe of Orange, demanded an augmentation of the navy, and repriſals on the pirates of England. The princeſs regent, daughter of king George, uſed all her influence with the States-general, in order to avoid extremities, and even played off one faction againſt another. A body of merchants waited upon her ſeveral times, deſiring an augmentation of the marines; but this ſhe evaded, and the commerce remained unprotected, through the intrigues of a foreign connexion.

Florence Henſey, an Iriſh phyſician, was tried as a ſpy, and convicted of high-treaſon, for having given notice to the French court of the ſailing of ſeveral armaments, and adviſed a deſcent upon the coaſt of Great Britain; but he was pardoned on condition of going into perpetual exile. About the ſame time Dr. Shebbeare was tried for a libel. He had animadverted with ſome freedom on the conduct of adminiſtration, and cenſured ſome great names with ſeverity, in a ſeries of letters addreſſed to the people of England. The miniſtry, incenſed at his boldneſs, and ſtill more enraged at the ſucceſs of this author, whoſe writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to wreak upon him their revenge, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate. They fixed on his ſixth letter to the people of England as the foundation of the proſecution. After a ſhort trial in the court of king's-bench, he was found guilty of having written a libel, ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay a fine, to be impriſoned three years, and give ſecurity for his future good-behaviour. The freedom of the preſs is juſtly termed the palladium of Engliſh liberty. It is the only means the people have of expoſing a weak or wicked miniſter, and the jealouſy with which it is regarded by every adminiſtration ſhews its importance to the public. A miniſter whoſe conduct tends only to his country's good, need never fear the ſhafts of calumny; and if it has any other tendency it cannot be expoſed with too great freedom. Jurors ſhould therefore be exceedingly cautious in giving a verdict that will conſign a book to oblivion, and its author to an ignominious puniſhment and long impriſonment. Nothing ſupported the credit of the miniſter of that day but the buſtle of a few dear-bought victories, and the idle parade of a few tattered flags hung up in St. Paul's, while the people were groaning under the oppreſſion of enormous taxes, and their privileges were ſurrendered by an obſequious parliament. The virtuous Shebbeare had but too much ground for cenſure.

A. D. 1759.] The parliament ſeem to have known no bounds to their liberality. The

people now felt the effects of their new conquests by the large sums voted for supporting them. A new treaty was concluded with the king of Prussia, by which he engaged to defend his own territories; for which his Britannic majesty was to furnish him with the sum of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds: this sum was accordingly granted by parliament. They allotted for one year's expence incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, one million, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds, over and above sixty thousand pounds for enabling his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to a new treaty concluded between them, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions. Mr. secretary Pitt delivered a message from the king, demanding an additional supply of one million, to discharge any extraordinary expence that might be incurred during the year. This was granted, and his majesty enabled to raise the sum of one million by a loan on exchequer-bills. The sum of all the grants amounted to near thirteen millions. In May his majesty sent messages to both houses of parliament, by the earl of Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, signifying that he had received advice that the French court were making preparations for an invasion of Great Britain.

In consequence of the projected invasion, admiral Rodney was sent to Havre-de-grace, where he bombarded the town, which was set on fire in several places, and burnt with great fury: a few flat-bottomed boats were destroyed in the harbour; but the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expence attending the expedition. Bombardments are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of prosecuting war; inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by an humane enemy.

Admiral Boscawen, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, meeting with the French fleet from Toulon, an engagement ensued, when the enemy, whose force amounted only to seven large ships, fought with uncommon bravery. The Centaur, being overpowered, was obliged to surrender, while the rest of the fleet sailed away; and during the night, two of the ships altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, the French admiral, finding himself on the coast of Portugal, and closely pursued by the English, determined to burn his ships rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors: The Ocean and Redoubtable were run ashore near the fort of Almanda, the commander of which fired some shot at the English, to protect the neutrality of the coast. These ships were at length obliged to strike to the British fleet, but as they could not be brought off, they were burnt. The Temeraire and Modeste were anchored as near as possible to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection: but in this their commanders were disappointed, for the English made prizes of them.

Though the intended invasion was retarded by the defeat of M. de la Clue, and the blockade of all the French harbours, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, by different British squadrons, yet the preparations were carried on, and it was proposed to make a descent on Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail the first opportunity from Dunkirk, round the northern part of Scotland, in order to alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to disembark his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochfort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles and other accoutrements for cavalry to be mounted in Ireland, and a body of troops were kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, who all the summer blocked up the harbour of Brest with twenty-three capital

capital ſhips, while another ſquadron of ſmaller ſhips, under the command of captain Duff, cruiſed along the coaſt from port l'Orient in Bretagne to Point St. Giles in Poictou. In the beginning of November, admiral Hawke was driven from the coaſt of France by ſtreſs of weather, and he caſt anchor in Torbay. M. Conflans, the French admiral, ſeized this opportunity of ſailing from Breſt with twenty one ſhips of the line, in hopes of being able to deſtroy the ſquadron under captain Duff. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had ſailed from Breſt, immediately put to ſea to purſue them; and the government iſſued orders for putting thoſe parts of the coaſt in a proper poſture of defence, that were moſt expoſed to a deſcent.

Admiral Hawke ſteered for the coaſt of Bretagne, when he diſcovered the enemy in chaſe of captain Duff's ſquadron, which now joined the larger fleets, after having run ſome riſk of being taken. M. Conflans, ſenſible of his inferiority, having two ſhips leſs than the Engliſh, before they were joined by captain Duff, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle with an enemy fluſhed with victory, and encouraged by their ſuperiority of number, when he knew that the fate of France depended almoſt on the event. He therefore endeavoured to eſcape with all the ſail he could carry, but the Engliſh admiral determined to bring him to an engagement. Conſidering the nature of the coaſt, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of ſand banks, ſhoals, rocks, and iſlands, as unknown to the Britiſh ſailors, as they were familiar to French navigators, it required great reſolution in the Britiſh commander to attempt hoſtilities.

The action began at half an hour after two, on the twentieth of November, in the neighbourhood of Belliſle, between the van of the Engliſh and the rear of the enemy. Every ſhip as ſhe advanced, poured in a broadſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, and bore down upon the van, leaving the rear to thoſe that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reſerved his fire, in paſſing the rear of the enemy, for the French admiral, in the Soleil Royal, of eighty guns; but the Theſée, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip of the enemy, running between the two commanders, received the fire reſerved for the Soleil Royal, and in returning the firſt broadſide, foundered, in conſequence of the high ſea that entered her lower deck ports, and filled her with water. Notwithſtanding the boiſterous weather, many of the ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury, and dubious ſucceſs, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable ſtruck her colours. The Superb ſhared the fate of the Theſée, in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours, but the wind was ſo high that no boat could go to take poſſeſſion. By this time, day-light began to fail, and moſt of the French fleet eſcaped under cover of the darkneſs. Night approaching, and the wind blowing with augmented violence, admiral Hawke made the ſignal for anchoring on the weſt ſide of the iſle of Dumet. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored amidſt the Britiſh fleet, but at day-break, M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove aſhore to the weſtward of Crozie. The Engliſh admiral made ſignal for the Eſſex to purſue her; and in obeying this order, ſhe ran on a ſand bank, where the Reſolution, another ſhip of the Engliſh ſquadron, was already aground. They were both loſt, but the men and part of the ſtores were ſaved, and the wrecks ſet on fire. The Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, were detached to deſtroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people; but they arrived time enough to deſtroy the Hero, which was alſo aground; and the Juſte, another of their large ſhips, periſhed in the mouth of the Loire. The admiral, perceiving ſeven ſhips of the enemy riding at anchor, near the river Vilaine, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to attack them, but the fury of the ſtorm increaſing, he was obliged to remain at anchor. In the mean time, the French ſhips being lightened of their cannon, their officers took the advantage of the tide of flood, to paſs the bar, and to enter the Villaine, where they were protected by ſome batteries on the ſhore.

Sir

Sir Edward Hawke, continued to cruiſe off the coaſt of Bretagne a great length of time, to prevent theſe ſhips joining admiral Conflans, who had retired, with the ſhattered remains of his fleet, to Rochfort. Admiral Hawke, having endured a great deal of tempeſtuous weather, was at length recalled, when his majeſty gratified him with a penſion for his ſignal ſervices, and the parliament honoured him with their approbation.

The different armies on the continent had various ſkirmiſhes before they came to any deciſive action. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick having determined to drive the French from Frankfort on the Mayne before their reinforcements arrived, aſſembled his forces, and marched from Fulda. He found the enemy encamped at Bergen, under mareſchal Broglio. An engagement enſued, in which the allies were defeated, with the loſs of five pieces of cannon, and two thouſand men. The prince retreated to Munſter, where he began to make vigorous preparations for taking the field. The French armies being all joined, under mareſchal Contades, followed the prince, who finding himſelf inferior to the enemy, was obliged to retire as they advanced. Minden was taken by aſſault; and the regency of Hanover, dreading the approach of the French, ſent off the archives to Stade, in order that, if neceſſary, they might be conveyed to England. The duke of Marlborough dying, the command of the Engliſh troops devolved on lord George Sackville, between whom and the commander in chief there unfortunately aroſe a miſunderſtanding. The cauſe of their mutual diſguſt is not clearly known; but it is imagined that the extenſive genius and the inquiſitive ſpirit of the Engliſh general, were by no means agreeable to his ſuperior in command, who had his eye on ſome pecuniary advantages which the other was unwilling to permit. But whatever was the ground of their reſentment, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry enſued. Lord George, at the head of the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe, was ſtationed at ſome diſtance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a ſcanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought this a favourable opportunity to pour down the horſe among them, and accordingly ſent lord George orders to advance. Whether theſe orders were unintelligible, or contradictory, ſeems to be matter of diſpute; but, if rightly delivered, they were ill obeyed. The enemy, however, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs in all their attacks; and at length giving way, were purſued to the very ramparts of Minden. This defeat was followed by the ſurrender of that fortreſs, and the evacuation of Weſtphalia. Lord George was ſoon after recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of ſerving in any military command for the future.

The king of Pruſſia experienced the uſual inconſtancy of fortune in the preſent campaign. The barbarians of Ruſſia began their march from the banks of the Viſtula, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. The king took the command of an army of fifty thouſand men. The Ruſſians, to the number of eighty thouſand, were ſtrongly intrenched at Cunerſdorf. The affairs of the king of Pruſſia requiring a deſperate effort, about eleven in the morning of the 12th of Auguſt, he began a tremendous cannonade, and after a furious conteſt of ſix hours, he forced the intrenchments with great ſlaughter, and took ſeventy pieces of cannon. While fortune thus glanced a tranſitory ſmile upon the ſanguine Frederick, he diſpatched a billet to his queen at Berlin, informing her that he had driven the Ruſſians from their intrenchments, and that in two hours more ſhe might expect to hear of a glorious victory. The Ruſſian general Soltikoff, however, having gained an eminence, rallied ſucceſsfully his diſordered troops, repelled the Pruſſians in their attacks, and finally fell in among them ſword in hand with ſuch fury, as totally routed and diſperſed them. The king, expoſing his life in the hotteſt part of the engagement, had two horſes ſhot under him, and his clothes ſhattered with muſket-balls. Nothing but the approach of night could have ſaved him from

from total ruin. In a ſecond billet to the queen, he ordered her to remove from Berlin with the royal family, and carry the archives to Potſdam. In this bloody action thirty thouſand men were left dead on the field, of whom two thirds were Pruſſians; twelve generals were either killed or wounded, and the king's whole train of artillery fell into the hands of the Ruſſians The Pruſſian monarch, however, did not remit his exertions, and being ſoon after joined by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, he gradually recovered his importance. The approach of winter at laſt freed him from the Ruſſians, who retired into their old quarters in Poland. This defeat was followed by another, in which general Finck, who commanded a body of Pruſſians, amounting to nineteen battalions and thirty-five ſquadrons, with ſixty pieces of cannon, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war to count Daun, the Auſtrian general. The Imperialiſts had alſo taken Dreſden, the capital of Saxony.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Europe, commodore Moore, with ten ſhips of the line, and an army under the command of general Hopſon, made an unſucceſsful attempt on the iſland of Martinique, in the Weſt-Indies. From thence he proceeded to Guadaloupe, which was ſurrendered on the firſt of May, after a vigorous defence made by the inhabitants. A lady, whoſe name was Ducharney, diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her ardour on this occaſion. Having armed her ſlaves, ſhe made ſeveral bold attempts upon an advanced poſt occupied by major Melville, and threw up entrenchments on a hill oppoſite to him. At length her works were ſtormed by a regular detachment; which, after an obſtinate and dangerous conflict, entered the entrenchments ſword in hand, and burned the houſes and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a great number taken. Of the Engliſh detachment, twelve ſoldiers were ſlain, and thirty wounded. The ſmall iſlands of Deſeada, Los Santos, and Petit-terre were comprized in the capitulation of Guadaloupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante refuſed to ſubmit when firſt ſummoned; but on the Britiſh commanders appearing before it, they ſubmitted, and received an Engliſh garriſon.

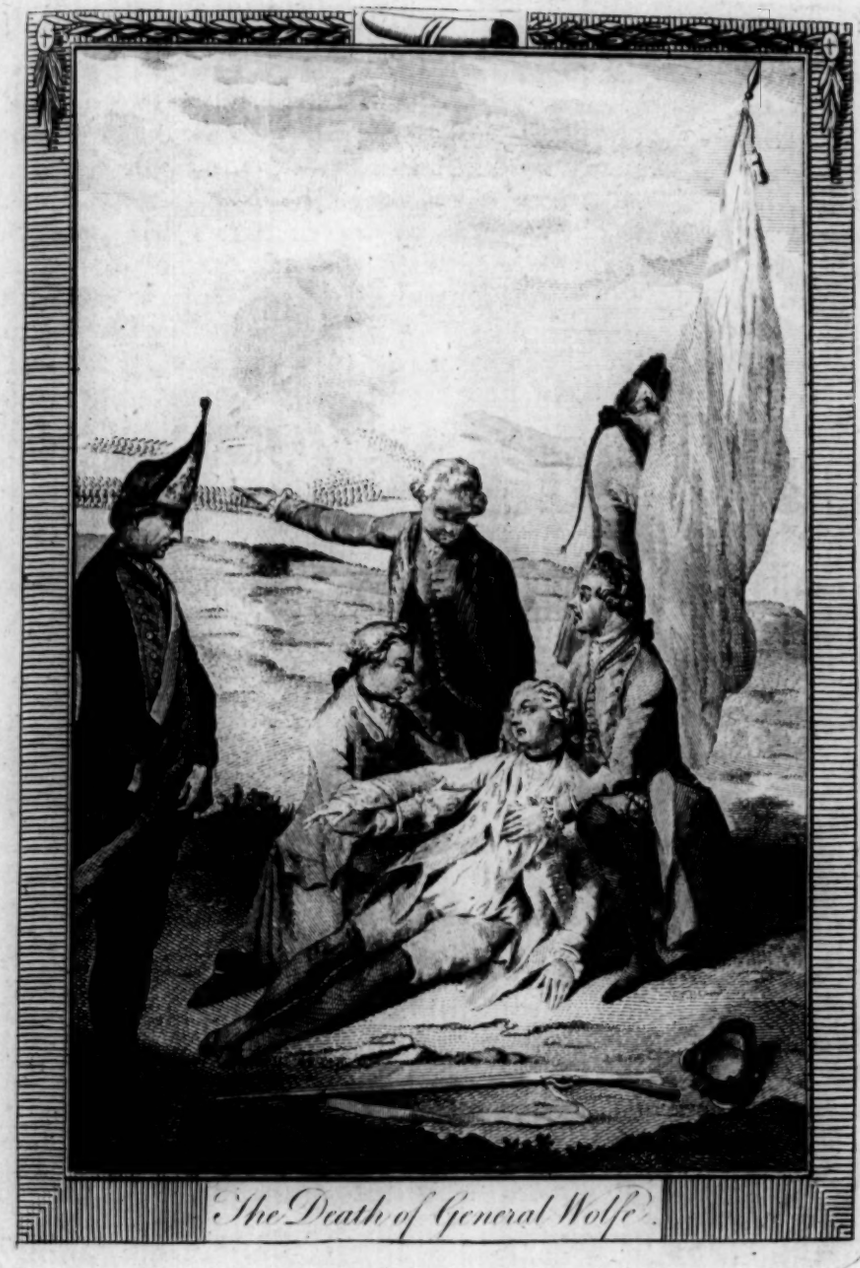
Preparations had been made for proſecuting the war on the continent of America with vigour; and it was reſolved to attack the enemy with three different armies, ſo ſtationed that they might be able to co-operate with each other. General Amherſt, now commander in chief, with a body of twelve thouſand men, was to attack Crown Point, on lake Champlain, and paſſing down the river Richelieu, proceed to Quebec. General Wolfe, in the oppoſite quarter, was to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux and ſir William Johnſon were to attempt a French fort near the cataracts of Niagara.

The laſt named expedition was the firſt that ſucceeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and commanded the communication through the great lakes between Canada and Louiſiana. The ſiege was begun with vigour, and promiſed an eaſy conqueſt; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the burſting of a mortar. The command of the enterprize now devolved upon general Johnſon, who omitted nothing to puſh forward the vigorous operations of his predeceſſor. During the ſiege, a body of French troops attempted to relieve the fort; but Johnſon attacked them with intrepidity and ſucceſs, and in leſs than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garriſon ſoon after ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The ſucceſs of general Amherſt was leſs ſplendid, though not leſs ſerviceable. The French commanders of Ticonderago and Crown Point, had received orders not to hazard an engagement with the Engliſh, if there was any danger of a defeat, but to retire from poſt to poſt, till they joined monſieur de Montcalm, at Quebec. On the approach of general Amherſt, they, therefore, dismantled and evacuated theſe forts, and retired to the iſle Aux Noix, at the northern extremity of lake Champlain. General Amherſt endeavoured to follow them, but the ſea-

ſon was ſo far advanced, and the weather ſo tempeſtuous, that the boats could not keep to ſea. He therefore repaired the forts, and wintered in this quarter, by which he protected the northern parts of New-England and New York.

The next enterpriſe was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handſomely built, populous, and flouriſhing. The naval part of the expedition was intruſted to admiral Saunders, while the ſiege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, a young officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many former occaſions, particularly at the ſiege of Louiſbourg. This enterpriſe was attended with ſuch a combination of difficulties as might have been ſufficient to diſcourage the moſt reſolute commander. The ſituation of the town on the ſide of a great river, the fortifications with which it was ſecured, the inacceſſible nature of the country, the great number of veſſels and floating batteries which the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous body of ſavages conſtantly hovering round the Britiſh army; all theſe circumſtances ſeemed to threaten the aſſailants with an unfortunate iſſue to their attempt. The general himſelf was perfectly ſenſible of the difficulty of the undertaking. The only proſpect of attempting it with ſucceſs, was by landing in the night, below the town, a body of troops, who were to climb up the banks of the river, and take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly diſcouraging: the ſtream was rapid, the ſhore ſhelving, the bank above lined with centinels, the landing-place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark, and the ſteepneſs of the ground ſuch as hardly to be practicable in the day-time. All theſe difficulties, however, were ſurmounted, by the conduct of the general and the bravery of his troops. Colonel Howe, at the head of the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcending the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, diſlodged a ſmall body of the French that defended a narrow path-way up the rock, called the heights of Abraham. Monſieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no ſooner apprized that the Britiſh had gained theſe heights, which he had deemed inacceſſible, than he reſolved to hazard a battle. An engagement therefore began, the moſt deſperate that had been fought during the war. The French general was ſlain, and the ſecond in command ſhared the ſame fate. General Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, where the attack was moſt warm. As he ſtood conſpicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemies' markſmen, and received a ſhot in the wriſt, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed. But a ſecond ball more fatal pierced his breaſt; ſo that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the ſhoulder of a ſoldier that was next him. While he was ſtruggling in the agonies of death, and juſt expiring, he heard a voice cry, "They run!" upon which he ſeemed for a moment to revive, and aſking, who run? was informed, the French. Expreſſing his wonder that they ran ſo ſoon, and unable to gaze any longer, he ſunk on the ſoldier's breaſt, and his laſt words were, "I die happy!" The fate of this brave general was univerſally lamented by the nation, and a handſome monument has been erected to his memory. This victory was followed by the ſurrender of Quebec; and the remainder of the French army retired to Montreal.

A. D. 1760.] The ſum total of the ſupplies granted to his majeſty by the parliament this year, amounted to upwards of ſixteen millions. A ſum conſiderably more than double the largeſt ſubſidy that was granted to queen Anne, when the arms of England were every where victorious, and ſhe retained half the powers of Europe in her pay: a ſum almoſt double of what any former adminiſtration dare have aſked. Of this enormous ſupply, two millions, three hundred forty-four thouſand, four hundred and eighty-ſix pounds, was paid to foreign mercenaries, for ſupporting the war in Germany, excluſive of the money expended by the Britiſh troops in that country,



The Death of General Wolfe.

country, the number of which amounted to twenty thouſand men; a number the more extraordinary, if we conſider they were all ſent to the continent during the adminiſtration of thoſe who had repeatedly declared in parliament, that not a man, nor even half a man, ſhould be ſent from Great-Britain to Germany, to fight the battles of any foreign elector. To the German war muſt alſo be added the expence of tranſporting the Engliſh troops; the article of forage, which for the laſt campaign amounted to one million two hundred thouſand pounds, beſides bridges, waggons, horſes, and many other contingencies. To this war we may impute the extraordinary expence incurred by the actual ſervice of the militia, which the abſence of the regular troops rendered in a great meaſure neceſſary, and the loſs of ſo many hands withdrawn from induſtry. This ſhameful waſte of the public treaſure was made by men who came into office under the maſk of patriotiſm, while the people were oppreſſed with taxes, and a load of debt, now increaſed to one hundred and eight millions, four hundred and ninety-three thouſand pounds.

M. Thurot, who had been blocked up in Dunkirk by commodore Boys, found means to ſlip out of that harbour with five frigates, laſt October, and proceeding northwards, he put in to Bergen in Norway. Here they were detained by ſtormy weather till December, when they ſailed round the north of Scotland. Two ſhips of the ſquadron were ſeparated from the reſt, and reached France with difficulty. The other three beat about the coaſt of Scotland for ſome weeks; when being in want of proviſion, they put into the iſland of Iſla, but they conducted themſelves with great order, and paid for every thing they received. Having procured ſome ſtores, M. Thurot ſteered for Ireland, and caſt anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, in February, where he landed about ſix hundred men. Lieutenant colonel Jennings, with four companies of undiſciplined troops, went to oppoſe him, and an action enſued, but the Iriſh having expended all their ammunition, they were obliged to capitulate on condition of exchanging an equal number of French priſoners, who were to be ſent to France within one month. The enemy did not advance into the country, but contented themſelves with laying Carrickfergus under a moderate contribution. By this time conſiderable bodies of troops were aſſembled, and the French thought proper to retire. Three Engliſh frigates, that were in Kinſale harbour, went in queſt of them, and meeting together near the Iſle of Man, they came to an action; Thurot was killed, and all his ſhips taken. There is one circumſtance attending this adventure that deſerves to be recorded, as an inſtance of that courage mingled with humanity which conſtitutes true heroiſm: While the French and Iriſh were hotly engaged in the ſtreets of Carrickfergus, a little child ran playfully between them; when a common ſoldier of the enemy, perceiving the life of the little innocent in danger, grounded his piece, advanced between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, and conveyed it to a place of ſafety; then returning to his place, reſumed his muſket, and renewed the hoſtility.

The war continued to rage on the continent with various ſucceſs. Mareſchal Broglio encamped at Neuſtadt, with an intention to form a junction with the count de St. Germain, whom he directed to advance to Corbach. Prince Ferdinand having received intelligence that St. Germain was in motion, marched from Zeigenheim to the heights of Brunau. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, at the head of the advanced corps, was ſent forward to Saxenhauſen, whither the army followed the next morning; but the prince continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach. He reſolved to give them battle, when an obſtinate engagement enſued, and he was defeated. But he afterwards gained an advantage over a numerous body of the enemy under general Glaubitz, at Exdorf; and that prince, aſſiſted by the Britiſh cavalry under the marquis of Granby, defeated the reſerve of the French army, commanded by the chevalier Muy, near the village of Warbourg. Notwithſtanding

ing theſe ſucceſſes, mareſchal Broglio made himſelf maſter of Caſſel, and even reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover. When prince Ferdinand retired into winter-quarters, he left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the whole country eaſtward of the Weſer.

The Ruſſians and Auſtrians in conjunction entered the electorate of Brandenburgh, and took Berlin itſelf, demanding from the inhabitants a contribution of eight hundred thouſand guilders, and afterwards a further payment of one million nine hundred thouſand crowns. The ſavage Coſſacks and Croats, were guilty of the moſt atrocious exceſſes in this expedition, but underſtanding that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital, they abandoned the city, and deſolated the whole country in their retreat. Previous to their departure, they deſtroyed the collection of paintings and ſtatues in the caſtle of Charlottenburg. The king was followed by mareſchal Daun, at the head of one hundred thouſand men; while the Pruſſian army amounted only to eighty thouſand. With this inferiority of numbers, however, the king determined to riſque an engagement, as the ſituation of his affairs ſeemed to require ſome deſperate effort; for at this time general Laudohn was at the head of a numerous army in Sileſia, and the Ruſſians, who ſtill threatened Breſlau, had actually laid ſiege to Colberg, whilſt the prince of Deux-Ponts, at the head of the army of the empire, being joined by general Laſcy, had made himſelf maſter of Saxony; and the Swedes continued their ravages in Pomerania.

The whole Pruſſian army, on the third day of November, advanced towards the Auſtrians poſted at Torgau, upon the banks of the Elbe, their front being fortified with two hundred pieces of cannon; the Pruſſian troops, as if they had no alternative but to conquer or die, charged the enemy with deſperate intrepidity; and the victory remained in ſuſpence till general Zeithen circuitouſly fell upon the rear of the Auſtrian army, and mareſchal Daun receiving a wound which obliged him to quit the field, his army was thrown into confuſion. The retreat of the Auſtrians acroſs the Elbe was favoured by the darkneſs of the night; and they left the field of battle dearly purchaſed, in the hands of the enemy. In conſequence of this defeat, the Auſtrians abandoned their acquiſitions in Sileſia. Winter, which the king called his beſt auxiliary, obliged the Ruſſians to raiſe the ſiege of Colberg, and to retire to their cantonments in Poland; the Swedes to their old quarters near Stralſund, and the Imperialiſts into Franconia; ſo that at the end of the campaign, the Pruſſian monarch found himſelf nearly in the ſame ſituation as at the commencement of it.

Though this German war was evidently ruinous to the true intereſts of Great Britain, and only ſerved to load the people with taxes, without one poſſible advantage, it was obſtinately proſecuted by the miniſtry, while thouſands and tens of thouſands of their fellow ſubjects were immolated, to gratify the German connections of the court; and the pernicious conſequences of the increaſing debt will probably not be perceived till it will be too late to apply a moderate remedy.

The negroes in Jamaica, ſtimulated by the love of liberty, ſo natural to man, began to concert meaſures for regaining their freedom, and executing vengeance on thoſe who held them in a cruel captivity, and treated them with rigour. Thoſe of the conſpirators that belonged to captain Foreſt's eſtate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell ſuddenly on the overſeer, while he ſat at ſupper with ſome friends, and murdered the whole company. Being joined by ſome of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the ſame barbarities; and ſeizing all the arms and ammunition that came in their way, became formidable to the colony. The governor proclaimed martial law, and aſſembled the troops to oppoſe the inſurgents, but as they declined ſtanding a regular engagement, and truſted chiefly to buſh-fighting, he employed againſt them the free blacks, who live in a ſtate of independency among the mountains. Theſe auxiliaries, in conſideration

tion of a price ſet upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, ſlew them by ſurpriſe, until their ſtrength was broken, and numbers deſtroyed themſelves in deſpair; ſo that the inſurrection was ſuppoſed to be quelled. But it broke out again with redoubled fury; when the troops were ordered out, and detachments ſent againſt the inſurgents, numbers of whom were killed, and ſome taken; but the reſt fled into the woods and mountains. The priſoners were brought to trial, charged with an intent to maſſacre all the white men, and ſeize the government. Their enemies being their judges, they were found guilty of rebellion, and put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, ſome beheaded, ſome burned, and ſome fixed alive upon gibbets. One of theſe unhappy wretches lived eight days and eighteen hours, ſuſpended under a vertical ſun, without a drop of water or any ſuſtenance. Theſe barbarous executions did not put an end to the rebellion; thoſe who retired to their faſtneſſes, made irruptions into the neareſt plantations, where they retaliated with all the wantonneſs of cruelty. If ſlavery was aboliſhed, and population encouraged among this people; if they were treated kindly, and paid for their labour like other working men, the cauſe of revolt would be done away, the coloniſts might live in peace and ſecurity; friendſhip inſtead of enmity would then prevail among men of a different complexion, who would no longer have a ſeparate intereſt; and a prodigious ſum of money would be ſaved, that is now expended on the annual tranſportation from Africa to the Weſt Indies, of new victims of wretchedneſs, vice, and miſery. How criminal muſt that legiſlature be, which, regardleſs of every true principle of policy, juſtice, and humanity, will ſtill continue this diabolical ſyſtem?

After the ſurrender of Quebec to the Britiſh forces, the French meditated the recapture of that city, and in the ſpring of the year, the chevalier de Levis, who ſucceeded M. de Montcalm as commander in that quarter, aſſembled the troops remaining in Canada, and marched towards Quebec to attack the Britiſh forces under general Murray. The ſuperior numbers of the enemy, obliged the Engliſh, after a battle, in which they were defeated, to retire within the walls of the city, which was immediately inveſted by the French army. But, fortunately, a Britiſh fleet arrived for the relief of that place; and the ſiege was raiſed with great precipitation, the French leaving their proviſions, ſtores, and artillery, in the hands of general Murray. General Amherſt advanced from the frontiers of New York, with his army, to Montreal, where he was joined by general Murray, with a body of troops from Quebec. They prepared to lay ſiege to Montreal in form; but M. Vaudreuil, the French commander, capitulated, and general Amherſt took poſſeſſion. The reduction of that fortreſs completed the conqueſt of Canada. Louiſiana, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, was all that now remained to France, of her poſſeſſions on the continent of North America.

The king did not live long to enjoy theſe triumphs: for, on Saturday the twenty-fifth of October, at the palace of Kenſington, where he commonly reſided, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an apopletic fit, ſoon after riſing in his uſual health in the morning. Recovering his ſenſes after a ſhort interval, he deſired, with a faint voice, that his daughter, the princeſs Amelia, might be ſent for; but before her arrival, he expired, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. Upon opening the body, the ſurgeons diſcovered that the right ventricle of the heart was ruptured, and that a great quantity of blood was diſcharged.

To thoſe who have examined the tranſactions of this reign with attention, it will be eaſy to ſee, and difficult to miſrepreſent the character of this monarch. He took little pains either to expand or improve by cultivation, an underſtanding by no means comprehenſive. Equally a ſtranger to learning and the arts, he ſaw the rapid increaſe of both under his reign without contributing in the remoteſt degree to accelerate that progreſſion by any mode of encouragement, or even beſtowing, probably, a ſingle thought on the

means of their advancement. Inheriting all the political prejudices of his father, he was never able to extend his views beyond the adjuſtment of the Germanic balance of power: to this ridiculous conſideration was ſacrificed the blood and treaſure of Great Britain. But we ought not ſo much to blame the prince, who acted from the dictates of natural affection, as we ſhould deteſt a ſucceſſion of venal miniſters, all of whom, in their turns, devoted themſelves, ſoul and body, to the gratification of his paſſion or partiality, in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country. It is a curious fact, that the grand objects of the two continental wars of this reign were diametrically oppoſite: in the firſt, England ſought the aggrandizement,—in the ſecond, the abaſement of the houſe of Auſtria.

George the ſecond had iſſue by queen Caroline, two ſons and five daughters, who arrived at years of maturity: Frederick, prince of Wales, the father of his preſent majeſty; William, late duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs royal, married to the prince of Orange, and mother to the preſent ſtadtholder; Mary, landgravine of Heſſe-Caſſel; Louiſa, queen of Denmark; and Amelia and Caroline, who were never married.

CHAPTER V.

Acceſſion of George III.---Marriage of the king.---War with Spain.---Peace with France and Spain.---Proceedings againſt Mr. Wilkes.---Diſturbances in America, on Account of the ſtamp act.---Stamp act repealed.---Mr. Wilkes elected for Middleſex.---Mr. Beckford anſwers the King.---Lord North appointed firſt lord of the treaſury.---Croſby and Oliver ſent to the Tower.---Eaſt India Company's tea thrown into the ſea, by the Boſtonians.---Congreſs held at Philadelphia.---Battle of Lexington.---Burning of Charleſtown----General Waſhington made commander in chief.---Siege of Quebec.---Americans declare themſelves independent.---General Burgoyne ſurrenders to general Gates.---The French enter into treaty with the Americans.---Defection of general Arnold.---Major André executed as a ſpy.---War with Holland.---Riots in London.---Capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army.---Engagement between the Engliſh and Dutch fleets on the Dogger-bank.---Engagement between Rodney and de Graſſe.---Siege of Gibraltar.---Peace.

A. D. 1760. GEORGE III. grandſon to the late king, aſcended the throne in the twenty-third year of his age. Previous to his acceſſion he had led a retired life without mixing with the people, and was known only by the reports of courtiers, who are the leaſt to be depended upon in their delineation of the characters of princes. The people, who rejoiced to ſee the throne filled by a prince born and bred among them, poured in addreſſes of congratulation, as ſoon as his majeſty's acceſſion was known. When the parliament was aſſembled, the king's ſpeech to both houſes gave general ſatisfaction. As ſoon as he retired they proceeded to buſineſs with great unanimity, echoing back every paragraph of his ſpeech, and, inſtead of the civil liſt revenues, which had been ſettled on the two preceding ſovereigns, they granted him a clear income of 800,000l. a year, for the maintenance of his houſehold, and the ſupport of his royal dignity.

His majeſty having ſignified his reſolution to proſecute the war in conjunction with the allies, till it could be terminated by an honourable and laſting peace, the parliament granted a ſupply of nineteen millions, with a celerity which almoſt precluded a careful examination of the eſtimates ſubmitted to their inſpection. At the inſtance of the ſovereign an act was paſſed, ſecuring the commiſſions and ſalaries of the judges from all accidents, but their miſbehaviour or death. From the repeated humanity of the new monarch, crown priſoners

GEORGE THE IIIp.

priſoners and exiles had entertained ſanguine expectations of an act of grace; but, after experiencing for a long time what the heart feels from hope deferred, they found themſelves diſappointed. Mr. Arthur Onſlow, who had been ſpeaker to five ſucceſſive parliaments, though affluent in his circumſtances, and the country loaded with the expences of a war, retired with a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year, extending to his ſon, with whoſe merit the nation was yet unacquainted: the court alſo gave ſeveral other proofs of their liberality in beſtowing favors by rewarding other placemen with penſions out of the public money.

The ſeventh ſeſſion of the parliament being elapſed, writs were iſſued from the chancery for the election of new members. Previous to this period the earl of Bute had found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favor of the king, and ſucceeded lord Holderneſſe as ſecretary of ſtate. His intrigues ſoon procured the diſmiſſion of Mr. Legge, an accompliſhed financier, from the chancellorſhip of the exchequer. While ſome mean œconomy was obſerved in the king's kitchen by putting ſome of the lower ſervants upon board wages, more new peers were made in one month than had been created in the whole courſe of the preceding reign, and twelve additional lords of the bed-chamber were named.

A.D. 1761.] The operations of war were carried on with vigour this year, though propoſitions of peace were agitated between England and France. In order to procure better terms in caſe a peace ſhould be agreed upon, it was the care of the miniſter that the troops ſhould not remain inactive in the mean time. Commodore Keppel, with a body of troops under general Hodgſon, ſailed for Belleiſle, on the coaſt of France, which was taken with great loſs and difficulty. In the mean time Prince Ferdinand, commander of the allied army in Germany, about the beginning of February, attacked the enemy's poſts on all ſides with ſuch vigour, that they retreated with precipitation. Five entire battalions of Saxons were taken and a great number ſlain. The general had a deſign to reduce Heſſe-Caſſel, and other places of ſtrength, before mareſchal Broglio could be reinforced from the Lower Rhine: but the rigour of the ſeaſon, joined to the efforts of the French general, obliged him to retire with loſs. Nine battalions being attacked in a defile were broken, and two thouſand were killed or wounded.

Towards the latter end of June two armies of the French were in motion inflated with the immediate hope of compelling the allies to retreat, as they had done in the beginning of the year. Broglio paſſed the Dymel, and, ſurpriſing general Sporken, took 200 waggons, and a conſiderable number of men. The French endeavoured to unite their two armies and to give the allied troops battle; but prince Ferdinand poſted his army ſo advantageouſly at Kirch-Denckern, that after two rigorous attacks, on two ſucceſſive days, they were repulſed with the loſs of five thouſand men. After this action, the French generals, Broglio and Soubize, ſeparated for the remainder of the campaign, and acted upon different plans. Prince Ferdinand's inferiority did not allow him to form two diſtinct armies. He fixed his head-quarters at Buhne, near Hamelen; whence he ſent out detachments, to prevent the progreſs of the enemies on his flanks. In ſhort, the buſineſs of this campaign ſeemed much more calculated for diſtreſſing the inhabitants of the ſcene of action, than for procuring any durable advantages to either of the contending parties.

The king of Pruſſia, who in all the preceding campaigns had afforded ſo many proofs of his courage and activity, did not this year ſtrike a ſingle blow. Prince Henry lay entrenched with one army in Saxony, while another, under the king himſelf, watched the motions of the Auſtrians and Ruſſians in Sileſia. General Laudohn, in a very dark night, aſſaulted Schweidnitz, and by break of day made himſelf maſter of the town and garriſon. Three thouſand men were made priſoners, a vaſt quantity of artillery, and a large magazine of meal were taken. This was a fatal ſtroke to the king of Pruſſia, who at

firſt

firſt ſuſpected treachery, but recovering his temper, ſent the following lines to general Zaſtrow. "We may now ſay, what Francis the Firſt of France ſaid to his mother, after the battle of Pavia, We have loſt all except our honour."

The ſuperiority of the Ruſſians, after a ſiege of ſix months, obliged the city of Colberg to ſurrender, and they were enabled to winter in Pomerania, and to threaten early and vigorous movements in the ſpring. The Ruſſian armies were now ſupplied with all neceſſaries by ſea, and Stetin alone obſtructed their march into the heart of Brandenburg. In the Weſt Indies, Dominica was taken from the French; and in the Eaſt, they loſt their principal ſettlement, Pondicherry, after a long ſiege.

In the courſe of the ſummer, the king, with the advice of the privy council, demanded in marriage Charlotte Sophia, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, one of the ſmall principalities in Germany. She was conveyed to England in great pomp; the nuptials were celebrated on the very night of her arrival; and on the twenty-ſecond of September, their majeſties were crowned in Weſtminſter Abbey.

Early in the year, a negociation for a general peace was ſet on foot at the inſtance of the king of France; and plenipotentiaries from the Belligerent powers were to meet at the city of Augſburg, without the mediation of any other ſtate: but this congreſs was never held. All that France had in exchange for the conqueſts made by Britain, was the landgraviate of Heſſe, the county of Hanau, and the town of Gottingen. The court of Verſailles tranſmitted propoſitions to the Britiſh court, of which the following were the principal: Firſt, that France would cede and guarantee to England all Canada, upon condition that the inhabitants ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion, and that in return, France ſhould be entitled to fiſh upon the banks of Newfoundland, and poſſeſs the Iſland of Cape Breton. Secondly, Minorca ſhould be exchangad for Guadaloupe and Marigalante. Thirdly, that Gottingen, Heſſe, and Hanau, ſhould be evacuated in return for the reſtitution of Belleiſle and of Goree, or the ſettlement of Senegal. Reſpecting Aſia, it was propoſed, that the treaty between Godecheu and Saunders, ſhould ſerve as the baſis of accommodation. Mr. Pitt, the Britiſh miniſter, violently oppoſed theſe propoſitions of peace, and contended that this was the period when the exorbitant power of the houſe of Bourbon might and ought to be humbled. An officious and untimely interference of the court of Madrid greatly added to his objections. M. de Buſſy propoſed, at the moment that he delivered the foregoing articles to the Britiſh court, that all the objects of diſpute between England and Spain, ſhould be finally ſettled, through the mediation of France. A propoſal coming from a friend through the channel of an enemy, was ſo unprecedented, and bore ſuch a partial and hoſtile aſpect, that Mr. Pitt inſiſted in the cabinet, that Spain ſhould give an immediate, full and ſatisfactory explanation, and that in caſe of her refuſal, that hoſtilities ſhould commence againſt that nation. The Spaniſh ambaſſador acknowledged that M. de Buſſy had been authoriſed to make that propoſal on the part of Spain, from the ſincere deſire which both their catholic and chriſtian majeſties had of procuring peace. Mr. Pitt, perceiving from this declaration the cloſe alliance between France and Spain, and that the latter would ſupport the pretenſions of the former, inſiſted upon anticipating any hoſtile deſigns of the Spaniſh monarch by an immediate declaration of war; the other members of the cabinet, conſidering the exhauſted ſtate of the country, determined if poſſible to avoid a rupture. In conſequence of which, Mr. Pitt reſigned his employment; but the king ſettled a penſion upon him of three thouſand pounds per annum for three lives, and ennobled his lady by the title of counteſs of Chatham, in her own right. The earl of Temple reſigned at the ſame time.

The appointment of the earl of Egremont to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, ſucceeded the ſignation of Mr. Pitt; and in the beginning of November, a new parliament aſſembled with

with sir John Cust for their speaker. The speech of the king upon this occasion furnishes nothing remarkable. The commons proceeded immediately to make provision for the queen, in case of her surviving his majesty. A jointure of one hundred thousand pounds per annum was granted her, and the lodge at Richmond old Park for a country residence, with Somerset-house for her town palace. When this act was passed, her majesty, who sat in a chair of state at the king's right hand, rose up, and made her obeisance to her husband, as if it was the monarch and not the representatives of the people, who bestowed upon her this liberal grant.

The German war having impoverished the country, and the troops abroad being ill provided with necessaries, an inquiry was instituted by the commons into the expediency of continuing it. It was urged in favour of an immediate peace, that we ought not to lavish our treasures, as if they were inexhaustible, on Hanoverians and Hessians; allies who, if they merit that name, served only to protract the feeble efforts of a system pregnant with ruin; that the treaty made with the king of Prussia, to whom the English paid rather a tribute than a subsidy, exposed the ignorance of our former negociators in a still greater degree, since he was so far from being able to make us any suitable return, that he was hardly capable of resisting his own immediate enemies. Whatever might have been the sentiments of the new ministers respecting the original policy of the German war, they saw that it could not now be very easily relinquished, as the faith of parliament was pledged to support the allies. The opposition therefore to continental measures, however well supported by argument, was over-ruled by numbers, and expired in the warmth of debate. His majesty coming to the house of peers on the twenty-third of December, to give the royal assent to some bills that were ready, adjourned the parliament to the nineteenth of January.

The haughtiness with which Mr. Pitt had treated the French, gave rise to the treaty between France and Spain, known by the name of the family compact; by which these powers mutually guarantied their possessions, engaged to defend each other with their whole force, and to admit the subjects of each other to enjoy all the privileges of natives. This treaty was signed on the fifteenth of August, and to commence its operation from the moment the two powers were at peace with all the world, but at present was kept a profound secret. Notwithstanding the French had strengthened themselves by this alliance, they seemed still seriously disposed to peace. By their concessions, the most interesting objects of concern were settled, or in a fair way of adjustment, and mere points of honour were made the specious pretexts for keeping Europe involved in all the calamities of war. The only points of difference were the evacuation of Wesel and Gueldres, which belonged to the king of Prussia, and the restitution of the merchant ships taken by the English, previous to the declaration of war. The French insisted that the first of these points should be left to the congress at Augsburg, because these places were taken for the empress queen, and Mr. Pitt gave a decided negative to the latter. Thus, rather than restore a few hundred thousand pounds, he determined to carry on the war at the expence of twelve millions per annum, and abruptly broke off the negociation.

Though the majority of the council had opposed Mr. Pitt's proposal for an immediate attack upon Spain, they were not satisfied with the answers of that court, or with their professions of amicable intentions towards Great-Britain. The French agents, at foreign courts, had also been very active in circulating the report of a family compact, between the different branches of the house of Bourbon. The earl of Egremont, who succeeded Mr. Pitt in the office of secretary for the southern department, wrote to the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, desiring him to obtain an explicit account of that secret convention between France and Spain, and to require a categorical declaration, with respect to the part his catholic majesty intended to act in the dispute between the courts of London and

Verſailles. As the anſwers given appeared evaſive and unſatisfactory, he became more peremptory in his remonſtrances, and at length plainly declared, that if the court of Spain ſhould refuſe a poſitive explanation, whether the Catholic king intended to aſſociate himſelf with France againſt England, he ſhould interpret the refuſal into an aggreſſion and declaration of war, and in conſequence be obliged to retire from the court of Madrid. In anſwer to this declaration, Mr. Wall, the Spaniſh miniſter, replied, that ſuch a ſtep could only be ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of ambition and of diſcord, which ſtill reigned but too much in the Britiſh government; that it was in that very moment the war was declared, and the king's dignity violently attacked; the earl might therefore depart from the court of Spain, how and when he pleaſed. The earl of Briſtol left Madrid the ſeventeenth of December; and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month the Spaniſh ambaſſador was recalled by his court. At his departure he left a note with the ſecretary of ſtate, charging the war on the pride and unmeaſurable ambition of the late ſecretary, and on the little reſpect ſhewn to his Catholic majeſty.

A. D. 1762.] War with Spain now becoming unavoidable, it was proclaimed on the fourth of January; and the parliament was aſſembled on the nineteenth, purſuant to adjournment. The king in his ſpeech informed both houſes of his endeavours to prevent a rupture with Spain. The commons were unanimous in their approbation of his majeſty's conduct reſpecting Spain, and in their aſſurances of ſteady and vigorous ſupport in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war. The lords agreed to an addreſs of the ſame kind; but the conſideration of the ſpeech gave riſe to a debate on the moſt effectual means of carrying on the war; and a motion was made for declaring it to be the opinion of that houſe, "that the war carrying on in Germany was attended with an enormous expence, and that the bringing the Britiſh troops home from Germany would enable his majeſty more effectually to proſecute the war with vigour againſt France and Spain, give ſtrength and ſecurity to Great Britain and Ireland, ſupport the public credit, and by eaſing the nation of a load of expence, be the likelieſt means, under the bleſſing of God, to procure a ſafe and honourable peace." The motion was loſt by the previous queſtion being moved upon it; but a proteſt was entered by ſeven peers, among whom was the duke of Bedford, one of the principal members of adminiſtration, declaring their diſſent from ſuch proceedings, as thereby the lords were debarred an opportunity of laying before the throne their ſenſe on a matter of this importance; and expreſſing their diſapprobation of the German war. The ſupplies granted by the commons for the ſervice of the year, exceeded eighteen millions. The new miniſtry had determined to proſecute the war with vigour; for this purpoſe admiral Rodney and general Monkton ſailed from New York with near 12,000 ſoldiers to Martinico, a conſiderable ſettlement of the French, on the 7th of January. A body of regulars and marines, ſupported by 1000 ſailors in flat-bottomed boats, advanced on the right along the ſea ſhore, in order to force the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. With irreſiſtible impetuoſity the Britiſh troops ſucceſſively carried the enemy's works in every quarter. At length, as general Monkton was advancing againſt the capital, deputies arrived to ſurrender up the iſland. With this place, the ſeat of government, the mart of trade, and the center of all their force, fell the remainder of the French Caribbee iſlands, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and ſeveral other iſlands. All the troops that could be ſpared from the newly conquered iſlands, were reimbarked by Sir James Douglas, who joined admiral Pococke off the north weſt end of Hiſpaniola. The land forces, which were commanded by lord Albemarle, amounted in all to ten thouſand. For the ſake of expedition the admiral ſteered through the narrow and dangerous ſtreights of Bahama, and, by making uſe of every precaution, conducted the whole fleet, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, within ſight of the Havannah, belonging to the Spaniards. The enemy had a fleet of twenty ſhips, moſtly of the line, lying

in

in the harbour; but, whether through timidity or weakneſs, they remained quiet, and declined a battle, which might probably have ſaved the city.

The difficulties through which the Engliſh contended in the ſiege of the Moro, which commanded the town and harbour, are almoſt incredible. Several dropped down dead with heat, thirſt and fatigue. Nothing however could abate the ardour of the men; on the day that the batteries were opened againſt the Moro, three of the largeſt ſhips, under the command of captain Hervey, laid their broadſides againſt the fort, and began a terrible fire, which laſted ſeven hours without intermiſſion. After an unremitted cannonade for many days by the Engliſh, one of their capital batteries, which was compoſed of timber and faſcines, caught fire, and was almoſt inſtantaneouſly reduced to aſhes: thus the labour of ſix hundred men for ſeventeen days, was loſt in a few ſeconds. The want of water, the advanced ſeaſon, and the multiplied difficulties leſſened the proſpect of ſucceſs; but, the rich prize which lay before their eyes, and the ſhame of returning home baffled, excited them to exertions almoſt incredible. The batteries were replaced, and they ſoon ſilenced the guns of the fort, diſmantled its upper works, and made a lodgment in the covered way. The commanders received ſome reinforcements and neceſſaries for the ſiege from Jamaica and America, and at length ſome mines were ſprung, and a breach was made in the wall of the fort. The Britiſh troops entered the breach, though narrow and difficult, and formed themſelves with ſuch celerity and cool reſolution that the enemy fled on every ſide. The governor, Don Velaſco, who had defended the fort with ſuch obſtinate bravery, defended, with a hundred men, an entrenchment, which he had made round his colours, and, ſinking down with a mortal wound, offered his ſword to the conquerors. A capitulation for the ſurrender of the Havannah immediately enſued, and the Britiſh forces procured a capture containing riches to the amount of three millions ſterling.

This was an acquiſition of the firſt claſs; it united in itſelf all the advantages that can be atchieved in war. It was a naval victory of the higheſt magnitude, by its effect on the enemy's marine; and in plunder, it equalled the produce of a national ſubſidy. The Hermione, a rich regiſter ſhip, valued at one million ſterling, was taken from the Spaniards juſt as it was entering the ports of Old Spain, which contributed ſtill more to the embarraſſment of their finances.

Admiral Corniſh, with two thouſand men, commanded by colonel Draper, ſoon after proceeded on an expedition againſt the Philippine iſles, in the pacific ocean; and came within ſight of Luconia on the nineteenth of September. The Britiſh commanders determined to make an immediate attack on the city of Manilla. The place being too extenſive to be completely inveſted by their ſmall number of men, the enemy had a free communication with the country which poured into their aſſiſtance ten thouſand natives, more fierce and daring than the generality of Indians. After the works had been battered, night and day, for ſome time, a ſtorm drove the Britiſh ſhips out to ſea, which induced the governor, who was alſo an archbiſhop, to pronounce that an angel had gone forth from the Lord, to deſtroy the Engliſh, like the hoſt of Sennacherib. But, in defiance of the reverend father's angel, and of the Spaniſh reſiſtance, the Britiſh troops, a few days afterwards, (ſixth of October,) under a general diſcharge of their artillery, mounted a breach which they had made with the greateſt ſpirit and rapidity, diſperſed their opponents, advanced into the city, and completed the conqueſt. Humanity muſt lament that this victory was ſullied by an act of cruelty. One hundred men, who were poſted in a guard-houſe, and would not ſurrender, were cut to pieces; three hundred more, endeavouring to eſcape, periſhed in the river. Motives of prudence and humanity induced the Engliſh commanders to forbid the pillaging of the city, and to accept a million ſterling for themſelves and ſoldiers, in lieu of their golden expectations; but it muſt be remembered that a general and an admiral could plunder little more

more than two common men; whereas their ſhare of the ranſom would be immenſe. With this place and the adjacent country, fourteen dependent iſlands were ſurrendered.

As the harbours of Portugal afforded a convenient retreat for the Engliſh ſhips of war, from whence they could eaſily annoy the commerce of France and Spain, one of the firſt meaſures of the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, was an attempt to detach Portugal from the intereſt of Great Britain; and if that ſhould not ſucceed, then to invade that kingdom, as England would be under the neceſſity of protecting it, by which her forces would be divided, and diverted from ſome other point of attack. For this purpoſe the miniſters of France and Spain preſented a joint memorial to the court of Liſbon, in order to perſuade his moſt faithful majeſty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate with them in the humiliation of Great Britain. To ſtrengthen this negociation, a large army was marched to the frontiers of Portugal, which was totally defenceleſs, and the king ſaw the critical ſituation to which he was reduced. In vain did he endeavour to avert the threatening ſtorm, and maintain the right which every nation has to preſerve its own neutrality; the miniſters of France and Spain told him he ought to be thankful for "the neceſſity which they had laid upon him to make uſe of his reaſon, in order to take the road of his glory, and embrace the common intereſt." Although the king of Portugal was ſenſible that the neceſſity alluded to was the immediate march of the Spaniſh army to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honourable reſolution. He declared, that if their troops ſhould invade his dominions, he would endeavour to repel them with all his forces and thoſe of his allies: and, that it would effect him leſs, to be reduced to the laſt extremity, and to ſee his faithful ſubjects ſpill the laſt drop of their blood, than to ſacrifice the honour of his crown, together with all that Portugal held moſt dear, and ſubmit to become an example to all pacific powers, who would no longer be able to preſerve their neutrality, whenever a war ſhould be kindled between other powers with whom the former were connected by defenſive treaties. In conſequence of this declaration, the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors immediately left Liſbon; and their departure was ſoon followed by a denunciation of war againſt Portugal from their reſpective courts.

The chief reliance of his moſt faithful majeſty was upon the ſupport of England, on whoſe account he was drawn into this unequal conteſt. From hence he received a number of officers, troops, artillery, arms, military ſtores, proviſions, money, and every thing which could enable the Portugueſe to exert their natural ſtrength. The Spaniards had formed a plan to penetrate Portugal by three different routes, and get poſſeſſion of the ſea-ports. The northern army entered Portugal by Miranda, and taking ſeveral places, made themſelves maſters of the province of Tralos Montes. The ſecond corps entered the province of Beira, where they were joined by the army from Tralos Montes. The third had not entered Portugal, but lay on the frontiers of Eſtramadura. Count de la Lippe, who commanded the allied forces, detached general Burgoyne to attack the advanced guard of the laſt mentioned Spaniſh army at Valencia, before they entered Portugal. This active commander entered Valencia by ſurpriſe, took a number of priſoners, and among them the general, who was to have commanded in the intended invaſion: he alſo brought away hoſtages for the payment of the king's revenue for one year, which he exacted as a conſideration for having ſpared the town. This victory, in which one of the beſt regiments in Spain was cut to pieces, entirely diſconcerted the operations of that army. The former army had advanced to the banks of the Tagus. General Burgoyne, who was now poſted with an intention to obſtruct them in their paſſage, perceived a detached camp, compoſed of a conſiderable body of their cavalry; and he conceived a deſign of attacking them by ſurprize. While he himſelf drew off the enemy's attention in one quarter, colonel

lonel Lee turned their camp in the night, fell upon their rear, ſlew a great number, and diſperſed the reſt. He deſtroyed their magazines, and returned with very little loſs. Theſe defeats, the approach of winter, and the want of ſubſiſtence for their horſes, obliged the Spaniards to retreat to the frontiers of their own country. By the liberal ſupplies of parliament, who granted two millions for the defence of Portugal, and the great exertions of the Britiſh troops and officers, the independence and neutrality of that country was preſerved: but if this is honourable, how diſgraceful muſt the conduct of Britain be towards Saxony, which furniſhed the king of Pruſſia with ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds annually, during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, to enable him to conquer a neutral ſtate: or rather, what muſt we think of that miniſter who could apply the public money to ſuch baſe purpoſes?

In Germany the war was proſecuted with equal vigour. The allied army was augmented to one hundred thouſand men. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick was poſted in the biſhoprick of Munſter, to watch the motions of the French army on the lower Rhine, under Condé; and prince Ferdinand, in perſon, lay with the grand army behind the Dymel, to oppoſe that in Heſſe under Soubize and D'Etrées, the ſucceſſors of M. Broglio, whoſe ill ſucceſs had been conſtrued into treachery. Prince Ferdinand founded his plan of attack upon the ſecurity which the French placed in their advantageous poſitions and ſuperiority of number. This general, with the aſſiſtance of Sporken, Luckner, and the marquis of Granby, contrived to attack the right, the center, and the flank of the enemy's army at the ſame moment, unperceived by them. The ſurpriſe was ſo complete and the execution conducted with ſo much celerity, that the French would have been totally routed, had not Stainville, with the flower of their infantry, poſted himſelf in a wood, and ſtopped the career of the victors. This body withſtood for a conſiderable time the whole force of the allies, but it fell a devoted ſacrifice: all but two battalions were taken or cut to pieces. The reſt of the army took ſhelter under the cannon of Caſſel. This battle was of great advantage to the allies, and gave them a decided ſuperiority during the remainder of the campaign.

Soon after this event the hereditary prince, thinking a fair opportunity offered of giving a ſevere blow to Condé, drove him from the heights which he occupied at Johanniſburgh; but, as he purſued him into the plain, the main army came up ſuddenly upon him, and repulſed his troops with the loſs of 3000 men. Notwithſtanding this blow, and a wound which prince Ferdinand received, the enemy derived no advantages from the victory; on the contrary, they were obliged to evacuate Caſſel, in which they had a garriſon of 10,000 men.

At the concluſion of the laſt campaign, we left the king of Pruſſia in a dangerous ſituation. The taking of Schweidnitz had laid open Sileſia to the Auſtrians, and put them in a condition to act in concert with their powerful allies. In the midſt of this gloom a ray of light ſuddenly appeared: the empreſs of Ruſſia, Elizabeth, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, died. The duke of Holſtein, her nephew, ſucceeded her under the title of Peter the III. He was an extravagant admirer of the king of Pruſſia, and pitied his misfortunes. His family had been forced by the Danes to relinquiſh its pretenſions to the duchy of Sleſwick, his native country; without uſing much ceremony, therefore, towards his allies, he agreed not only to a peace, but even to a reſtitution of the Ruſſian conqueſts, and to a junction of one part of his forces with thoſe of Pruſſia, while the other acted againſt the Danes, for the recovery of Sleſwick. Sweden, which had been long ſwayed by Ruſſian councils, followed his example.

Though the king of Pruſſia did not fail to improve this favourable turn of fortune by attacking the imperialiſts and gaining ſome advantages over their forces under mareſchal Daun, yet the ſhort duration of Peter the Third's popularity ſoon clouded the proſpect before him. His ſubjects conceived themſelves injured by his relinquiſhing his late conqueſts. He diſguſted the Ruſſian nobility

by his partiality to foreigners: he gave the like offence to the national forces, by preferring his Holſtein guards, and by the change he made in favour of the Pruſſian uniform to the excluſion of the Ruſſian. But what he did in matters of religion was ſtill more impolitic. He had been educated a Lutheran; and though he conformed to the Greek church, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſucceſſion, he never ſhewed much reſpect to that mode of worſhip. Some innovation he made in regard to images, excited an alarm that he was about to change the whole ſyſtem; and theſe fears were increaſed by the ſuggeſtions of the clergy, whom he had provoked, by a bare-faced attempt to ſtrip them of great part of their revenues, and an order "that they ſhould be no longer diſtinguiſhed by beards." His amour with the counteſs of Woronzoff was conſtrued into an intention of raiſing her to the throne.

The empreſs, little ſolicitous for the proſperity of a man who had ceaſed to be a huſband, ſet up an independent intereſt in favour of herſelf. She flattered the nobility, and ſeemed to reſpect the clergy and religion in the ſame proportion that the czar appeared to deſpiſe them. Peter was ignorant that a general conſpiracy was formed to dethrone him, at the head of which was his wife Catharine, who appeared before the Ruſſian guards, and after haranguing them in the moſt pathetic terms, was declared their ſole and independent ſovereign. During theſe tranſactions the emperor was indulging himſelf with his miſtreſs, in idle amuſements, at a pleaſure houſe near the ſea ſhore. As ſoon as he learned the fatal intelligence of his degradation he made ſome unſucceſsful attempts to make his eſcape to Holſtein, to wait a favourable turn in the tide of fortune. At length he was perſuaded or forced to ſign a paper, declaring his full conviction of his inability to govern: and this ceremony being finiſhed, he was conducted to priſon, where, according to univerſal expectation, he periſhed; whether it was by the viſitation of providence or by emiſſaries from his treacherous conſort, is but little doubted.

Upon this change of affairs at Peterſburgh, it was thought that the king of Pruſſia had only emerged from a ſea of troubles, to be plunged into an abyſs of deſpair. But when the empreſs found that he had given advice to her late huſband to treat her with kindneſs, and had pointed out the danger of attempting any alteration in the religious and civil laws of his country, ſhe ſomewhat relented, and countermanded the orders for renewing hoſtilities. The Pruſſian monarch made the beſt uſe of this turn of fortune; he attacked and gained ſeveral advantages over mareſchal Daun's army, and at length obliged the Auſtrians to ſurrender Schweidnitz and its garriſon, after a long and vigorous defence; and all Sileſia was, in conſequence, evacuated by Daun. The Imperial and Auſtrian forces were alſo completely routed near Freyberg; vaſt numbers of them were ſlain, and there were taken two hundred and forty officers, thirty pieces of cannon, ſeveral ſtandards, and ſix thouſand men. The Pruſſians, immediately on this victory, entered Bohemia in triumph, and reached almoſt the gates of Prague: another body of them invaded the ſame country, and reduced the town of Egra to aſhes. The city of Nuremburg was obliged to pay two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling to avoid being plundered. In a word the Pruſſians raiſed in this expedition, a ſum equal to the annual ſubſidy which they received from England in former years.

The ſlow progreſs of the Spaniards in Portugal, the retrogade motion of the French troops in Germany, the reduction of the Havannah, and the taking of ſome troops which had been ſent to retake Newfoundland, convinced the miniſters of France that the preſent was not a favourable opportunity for deriving from the family compact, all thoſe advantages which they had expected; they were therefore now ſeriouſly inclined to pacific ſentiments.

England, though not unable to carry on the war, was not averſe to peace; and this was facilitated by a change which had taken place in the miniſtry. Soon after the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, the duke of Newcaſtle, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, grew extremely jealous of the earl of Bute's influence in the cabinet,

binet. This nobleman who was at firſt groom of the ſtole, and next appointed to ſucceed the earl of Holderneſs as ſecretary of ſtate, enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of the eſteem and confidence of the king. He was ſaid to be a tory; and on that ground, the duke, who had long been at the head of the whigs, hoped to ruin the credit of his rival. A loud clamour was therefore raiſed by the partizans of the duke againſt the tory favourite. But this only ſerved to rivet the king's attachment to the object of their reproach; and the duke, finding his own weight in the adminiſtration daily decline, reſigned his office in May, when the earl of Bute was immediately placed at the head of the treaſury. Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, ſucceeded his lordſhip as ſecretary of ſtate; and the place of firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty being vacant, by the death of lord Anſon, that office was beſtowed on the earl of Halifax. The duke of Newcaſtle was offered a penſion of five thouſand pounds a year by the new miniſter, which he refuſed: an example worthy of imitation.

The earl of Bute endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by a coalition with the great body of the tories, who came into his meaſures; but they were as vigorouſly oppoſed by the diſcontented party. To a miniſter, who was both ſuſpected and hated, the conduct of the war was difficult. The failure of the miniſtry would be conſtrued into a want of capacity, and their ſucceſs would be converted into an argument for unreaſonable terms of peace. Theſe conſiderations co-operating with the exhauſted ſtate of the country, induced the adminiſtration to conſult the intereſts of humanity, and give repoſe to Europe. The ſame favourable ſentiments prevailing in the French councils, all difficulties were ſpeedily removed. On the fifth of September, the duke of Bedford ſet off for Paris, with full powers from the court of England, to negociate a peace; and on the twelfth of the ſame month, the duke de Nivernois arrived in London, with the like commiſſion from the French court. As both powers were equally ſincere, no time was waſted in uſeleſs debate; the negociation was finiſhed, and the preliminaries were ſigned on the third of November.

The treaty of peace was founded on the laſt negociation carried on for the ſame purpoſe. As our ally, the king of Pruſſia, was now become formidable even to ourſelves, the Britiſh miniſters readily conſented to drop his alliance; the French being equally inclined to withdraw their aſſiſtance from the empreſs queen and to evacuate their German conqueſts. The affairs of Portugal were ſettled with equal eaſe, and all its territories were evacuated without diſtinction. The boundaries of America were aſcertained with the utmoſt exactneſs: a line drawn along the middle of the rivers Miſſiſſippi, Iberville, the lakes Maurepas and Pont Chartrain, to the ſea, ſeparated the poſſeſſions of the two nations; the extenſive, but barren ſands of Florida, being exchanged for the Havannah and our expectations of the Philippine iſles. In the Weſt-Indies the Engliſh retained none of the conquered iſlands but the Grenades; Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent, being their ancient poſſeſſions. In Africa, Goree was reſtored to the French, and Senegal ceded to the Britiſh; and in the Eaſt-Indias whatever had been conquered was reſtored. The iſland of Belleiſle was exchanged for Minorca, and Dunkirk was to be diſmantled.

Peace being thus reſtored between the two great powers, whoſe treaſures ſupplied the German war, it was reaſonably expected that the empreſs queen and the king of Pruſſia would ſoon accommodate their differences. The ſuperiority acquired by the Pruſſians at the latter end of the campaign, determined the Auſtrians to this meaſure. Matters were accordingly adjuſted at Hubertſburg, and a mutual reſtitution and oblivion took place, each party taking back what it poſſeſſed at the beginning of the war. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was included in this treaty.

At the concluſion of this war, the national debt of Great-Britain amounted to about one hundred and forty-eight millions, the annual intereſt of which was nearly five millions.

lions. The terms of the peace were generally diſapproved by the people, though perhaps not with ſufficient reaſon. They complained that the conceſſions made by France and Spain were not ſuch as Great Britain, from her victories, had a right to expect; and that there was no indemnity for the expences of the war. Not conſidering that England had obtained much more from France than was the original ground of diſpute; and that the expence of one campaign would greatly exceed all that could be demanded as an indemnity. When the parliament was aſſembled, and the treaty laid before them, it was cenſured in every article by the oppoſition, but approved by a majority, and an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the peace was voted in both houſes. Addreſſes were likewiſe preſented from all parts of the country.

A. D. 1763.] The definitive treaty was ſigned at Paris on the tenth of February, and on the twenty-ſecond of March, peace was proclaimed in London. In the preſent ſtate of the public mind, the miniſtry foreſaw that there would be great difficulty in raiſing the ſupplies; and as they had repeatedly declared that a peace was neceſſary, in order to lighten the burdens of the people, they were unwilling to increaſe the general irritation, by the addition of new taxes. But the public ſervice requiring conſiderable ſums of money, they propoſed to take two millions from the ſinking fund; to iſſue exchequer bills to the amount of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds; to borrow two millions eight hundred thouſand pounds on annuities; and to raiſe ſeven hundred thouſand pounds on two lotteries in the courſe of the year. To defray the intereſt of theſe loans, amounting to ſeven millions three hundred thouſand pounds, an additional duty of eight pounds a tun was laid on all French wines, and four pounds a tun upon all other wines. But as theſe were inſufficient, a duty of four ſhillings a hogſhead was impoſed on cyder and perry, to be paid by the maker, and to be ſubjected to all the laws of exciſe.

The oppoſition reſiſted this whole ſcheme of finance. They maintained that the nation was not exhauſted; and obſerved, that as individuals abounded in wealth, and the public was loaded with ſo immenſe a debt, it was conſiſtent with the wiſeſt and moſt enlarged policy, to add as much as poſſible, by liberal grants, to the income of the nation, inſtead of burdening it with freſh incumbrances, by new loans. They condemned the lottery plan as encouraging the ſpirit of gambling, and giving an enormous profit to the ſubſcribers. The money taken from the ſinking fund they conſidered as a kind of ſacrilege; and thought, that ſcarce any neceſſity could be pleaded in favour of a perverſion of that fund from its original purpoſes, while the people were eaſed for a time only to be the more heavily burdened afterwards. Theſe objections were certainly juſt, but they came with little weight and leſs grace, from men, who, when they and their friends were in the adminiſtration, eſtabliſhed the practice of lotteries, and gave the greateſt blow to the ſinking fund it had ever received. But the cyder tax was the chief ſubject of declamation. Every man's houſe is his caſtle, ſaid the oppoſition; but if this tax is endured, it will neceſſarily lead to introducing the exciſe laws into the domeſtic concerns of every private family, and to every ſpecies of the produce of the land. The laws of exciſe are odious and grievous to the dealer, but intolerable to a private perſon. This tax excited great commotion throughout the country, the fury of the populace was let looſe, and every place was full of tumult and confuſion. The citizens of London inſtructed their repreſentatives to oppoſe the cyder bill, and many other members received ſimilar inſtructions from their conſtituents. Petitions were ſent to both houſes againſt the bill by the city of London, and theſe proving ineffectual, another was preſented to his majeſty; but the miniſtry were determined to carry their point, and the bill received the royal aſſent. Soon after paſſing this bill, the earl of Bute reſigned his office, but was ſuppoſed ſtill to direct every public meaſure, and Mr. Grenville was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury and chancellor

chancellor of the exchequer. The earls of Egremont and Halifax were ſecretaries of ſtate, lord Sandwich was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Fox was called up to the houſe of peers, by the title of lord Holland.

The conduct of adminiſtration was expoſed in a great number of publications, particularly by one called the North-Briton, in which not only the earl of Bute was loaded with abuſe, but the whole nation of the Scots, on his account, were treated with a ſeverity, which was both unjuſt and inhuman. One of theſe papers contained a ſevere comment on the king's ſpeech, at cloſing the ſeſſion on the nineteenth of April. The earl of Halifax iſſued a general warrant, without deſcribing the name or perſon of any one, for apprehending the authors, printers and publiſhers of the forty-fifth number of the North-Briton, which was called treaſonable and ſeditious. Mr. Kearſly, the publiſher, and ſeveral printers, were ſeized and examined; but they afterwards brought an action againſt the meſſengers, and recovered damages. Mr. Wilkes being fixed upon as the author, the meſſengers went to his houſe, on the evening of the 29th of April, to apprehend him. But he excepted to the generality of the warrant, as his name was not mentioned in it, and threatened the firſt who ſhould offer violence to his perſon in his own houſe, at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order which they might, or might not, have received for that purpoſe. Upon this the meſſengers thought proper to retire, and defer the execution of the warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody, with all his papers, and carried him before the ſecretaries of ſtate for examination. Immediately after this event a motion was made in the court of Common-Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall, for a Habeas Corpus, which was granted, though, by reaſon of the Prothonotary's office not being open, it could not be ſued out till four o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time ſeveral gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was refuſed, upon pretence of an order from the ſecretaries of ſtate, which order was never produced; and though it was well known that the Court of Common-Pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where his friends were alſo denied admittance to him. May the third, he was brought to the bar of the court of Common-Pleas, where he addreſſed himſelf to the judges on the illegality and hardſhips of his commitment, in a very bold and animated ſpeech. The caſe was then learnedly argued by eminent lawyers on both ſides; but the court, (after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay) requiring farther time to conſider of the affair, he was remanded to the Tower till the ſixth of May, with orders that his friends and lawyers ſhould have free acceſs to him. In the mean time orders were given that Mr. Wilkes ſhould no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. At the time appointed, Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Weſtminſter-hall, when, after another ſpirited addreſs to the court, and many learned arguments on both ſides, the lord chief juſtice Pratt proceeded to give his opinion on the three following points, viz. The legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in number forty-five of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament. Theſe points were diſcuſſed by his lordſhip with great candour; and his opinion having deſervedly met with the approbation of the whole court, Mr. Wilkes was diſcharged. Before, however, he had quitted the court, a gentleman of eminence in the law ſtood up, and informed the lord chief juſtice, that he had juſt received a note from the attorney and ſolicitor-general, to deſire his lordſhip would detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, as they had ſomething to offer againſt his plea of privilege. This requeſt, however, was not complied with; and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court with a reſpectful and animated ſpeech.

As ſoon as Mr. Wilkes was releaſed from the Tower, he cauſed a printing-preſs to be ſet up, under his own direction, at his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where he advertiſed the proceedings of the admi-

niſtration, with all the original papers; and the North-Briton was re-publiſhed. In the mean time an information was filed againſt him in the court of King's-Bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as being author of the North-Briton, number forty-five; and on the meeting of parliament a meſſage was ſent to the houſe of commons with the information his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, eſq. a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel. The examinations and proofs of the ſaid libel, together with the meaſures that had been taken thereon, were alſo laid before the houſe; in conſequence of which the North-Briton, number forty-five, was adjudged a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. On the third of December, the day appointed for this ſentence to be put in execution, a great concourſe of people aſſembled at the Royal Exchange, and reſcued the condemned paper from the flames, notwithſtanding all the efforts of Harley, the ſheriff, who manifeſted as much zeal for its deſtruction as an inquiſitor would have done to burn a heretic. In the evening the populace diſplayed it at Temple-bar, where a bonfire was made, and a great jack boot was committed to the flames, in its ſtead, amidſt the moſt joyous acclamations.

Mr. Wilkes now commenced an action againſt Robert Wood, eſq. under ſecretary of ſtate, for ſeizing his papers. The cauſe was tried, on the ſixth of December, before lord chief juſtice Pratt and a ſpecial jury; when, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, many arguments on both ſides, and a moſt maſterly, pathetic, and eloquent charge given by his lordſhip, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with one thouſand pounds damages, and full coſts of ſuit. The lord chief juſtice, at this time, decided on the illegality of general warrants; and by his deciſions acquired great popularity. The corporation of Dublin voted him their thanks, with the freedom of the city in a gold box, for his juſt and ſpirited conduct in the late trials. London improved on the example by a vote, that the freedom of the city ſhould be preſented to his lordſhip in a gold box, and that he ſhould alſo be requeſted to ſit for his picture, to be placed in Guild-hall, as a laſting memorial of their gratitude. Similar compliments were tranſmitted to him from ſome other communities in England and Ireland.

A complaint was exhibited againſt Mr. Wilkes, in the houſe of lords, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe to a book entitled, "An Eſſay on Woman;" for which he was charged with blaſphemy and breach of privilege. But Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his anſwer, being at that time indiſpoſed, in conſequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin, eſq. late ſecretary of the treaſury, who, thinking himſelf groſsly inſulted in the North-Briton, and, by what had paſſed, preſuming Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuſe, he ſent him a challenge, which being readily accepted by Mr. Wilkes, he unfortunately received a dangerous wound in the belly; of which he ſent immediate notice to the houſe of commons, who thereupon gave him time for his appearance, and afterwards, on the report of his phyſician and ſurgeon, enlarged it: but at length, beginning to ſuſpect ſome colluſion between him and them, on the ſixteenth of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and make a report of the ſame to the houſe; but he politely declined their ſervice. It is uncertain whether the attention of the houſe had any happy effect on Mr. Wilkes's health, but he recovered ſo faſt, that on the twenty-fourth of December he ſet out for France on a viſit to his daughter, who was at this time very ill at Paris, and where for the preſent we ſhall leave him, that the tranſactions of the enſuing year may be conſidered.

A. D. 1764.] On the twentieth of January, the commons expelled Mr. Wilkes, for a contempt of their authority, and publiſhing the North-Briton, it being adjudged an infamous libel, and iſſued out a writ of election for Ayleſbury in his room; and in the month of February his trial came on in the court

court of King's-bench, before lord chief juſtice Mansfield, for re-printing and publiſhing the North-Briton, number forty-five, at his own houſe: of which publication he was found guilty, as he was afterwards of printing and publiſhing the "Eſſay on Woman." A letter received from Mr. Wilkes was then publiſhed, together with a certificate, ſigned by one of the French king's phyſicians, and a ſurgeon of eminence, which was atteſted by two notaries, and the earl of Hertford, our ambaſſador at the court of France, wherein it appeared that he was ſo bad with his wound as not to have been able, during the month of January, to return to England. As he did not appear in due time to receive the ſentence of the court, he was at length outlawed. The people ſeem to have gained no real advantage by this conteſt; for though general warrants have been proved to be illegal, the ſecretary of ſtate has ſtill the power of impriſoning and plundering the papers of any individual whom he chuſes, even on ſuſpicion, by a warrant.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, lord Bute and his colleagues ſeemed to gather new ſtrength to contend with future tempeſts; and immediately after being preſſed in the queſtion about general warrants, they diſmiſſed from the ſervice ſeveral officers of high rank and diſtinguiſhed merit in the army, for having voted againſt them; a new proof of their haughty and arbitrary diſpoſition. General Conway very properly inſiſted upon his being as independent as any other gentleman in the houſe of commons; the miniſtry were unable to diſpute the principle, but they told him, the king was equally free to employ whom he pleaſed in thoſe departments, which were at his diſpoſal. Can there be a more forcible argument againſt the ſervants of the crown having ſeats in parliament, than that men of integrity and ability muſt make a ſacrifice of their conſcience, or loſe their employment; while the public intereſt often doubly ſuffers, by employing men who are deſtitute of character and capacity, if they will but ſupport the meaſures of the court?

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, various duties were laid on tea, coffee, ſugar, wine, Eaſt-India ſilks, and printed cottons, French lawns, and ſeveral other articles, imported to the American colonies from Great-Britain. It was intended to have impoſed a tax on ſtamps, but this was thought rather too hazardous an experiment at firſt, and therefore poſtponed till next ſeſſion, to allow time for the Americans to petition againſt it, or offer ſome other tax as a ſubſtitute. It likewiſe afforded time for ſeeing how they would digeſt a ſyſtem of taxation by the Britiſh legiſlature, where they had no repreſentatives. On the eighteenth of April, the king went to the houſe, and adjourned the parliament.

The king's eldeſt ſiſter, the princeſs Auguſta, was married to the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, on the ſixteenth of January. In Auguſt, about ſix hundred German proteſtants, Wurtzburghers and Palatines, were brought to London, by a perſon who pretended to have authority from the Britiſh government to ſettle them in the iſlands of St. John and Le Croix, in America; but he abandoned them. Theſe deſtitute and unfortunate ſtrangers, took up their quarters in the fields at Mile-end, where they muſt have periſhed, but for the benevolence of the public. Dr. Wachſel, miniſter of the German Lutheran church, in Alie-ſtreet, publiſhed an account of their diſtreſs in one of the daily papers, and by eleven o'clock that ſame morning, one hundred tents were ſent from the Tower by his majeſty's order, who likewiſe gave three hundred pounds towards their immediate relief. Large contributions were alſo raiſed by the public. Phyſicians, ſurgeons and midwives, offered their ſervice to the ſick. His majeſty having ſignified his intention of eſtabliſhing them in South Carolina, ordered one hundred ſtand of arms to be delivered to them, with every other neceſſary, and veſſels to convey them to that colony, where they were furniſhed with proviſions for a twelvemonth.

Several of the Indian tribes in America having formed themſelves into a confederacy, renewed the war with all that fury and cruelty by which their aſſaults are diſtinguiſhed. In the preceding year, colonel Bouquet had a terrible

a terrible engagement with them at Turtle-creek, near Pittſburgh, in which they were defeated. Sir William Johnſon advanced into the country of the ſix nations, where they had not yet commenced hoſtilities; and opened conferences with thoſe tribes that appeared willing to live in peace with the Engliſh. But it was not till the Senecas had felt the ſcourge of vengeance that they could be brought to reaſon, when a treaty of peace was concluded with them. This year, colonel Bradſtreet advanced to Niagara, while colonel Bouquet penetrated the country from Canada, intending to carry the war through the Deleware and Shawaneſe nations if they did not ſubmit in time. Such appearances of determined reſolution produced the proper effects; for, when colonel Bradſtreet arrived at Preſqueiſle, deputies from the ſeveral tribes waited upon him, and engaged by ſolemn treaty, to deliver up all their priſoners, and to renounce all claims to the poſt and forts poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, who ſhould be at liberty to erect as many more as they might think neceſſary for the protection of their trade, with as much land to each fort, for raiſing proviſions, as a cannon ſhot can fly over. Some other conditions were added, tending to inſpire theſe barbarians with a ſenſe of humanity and juſtice. Colonel Bouquet was equally ſucceſsful, though the ſavages againſt whom he marched were by far the moſt perfidious and intractable. Finding that he was not to be checked by a ſhew of reſiſtance, nor amuſed by deluſive promiſes, they agreed to treat in good earneſt, delivering up all their priſoners, and giving hoſtages for the fulfilment of the treaty. Theſe wiſe and reſolute meaſures ſecured peace to the back ſettlements.

The affairs of India at this period became important, and require a detail. Jaffier Alli Cawn, ſubah of Bengal, was depoſed; and by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, Meer Coſſim, his ſon-in-law, was raiſed to the throne. Coſſim knew that the ſame power which had raiſed might again depreſs him; and he found himſelf in a ſtate of entire ſubordination. His firſt care was therefore to render himſelf independent of thoſe men to whom he owed his elevation. After complaining of being treated with inſolence and indignity, he removed his court from Murſhadabad; a city whoſe vicinity to Calcutta gave the factory an opportunity of watching his conduct narrowly. He removed two hundred miles higher up the Ganges, and fixed his reſidence at Mongheer. He collected a numerous army, compoſed of Perſians, Tartars, Armenians, and vagrant Europeans; changed the faſhion of the Indian muſkets, from matchlocks to firelocks; and alſo improved his cannon. This enterpriſing Indian prince ſoon incurred the diſpleaſure of Mr. Vanſittart, the Engliſh governor, by iſſuing an order, ſubjecting all the free traders to the regular and equal payment of duties throughout his dominions, and commanding that their diſputes, if they happened in his territories, ſhould be determined by his magiſtrates; Coſſim, however, was ſoon ſubdued by colonel Adams; and Jaffier Alli Cawn was again reſtored to his dignity. Meer Coſſim fled for protection to Sujah Doula, ſubah of Oude.

The Indian princes, ſenſible that againſt European invaders, the cauſe of one was the cauſe of all, were alarmed for their own independence, and at the inſtance of the fugitive ſubah took up arms. The Sha Zadda, great Mogul, and Sujah Doula, united their forces, and threatened to reſtore the exiled Coſſim. Major Monro, who now had the chief command, as Adams was dead, came up with their forces at Buxar, and gave them battle. The Indians were completely routed, leaving ſix thouſand men dead on the field, thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionate quantity of military ſtores, and all their tents ſtanding. Major Monro was recalled by the council of Calcutta, and general Carnac appointed to the command. The battle of Buxar had given a terrible blow to the power and credit of Sujah: Sha Zadda had then left him, and gone over to the Engliſh; ſtill he reſolved not to fall inglorioufly. He collected his ſcattered forces, and applied to the Mahrattas for aſſiſtance. Meeting with Carnac at Carpi, they were totally routed, and obliged

obliged to fly for ſhelter to their mountains. Foiled in his military attempts, Sujah Doula took the reſolution to ſurrender himſelf; and three days after the action, he appeared in general Carnac's camp, without any ſtipulation, except that he ſhould await lord Clive's determination,

When the company, in Leadenhall-ſtreet, heard of the recommencement of hoſtilities, they were greatly alarmed. Under the influence of this panic nothing ſeemed to them capable of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, but the name and fortune of lord Clive. As if the enemy was at their gates, they created a dictator; they inveſted him and four other gentlemen with unlimited authority to examine and determine every thing, independently of the council, as long as Bengal remained in a ſtate of war. Before this ſelect committee arrived at Bengal, Jaffier Alli Cawn, who had experienced ſuch a variety of fortune, died, and nominated his ſon, Naijem Doula, his ſucceſſor; which nomination the council confirmed. He was allowed to keep no ſoldiers but a few for parade; and they forced him to deliver up Nunducomar, his prime miniſter and the inſtructor of his youth, and to accept one of their appointment, who was intended to be a ſpy and controller of his actions. The Engliſh, as if they had conquered an enemy, and exacted indemnifications for loſſes ſuſtained, obliged the nabob to pay them handſomely for his elevation. Conſcious of their ſervants in India, the company had ſent out orders prohibiting them from receiving preſents; but many had been received before theſe orders were made known. The ſelect committee, upon making inquiries into this buſineſs, were accuſed of having formerly amaſſed large fortunes themſelves by the ſame means. As the letter of inſtructions from the directors limited their authority to the duration of the troubles in Bengal, it was ſtrongly urged that their commiſſion was null and void. But the committee, regardleſs of theſe charges, exerted every power which their appointment was ſuppoſed to convey to the full extent, and made little or no uſe or account of the council. In the mean time lord Clive repaired to the army at Allahabad; full powers being inveſted in him and Carnac to conclude a peace with Sujah Doula, whom the council had deprived of his dominions; but theſe were now reſtored to him by Clive and Carnac: finally the company were conſtituted duans, or perpetual collectors of the revenues of Bengal, under the mogul, to whom they pay annually three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds. The nabob, who is collector under the company, having an allowance of ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred pounds for the ſupport of his dignity, and the expences of his civil government. The advantages accruing to the company from this treaty, ſuch as it is, were immenſe. According to the account of the nobleman who concluded it, they muſt receive a clear yearly income of one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, exempt from all charges, expences and deductions.

A. D. 1765.] A trade had been for ſome time carried on between the Britiſh colonies and the French and Spaniſh ſettlements in America. The Engliſh exchanging their produce, or Britiſh manufactures, with the Spaniards, for gold and ſilver, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, beſides live ſtock and mules, with which the Weſt-India iſlands uſed to be ſupplied. Though this trade did not claſh with the ſpirit of any of the prohibitory acts, yet it was found to vary from the letter of them ſufficiently to afford the revenue officers a plea for doing that from duty, which they had a ſtrong temptation to do from motives of intereſt. Under the idea of putting a total ſtop to ſmuggling, ſhips of war were converted into guarda coſtas, and the naval commanders in the Weſt-Indies were obliged to take the cuſtom-houſe oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. Accordingly they ſeized, indiſcriminately, all Britiſh as well as foreign ſhips engaged in that traffic, which the cuſtom-houſe officers ſtationed on ſhore had always permitted to paſs unnoticed; beſides many others which were not liable to ſeizure.

The ſame misfortune attended the trade between the American coloniſts and the

a terrible engagement with them at Turtle-creek, near Pittſburgh, in which they were defeated. Sir William Johnſon advanced into the country of the ſix nations, where they had not yet commenced hoſtilities; and opened conferences with thoſe tribes that appeared willing to live in peace with the Engliſh. But it was not till the Senecas had felt the ſcourge of vengeance that they could be brought to reaſon, when a treaty of peace was concluded with them. This year, colonel Bradſtreet advanced to Niagara, while colonel Bouquet penetrated the country from Canada, intending to carry the war through the Deleware and Shawaneſe nations if they did not ſubmit in time. Such appearances of determined reſolution produced the proper effects; for, when colonel Bradſtreet arrived at Preſqueiſle, deputies from the ſeveral tribes waited upon him, and engaged by ſolemn treaty, to deliver up all their priſoners, and to renounce all claims to the poſt and forts poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, who ſhould be at liberty to erect as many more as they might think neceſſary for the protection of their trade, with as much land to each fort, for raiſing proviſions, as a cannon ſhot can fly over. Some other conditions were added, tending to inſpire theſe barbarians with a ſenſe of humanity and juſtice. Colonel Bouquet was equally ſucceſsful, though the ſavages againſt whom he marched were by far the moſt perfidious and intractable. Finding that he was not to be checked by a ſhew of reſiſtance, nor amuſed by deluſive promiſes, they agreed to treat in good earneſt, delivering up all their priſoners, and giving hoſtages for the fulfilment of the treaty. Theſe wiſe and reſolute meaſures ſecured peace to the back ſettlements.

The affairs of India at this period became important, and require a detail. Jaffier Alli Cawn, ſubah of Bengal, was depoſed; and by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, Meer Coſſim, his ſon-in-law, was raiſed to the throne. Coſſim knew that the ſame power which had raiſed might again depreſs him; and he found himſelf in a ſtate of entire ſubordination. His firſt care was therefore to render himſelf independent of thoſe men to whom he owed his elevation. After complaining of being treated with inſolence and indignity, he removed his court from Murſhadabad; a city whoſe vicinity to Calcutta gave the factory an opportunity of watching his conduct narrowly. He removed two hundred miles higher up the Ganges, and fixed his reſidence at Mongheer. He collected a numerous army, compoſed of Perſians, Tartars, Armenians, and vagrant Europeans; changed the faſhion of the Indian muſkets, from matchlocks to firelocks; and alſo improved his cannon. This enterpriſing Indian prince ſoon incurred the diſpleaſure of Mr. Vanſittart, the Engliſh governor, by iſſuing an order, ſubjecting all the free traders to the regular and equal payment of duties throughout his dominions, and commanding that their diſputes, if they happened in his territories, ſhould be determined by his magiſtrates; Coſſim, however, was ſoon ſubdued by colonel Adams; and Jaffier Alli Cawn was again reſtored to his dignity. Meer Coſſim fled for protection to Sujah Doula, ſubah of Oude.

The Indian princes, ſenſible that againſt European invaders, the cauſe of one was the cauſe of all, were alarmed for their own independence, and at the inſtance of the fugitive ſubah took up arms. The Sha Zadda, great Mogul, and Sujah Doula, united their forces, and threatened to reſtore the exiled Coſſim. Major Monro, who now had the chief command, as Adams was dead, came up with their forces at Buxar, and gave them battle. The Indians were completely routed, leaving ſix thouſand men dead on the field, thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionate quantity of military ſtores, and all their tents ſtanding. Major Monro was recalled by the council of Calcutta, and general Carnac appointed to the command. The battle of Buxar had given a terrible blow to the power and credit of Sujah: Sha Zadda had then left him, and gone over to the Engliſh; ſtill he reſolved not to fall ingloriouſly. He collected his ſcattered forces, and applied to the Mahrattas for aſſiſtance. Meeting with Carnac at Carpi, they were totally routed, and obliged

obliged to fly for ſhelter to their mountains. Foiled in his military attempts, Sujah Doula took the reſolution to ſurrender himſelf; and three days after the action, he appeared in general Carnac's camp, without any ſtipulation, except that he ſhould await lord Clive's determination,

When the company, in Leadenhall-ſtreet, heard of the recommencement of hoſtilities, they were greatly alarmed. Under the influence of this panic nothing ſeemed to them capable of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, but the name and fortune of lord Clive. As if the enemy was at their gates, they created a dictator; they inveſted him and four other gentlemen with unlimited authority to examine and determine every thing, independently of the council, as long as Bengal remained in a ſtate of war. Before this ſelect committee arrived at Bengal, Jaffier Alli Cawn, who had experienced ſuch a variety of fortune, died, and nominated his ſon, Naijem Doula, his ſucceſſor; which nomination the council confirmed. He was allowed to keep no ſoldiers but a few for parade; and they forced him to deliver up Nunducomar, his prime miniſter and the inſtructor of his youth, and to accept one of their appointment, who was intended to be a ſpy and controller of his actions. The Engliſh, as if they had conquered an enemy, and exacted indemnifications for loſſes ſuſtained, obliged the nabob to pay them handſomely for his elevation. Conſcious of their ſervants in India, the company had ſent out orders prohibiting them from receiving preſents; but many had been received before theſe orders were made known. The ſelect committee, upon making inquiries into this buſineſs, were accuſed of having formerly amaſſed large fortunes themſelves by the ſame means. As the letter of inſtructions from the directors limited their authority to the duration of the troubles in Bengal, it was ſtrongly urged that their commiſſion was null and void. But the committee, regardleſs of theſe charges, exerted every power which their appointment was ſuppoſed to convey to the full extent, and made little or no uſe or account of the council. In the mean time lord Clive repaired to the army at Allahabad; full powers being inveſted in him and Carnac to conclude a peace with Sujah Doula, whom the council had deprived of his dominions; but theſe were now reſtored to him by Clive and Carnac: finally the company were conſtituted duans, or perpetual collectors of the revenues of Bengal, under the mogul, to whom they pay annually three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds. The nabob, who is collector under the company, having an allowance of ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred pounds for the ſupport of his dignity, and the expences of his civil government. The advantages accruing to the company from this treaty, ſuch as it is, were immenſe. According to the account of the nobleman who concluded it, they muſt receive a clear yearly income of one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, exempt from all charges, expences and deductions.

A. D. 1765.] A trade had been for ſome time carried on between the Britiſh colonies and the French and Spaniſh ſettlements in America. The Engliſh exchanging their produce, or Britiſh manufactures, with the Spaniards, for gold and ſilver, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, beſides live ſtock and mules, with which the Weſt-India iſlands uſed to be ſupplied. Though this trade did not claſh with the ſpirit of any of the prohibitory acts, yet it was found to vary from the letter of them ſufficiently to afford the revenue officers a plea for doing that from duty, which they had a ſtrong temptation to do from motives of intereſt. Under the idea of putting a total ſtop to ſmuggling, ſhips of war were converted into guarda coſtas, and the naval commanders in the Weſt-Indies were obliged to take the cuſtom-houſe oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. Accordingly they ſeized, indiſcriminately, all Britiſh as well as foreign ſhips engaged in that traffic, which the cuſtom-houſe officers ſtationed on ſhore had always permitted to paſs unnoticed; beſides many others which were not liable to ſeizure.

The ſame misfortune attended the trade between the American coloniſts and the

French Weſt-India iſlands, and which was no leſs lucrative than the former. It depended on a mutual exchange of articles, which would have otherwiſe remained uſeleſs incumbrances on the hands of the poſſeſſors. It had been interrupted during the war, but was again likely to flouriſh till government iſſued orders for its ſuppreſſion, as not being ſtrictly conformable to law.

Sound policy would have connived at ſuch a reſource, or rather have taken off the prohibition, as it prevented the colonies from being drained of their current caſh by the calls of the mother country, and afforded ſpecie for internal circulation. In conſequence of theſe prohibitions, which were enforced by the naval officers with the utmoſt ſeverity, not only the contraband, but the fair and lawful trade of the Americans was threatened with irrevocable ruin. The Britiſh manufactures ſoon felt the conſequence of theſe meaſures: the Americans being no longer permitted to ſupply the markets where there was demand for them, nor able to purchaſe for their own uſe, determined to give up their articles of finery, and ſupply themſelves with coarſe neceſſaries of their own fabrication. The miniſtry, perceiving the miſchief which their ignorance had produced, thought of correcting the error, and laſt year paſſed a bill for rendering the intercourſe of the Americans with the other colonies in ſome reſpects legal. But, ſtill actuated by a miſtaken policy, they conſidered more the object of revenue than the intereſt of the people; they loaded this trade with ſuch heavy duties as amounted to a total prohibition, and required payment in ſpecie, which muſt have drained the colonies of what little money they had in hand.

In this ſtate of injury and irritation, the miniſter brought forward his famous American Stamp Act this ſeſſion, conſiſting of fifty-five articles, and impoſing duties nearly ſimilar to thoſe in England. This bill did not paſs the commons without long and warm debates, though the ſpeakers in oppoſition were but few. Mr. Grenville had given the Americans notice of this bill, and left them the choice of an equivalent; but as they queſtioned the right of being taxed by any but their own repreſentatives, they did not accept of his alternative. Remonſtrances were preſented to the houſe from ſeveral of the provincial aſſemblies, denying the juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament, but theſe were rejected, as inadmiſſible. The bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The journeymen weavers of London finding themſelves injured by the free uſe of French and other foreign ſilks, aſſembled in Moorfields, on the ſeventh of May, by beat of drum, with their wives and children, to the amount of many thouſands, in order to petition for redreſs, by a total prohibition of theſe articles. From hence they proceeded, in three ſeparate bodies, to the parliament-houſe, with flags deſigned as emblems of their grievances. They ſtopped ſeveral members in their coaches, beſeeching them in the humbleſt terms to conſider their diſtreſſes. They beſet the houſe of the duke of Bedford, who was ſaid to have ſpoken ſomething to their diſadvantage; and broke the windows of a few ſilk mercers for ſelling French ſilks; but a mild exertion of the civil power, with a few of the military, ſoon diſperſed them. A bill was afterwards paſſed, laying an additional duty on the importation of all wrought ſilks and velvets, and to encourage the ſilk manufactures of the kingdom.

The king had been laid up by an indiſpoſition; but, upon his recovery, he went to the houſe of peers to ſign ſome bills, when he ſignified, that from a regard for his people, and affection for his children, he judged it expedient to propoſe a regency bill, by which he might be enabled to appoint, in caſe of his deceaſe, the queen, or ſome other perſon of the royal family, guardian of the realm, and and of the heir apparent, till he ſhould attain the age of eighteen. An act was accordingly paſſed for that purpoſe, and the queen, and princeſs dowager of Wales, were particularly named, as capable of being of the regency.

Soon after the adjournment of parliament, a change took place in the miniſtry. Offers were

were made to the principal members of oppoſition, and though declined by Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, were accepted by the marquis of Rockingham, who was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, in the room of Mr. Grenville, and Mr. Dowdeſwell ſucceeded to his other office of chancellor of the exchequer. General Conway and the duke of Grafton, were made ſecretaries of ſtate. The duke of Newcaſtle was made lord privy ſeal, and the preſident's chair, lately occupied by the duke of Bedford, was given to the earl of Winchelſea. The very popular lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, Mr. Pratt, was, upon this occaſion, created earl of Camden. This alteration of the miniſtry was the work of the duke of Cumberland, who continued for ſome time to aſſiſt them with his advice. On the evening of the thirty-firſt of October, as his royal highneſs was preparing to aſſiſt at a council on affairs of ſtate, which was to be held at his own houſe, he was ſeized with a ſhivering, and ſunk ſenſeleſs into the arms of the earl of Albemarle. On being opened, there was found, in the right ventricle of the brain, a coagulation of extravaſated blood, about the ſize of a pigeon's egg, which was the cauſe of his death.

The reſentment of the Americans againſt the injudicious taxes and regulations impoſed upon them by the late miniſtry, was now arrived at ſuch a height as to produce open oppoſition. In Boſton the bells being muffled rang a dumb peal, the ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half maſt high, in token of deep mourning, the newſpapers were replete with puns and caricatures expreſſive of the general abhorance of the ſtamp act. The proceedings in America upon this ſubject were indeed ſo tumultuous as to deter ſeveral maſters of ſhips in England from taking any ſtamps for the colonies on board; and it ſoon appeared that this was not an unneceſſary precaution: for thoſe who ventured to take them were treated with the greateſt ignominy; and to ſave their ſhips from fire, and themſelves from the gallows, they were obliged to deliver up all their ſtamps, which were immediately burnt. In theſe riots the ſuperior ranks of people, when they began to diſcern the force of the popular reſentment againſt the proceedings of the Engliſh miniſtry, joined the general clamour, which was ſoon increaſed almoſt to open rebellion againſt the parent country. Even the general aſſemblies, beſides conniving at the tumultuous acts, by which the people aſſerted their independence, proceeded to juſtify them by arguments. Committees of correſpondence were formed in the provinces, and ſelect perſons were deputed from them to a congreſs at New York, where they met in October, and ſigned one general declaration of their rights, and one general petition expreſſive of their grievances. The merchants alſo entered into ſolemn engagements not to order any more goods from Great Britain; to recal the orders already given, if not executed by the firſt of January, 1766; and even not to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them on commiſſion after that time, unleſs not only the ſtamp act, but the ſugar and paper money acts were repealed. The people of Philadelphia reſolved, that till ſuch repeal, no remittance ſhould be made to England for debts already contracted, nor any lawyers be ſuffered to commence a ſuit againſt a reſident in America, in behalf of Britiſh claimants. Societies were formed for the encouragement of domeſtic manufactures, and plans adopted for ſhaking off all dependance on the mother country for any of the neceſſaries or conveniencies of life. The perſons who had gone out from England to ſuperintend the diſtribution of ſtamps were obliged to give them up, and wherever any could be found, they were deſtroyed. In November, the time at which the act took place, not a ſheet of ſtampt paper was to be found in the principal colonies.

The effects of this oppoſition in America was ſoon and ſeverely felt by the mother country. Her manufactures were at a ſtand; the principal ſources of her commerce were cut off: a numerous populace was thrown out of employment, while proviſions became exceedingly dear, and public credit received a dreadful ſhock by the total ſtoppage of remittances

mittances from the colonies. The ſituation of the new miniſtry was peculiarly critical; they knew that the framers and ſupporters of the ſtamp act, who formed a very numerous party, would vindicate their own meaſures, and inſiſt on the policy and neceſſity of quelling the coloniſts at the outſet; while Mr. Pitt and his adherents would contend for the ſurrender or diſavowal of the right of taxing the Americans. They therefore thought it ſafeſt to purſue a middle courſe at preſent, and leave the final determination to the ſupreme legiſlature.

A. D. 1766.] The parliament was aſſembled on the fourteenth of January; and never was there a period in which the public felt more anxiety for the reſult of their deliberations. The ſpeech from the throne pointed out the American affairs as the principal object of diſcuſſion. Petitions were preſented to the lower houſe, from London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Lancaſter, Glaſgow, and, in ſhort from almoſt every mercantile and manufacturing town in Great-Britain, ſetting forth the great decay of their trade, owing to the new laws and regulations made for America: the vaſt quantity of our manufactures (beſides thoſe articles imported from abroad, which were purchaſed either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies) which the American trade formerly took off our hands. That in return for theſe exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval ſtores, oil, whalefins, furs, and lately pot-aſh, with other ſtaple commodities; beſides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the coloniſts for articles of their produce, not required for the Britiſh market, and therefore exported to other places: that from the nature of this trade, conſiſting of Britiſh manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from Ameriea, many of them uſed in our manufactures, and all of them tending to leſſon our dependence on neighbouring ſtates, it muſt be deemed of the higheſt importance in the commercial ſyſtem of this nation: that this commerce, ſo beneficial to the ſtate, and ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of multitudes, then lay under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements, that nothing leſs than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the immediate interpoſition of parliament: that the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great-Britain, to the amount of ſeveral millions ſterling; and that, when preſſed for payment, they appeal to paſt experience in proof of their willingneſs; but declare it is not in their power at preſent to make good their engagements, alleding that the taxes and reſtrictions laid upon them, and the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the vice-admiralty courts, eſtabliſhed by ſome late acts of parliament, particularly by an act of parliament paſſed in the fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America; and by an act paſſed in the fifth year of his majeſty, for granting and applying certain ſtamp-duties, &c. in the ſaid colonies, &c. with ſeveral regulations and reſtraints, which, if founded in acts of parliament for defined purpoſes, they repreſent to have been extended in ſuch a manner as to diſturb legal commerce, and harraſs the fair trader, and to have ſo far interrupted the uſual and former moſt uſeful branches of their commerce, reſtrained the ſale of their produce, thrown the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces into confuſion, and brought on ſo great a number of actual bankruptcies, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments were utterly loſt and taken from them. That the petitioners were, by theſe unhappy events reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the houſe, in order to ſecure themſelves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burden to the community, or elſe ſeeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loſs of the kingdom.

The houſe having formed themſelves into a committee, examined the correſpondence between the late miniſters and the governors of the different provinces, together with other papers, and a great number of witneſſes,

neſſes, among whom was the celebrated Dr. Franklin; when the examination was finiſhed, they made their report, and propoſed the following queſtions, on which the debate turned, viz. Whether the legiſlature of Great-Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies, or not? and, What was the expediency or inexpediency of the late laws? Thoſe who contended for the repeal were divided in their opinion as to the right of taxation; the more numerous body, among whom were the miniſtry, inſiſted that the Britiſh legiſlature had a right to tax her colonies, but acknowledged the impolicy of the preſent tax: they who denied the right of taxation, though leſs in number, were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their talents and popularity; of theſe Mr. Pitt took the lead, in the houſe of commons, and lord Camden, in the houſe of peers; while the late miniſtry juſtified their particular acts, and contended for a due exertion of the authority of parliament, as neceſſary to preſerve the ſupremacy of Great-Britain over the colonies.

Many arguments were adduced from Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf, by thoſe who denied the right of the Britiſh parliament to tax America, ſhewing, "that the object of all government is the welfare of ſociety, and that it derives its exiſtence from the people." They urged, that by going up to Magna Charta, and referring to the ſeveral writs upon record, iſſued out for the purpoſe of raiſing taxes for the crown, and for ſending repreſentatives to parliament, as well as from the bill of rights, it appears throughout the whole hiſtory of our conſtitution, that no Britiſh ſubject can be taxed, but *per communem conſenſum parliamenti*, that is to ſay, of himſelf, or his own repreſentative; and this is that firſt and general right, as Britiſh ſubjects, with which the firſt inhabitants of the colonies emigrated; for the right does not depend upon their charters: the charters were but the exterior modelling of the conſtitution of the colonies; but the great interior fundamental of their conſtitution is this general right of a Britiſh ſubject; which is the very principle of liberty,---No man ſhall be taxed, but by himſelf or by his repreſentative. They obſerved, that many perſons carried their notions of the authority of parliament too far, in ſuppoſing it capable of doing every thing; but that is not true, and if it were, it is not right conſtitutionally; for then there might be an abſolute power in parliament, as well as in one man. They admitted the ſupreme legiſlative authority of Great-Britain over her colonies, in regulating all their external concerns, by reſtrictions on their commerce and navigation, but denied the right of impoſing taxes upon them. "Taxes, ſaid Mr. Pitt, are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone, and the commons of England have no right to give away the property of the people of America; before they can be taxed they muſt be repreſented." The example of the united Netherlands, in ſeparating from Spain, was held out as a warning to caution us from purſuing ſuch meaſures as brought about that revolution.

The earl of Camden, in the upper houſe, aſſerted that it was a doctrine as old as the conſtitution, that taxation and repreſentation were inſeparably united; that God had joined them, and that no Britiſh parliament could put them aſunder. "My poſition, ſaid he, is founded on the law of nature;---it is more, it is an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is abſolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his conſent, either expreſſed by himſelf or repreſentative: whoever does it commits a robbery; he throws down and deſtroys the diſtinction between liberty and ſlavery. Taxation and repreſentation are coeval with, and eſſential to this conſtitution. I wiſh the maxim of Machiavel was followed, that of examining a conſtitution at certain periods, according to its firſt principles; this would correct abuſes, and ſupply defects." After reviewing ſeveral periods of Engliſh hiſtory to ſupport his aſſertions, he declared, that for theſe reaſons he could never give his aſſent to a bill for taxing the Americans, while they remained unrepreſented. He thought the idea of a virtual repreſentation ſo abſurd as not to deſerve an an-

ſwer; and obſerved, "that the forefathers of the Americans had not left their native country, and ſubjected themſelves to danger and diſtreſs, to be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery."

On the other hand it was alledged, that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much repreſented in parliament as the greateſt part of the people of England, among whom, not one in ten has any vote for a member of parliament; and therefore every objection to the dependency of the colonies upon parliament, ariſing from the ground of repreſentation, ſtrikes at the preſent conſtitution of Great-Britain: that the obligation between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, conſiſting of defence on the one ſide, and obedience on the other; and that protection gives a right to taxation.

To this it was replied, that the colonies are not even virtually repreſented by the parliament, as thoſe inhabitants of Great-Britain are who have no votes, in conſequence of their intimate connexion with thoſe who are actually repreſented: that the Britiſh parliament cannot repreſent countries, with whoſe climates, ſoil, and produce; with whoſe wants and advantages they cannot be thoroughly acquainted: that the colonies had parliaments of their own, and, like Ireland, were not ſubjects of the Engliſh parliament, but of the king who was at the head of the empire; and that protection does not give a right to taxation, ſince if it did, the parliament of Great-Britain would have a right to tax Ireland, and even Hanover. They might have obſerved that the Americans already pay for protection, by their port duties, the poſt-office tax, and the monopoly of their trade; and that from their connexion with Great-Britain, they have been involved in all her wars.

After many arguments on both ſides, the queſtion was put, and carried in the affirmative, that the legiſlature of Great-Britain has a right to tax the colonies, in all caſes. Upon this a bill was paſſed, declaring that dangerous tumults and inſurrections had been carried on in the colonies, in defiance of the legiſlative authority of the mother country; and that theſe tumults and inſurrections had been encouraged by ſeveral votes and reſolutions which had been paſſed in the aſſemblies of the ſaid colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and deſtructive of their legal and conſtitutional dependence on the crown and parliament of Great Britain. By the act itſelf, all theſe votes and reſolutions of the American aſſemblies are annulled, and the miniſtry having thereby ſecured, as they imagined, the dependence of the colonies, contended for the repeal of the ſtamp act, which they ſaid was injudicious and oppreſſive, and could not be enforced but by fire and ſword. The late miniſtry and their friends, who ſupported the new adminiſtration on the queſtion of right, oppoſed the repeal; but in deſpite of all their efforts it was paſſed, and carried up to the houſe of lords by two hundred commoners. Notwithſtanding the eclat with which it was introduced to the upper houſe, it met with a vigorous oppoſition, and thirty-three lords entered a proteſt againſt it at the ſecond reading, as did twenty-eight at the third; this bill, however, was paſſed by a majority, and with the former, received the royal aſſent on the twenty-eighth of March. The American merchants, and other perſons concerned in that trade, neglected no means to expreſs their joy on the occaſion; the ſhips in the river diſplayed their colours, and at night ſeveral houſes were illuminated all over the city.

Several other bills of a popular nature were paſſed; as one to indemnify thoſe who had incurred penalties on account of the ſtamp-act; another for opening free ports, under certain reſtrictions, in the Weſt-Indies; and another for the repeal of the cyder act, ſubſtituting a new duty entirely different in the mode of collection. General warrants and the ſeizure of papers, except in caſes provided for by act of parliament, were declared to be illegal. The repeal of the ſtamp-act ſpread an univerſal joy throughout the Britiſh dominions in America; but without changing their opinions of the legal juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament.

To

To the ſurprize of the nation, a ſudden and unexpected change now took place in the miniſtry; for on the thirtieth of July, the duke of Grafton was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne, ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the duke of Richmond; Mr. Conway continued the other ſecretary; lord Camden was made lord high chancellor, in the room of the earl of Northington; Charles Townſhend Chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of William Dowdeſwell; and William Pitt, lord privy ſeal, who had been ſome days before created viſcount Pynſent and earl of Chatham, titles which, in the opinion of the public, added no honours to the poſſeſſor, and which at once ſtripped him of all his popularity.

Soon after this new miniſtry was formed, the diſtreſſes of the poor, and the high price of proviſions cauſed great and general complaint throughout the whole nation. Theſe complaints were followed by riots and tumults; in which the populace, aſſembling in bodies, attempted to lower the markets and to puniſh thoſe who had contributed, by engroſſing and other practices, to enhance the price of proviſions. Much miſchief was done, and lives loſt in different places. The magiſtrates at length called in the military force to aid the civil; by which means the rioters were diſperſed, and the jails filled with priſoners. Soon after, judges were ſent to the counties where the riots had happened, with ſpecial commiſſions to bring the priſoners to immediate trial: in conſequence of which ſeveral of the ringleaders were condemned to die, moſt of whom were, however, afterwards reprieved; ſome were tranſported; ſome obtained a free pardon; and a few ſuffered death.

On the eleventh of September, a proclamation was iſſued for putting in force ſeveral ſtatutes which had been formerly paſſed againſt foreſtallers and ingroſſers of corn. The price of wheat ſtill increaſing, another proclamation was iſſued to prohibit the exportation of grain, and meſſengers were diſpatched to the ſea-coaſts, to prevent ſuch ſhips as were laden with corn and flour, from proceeding with their cargoes. This proclamation was illegal; but when the parliament was aſſembled in November, a bill was brought in to indemnify all perſons who had acted in obedience to this order of council.

A. D. 1767.] After the recent example of the miſchiefs which had attended the ſtamp-act, it might have been expected that no attempt of the ſame kind would ever be renewed, more eſpecially by the preſent adminiſtration, the leading members of which had ſtrenuouſly denied the right of Great Britain to tax America; nevertheleſs, among the ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies, which amounted to eight millions and a half, ſome duties were laid upon tea, paper, painters' colours, and glaſs, imported to the colonies, from Great Britain. The aſſembly of New York, from their diſlike of a ſtanding army, came to a reſolution not to obey an act of the laſt ſeſſion for providing the troops with neceſſaries in their quarters, but to regulate their proviſions according to their own diſcretion. In the preſent ſeſſion a bill was paſſed, by which that aſſembly was prohibited from paſſing any act till they had in every reſpect complied with the requiſition of parliament.

The death of Charles Townſend, chancellor of the exchequer, made room for the promotion of lord North, who was appointed to ſucceed him at the latter end of the year, when ſome other changes took place in the miniſtry. Lord Gower was appointed to the preſidency of the privy-council; lord Weymouth ſucceeded general Conway as Secretary of ſtate for the northern department: and as affairs in the American colonies began to wear a ſerious aſpect, it was thought proper to appoint a ſecretary for that department, which was given to lord Hilſborough.

A. D. 1768.] The price of proviſions continuing enormouſly high, the parliament continued the regulations of laſt year for reducing their price, and paſſed a new bill for the importation of wheat from Africa. The ſupplies for the preſent year exceeded eight millions, of which one million nine hundred thouſand pounds were raiſed by loan and lot-

tery,

tery, beſides one million eight hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by exchequer bills, chargeable on the firſt aids of the next ſeſſion. The intereſt of the new loan was charged on the ſinking fund, out of which was alſo to be iſſued two millions and a quarter for the ſervice of the preſent year. The parliament growing near the time of its natural diſſolution, it was prorogued and diſſolved in March.

During this winter, a very popular bill paſſed in Ireland, for limiting the duration of the parliaments of that kingdom. Before this law, the duration of the Iriſh parliament was only determined by the king'a life, but from thenceforward, they were to be choſen once in eight years. This act gave great ſatisfaction to the electors of that kingdom.

Mr. Wilkes, who had remained abroad an outlaw ever ſince the year 1763, now returned home, and even while an outlawry was in full force, offered himſelf a candidate for the county of Middleſex, for which he was choſen by a majority of nearly two to one above the old court members. The day before the election was cloſed, he ſurrendered himſelf to the court of king's-bench, by whom the outlawry was reverſed, but he was ſentenced to ſuffer an impriſonment of two years, and pay a fine of 1000l. A ſubſcription was ſoon opened by ſome merchants of London, and other gentlemen of property, for paying his fine, ſupporting him while in priſon, and compounding his debts, amounting to above 17,000l.

Though the miniſtry conſtantly kept a body of troops to guard the place where Mr. Wilkes was impriſoned, no diſturbance happened till the tenth of May, the day on which the new parliament was ſummoned to meet. On that day great numbers of people crouded about the gates of the king's-bench, expecting to ſee their favourite proceed to the houſe of commons, and intending to conduct him in triumph. After waiting a long time they became clamorous, when ſome of the Surry juſtices embraced this opportunity of reading the riot act. As no violence or outrage had been committed, this ſtep was not juſtified by the occaſion, while it provoked the indignation of the multitude, who began to manifeſt their reſentment by throwing ſtones at the magiſtrates as they read the act. This aſſault enraged the ſoldiers, who, it is affirmed, were all Scotchmen ſelected for the occaſion, as they were ſuppoſed to be prejudiced againſt Mr. Wilkes and his friends, on account of his having libelled their country. Three or four of them quitted their ranks, when ſome of the people running away, the ſoldiers ſingled out a young man of the name of Allen, a mere ſpectator, whom they purſued into his father's cow-houſe, and ſhot him dead in the act of imploring mercy. This atrocious act ſpread an alarm through the neighbourhood; the mob accumulated through an influx of paſſengers, many of whom were ignorant that the riot act had been read, when the juſtices thinking their authority was ſet at defiance, ordered the ſoldiers to fire upon the people, of whom above twenty were killed or wounded. The whole nation became indignant at theſe proceedings; but thanks were returned to the detachment in the king's name for this odious ſervice, and the men were promiſed all the protection which the war-office could afford. Some of the ſoldiers were indicted at the Surry aſſizes for murder, but eſcaped by miniſterial influence; and the whole proceſs was ſuch, that the trial of none of the culprits was permitted to be publiſhed, nor would the judge allow notes to be taken in the court of the evidence.

The miniſtry had ſecured a majority in the new elections, and the commons choſe Sir John Cuſt for their ſpeaker: after a ſhort ſeſſion, the parliament was adjourned on the twenty-firſt of May, and a new writ was iſſued for electing another member for Middleſex, in the room of Mr. Cooke, who had been returned with Mr. Wilkes, but was ſince dead. Sir W. B. Proctor, who had been rejected at the laſt election, was now urged by the courtiers to become a candidate, and it was ſo ordered that ſix months were allowed for his canvas, while the miniſtry exerted all their influence among the electors to inſure him ſucceſs. But a great majority of the freeholders

freeholders declared in favour of ſerjeant Glyn, whom they ſuppoſed to be a firm friend to their country, and in whom they expected to find an able defender of their liberties. Unſupported by any perſonal connexions, he triumphed over the whole power of the court, in the election at Brentford. Succeſs was no ſooner declared to be in his favour, than a gang of hired ruffians, with *Liberty* and *Proctor* in their hats, ſallied forth with ſhocking violence upon the peaceable and unarmed electors, whom they diſperſed, and with bludgeons knocked down every perſon whom they did not know to be of their party. A reſpectable perſon of the name of Clarke was killed, and ſeveral others deſperately wounded. Two of the rioters were apprehended, tried, and convicted of murder, but received a free pardon from his majeſty. To increaſe the aſtoniſhment and indignation of the kingdom at the preſent meaſures, the moſt active of the aſſaſſins was rewarded with a royal penſion, in the ſame manner as Macloughlan, who had been permitted to eſcape after the maſſacre in St. George's-fields.

The acts which had been paſſed laſt year impoſing duties on glaſs, paper, &c. imported to the colonies, produced violent diſcontent. At Boſton they came to a reſolution to retrench their expences, to bring nothing from abroad that could be obtained at home; and they entered into ſubſcriptions for the encouragement of domeſtic manufactures particularly glaſs, paper, and all thoſe articles that were ſubject to the new duties. Similar reſolutions were ſoon after adopted in all the other colonies. In the beginning of the preſent year the aſſembly of Maſſachuſets 'bay ſent a circular letter to all the other aſſemblies in North America, to ſhew the evil tendency of theſe acts, and to propoſe a common union between the colonies, in the purſuit of all legal meaſures, to prevent their effects, and a harmony in their applications to government for a repeal of them; expatiating largely on the natural rights of the coloniſts as men, and their conſtitutional ones as Engliſh ſubjects; all of which they aſſerted, were infringed by theſe laws. The different aſſemblies in anſwer to the letter from Maſſachuſets' bay, expreſſed the higheſt approbation of their conduct; and a firm reſolution to join in all their meaſures. Lord Hilſborough, the new ſecretary for American affairs, wrote a circular letter to the governors of all the colonies; in which his majeſty's diſlike to the letter of the Maſſachuſets aſſembly was expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms; as calculated to excite an oppoſition to the authority of parliament, and ſubvert the conſtitution; and, that he hoped from the known affection of the reſpective aſſemblies, they would defeat any attempt to diſturb the public peace, and treat it with the contempt it deſerved, by taking no notice of it. The aſſemblies ſeem to have entertained a different opinion from his majeſty, they not only expreſſed their approbation of the Maſſachuſets, but paſſed ſeveral votes and reſolutions according with the letter from Boſton. Some of them returned addreſſes to the ſecretary of ſtate, juſtifying their conduct, and animadverting on ſeveral paſſages, as well as on the requeſt contained in his letter. The aſſembly of New-York had even appointed a committee of correſpondence to conſult with the other colonies on the meaſures to be purſued in the preſent criſis; upon which the aſſembly was diſſolved. In another letter of the ſame date to Sir Francis Bernard, governor of Maſſachuſets, he is directed to require, in his majeſty's name, that a new aſſembly would reſcind the reſolution which gave birth to the offenſive letter, and declare their diſapprobation of ſo raſh a proceeding; but in caſe of their refuſing to comply, he was to diſſolve them immediately, and to tranſmit a copy of their proceedings to be laid before parliament. Theſe inſtructions having been communicated to the aſſembly in June, and the queſtion put for reſcinding the reſolution of the laſt houſe, it was negatived by a majority of ninety-two to ſeventeen, when they were ſuddenly diſſolved. In the courſe of the debate, one member ſaid, "when lord Hilſborough knows that we will not reſcind our acts, he ſhould apply to parliament to reſcind theirs. Let Britain reſcind her meaſures, or ſhe will loſe America for ever."

In the mean time, a great tumult happened at Boſton, in conſequence of a ſeizure made by the board of cuſtoms, of a ſloop belonging to John Hancock. She had been diſcharged of a cargo of wine, and in part reladen with oil, under pretence of converting her into a ſtore, without paying attention to the new cuſtom-houſe regulations. The officers, on the ſeizing of the ſloop, made a ſignal to the Romney man of war; and her boats being ſent, manned and armed, conveyed her under that ſhip's protection. The populace now aſſembling, pelted the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms with ſtones, broke the windows of their houſes, and hawling the collector's boat on ſhore, burned it to aſhes. The officers fled on board the man of war, from whence they removed to Caſtle William, a fortification on a ſmall iſland in the harbour, where they reſumed the function of their office.

While things continued in this unhappy ſituation, two regiments were ordered from Ireland, to ſupport the civil government; and ſeveral detachments, from different parts of the continent, rendezvouſed at Halifax, in Nova Scotia.

Upon this, a meeting of the inhabitants of Boſton was ſummoned at Faneuil-hall, where a committee was appointed to wait on the governor, to know what grounds he had for intimating, that ſome regiments of his majeſty's forces were expected in that town, and to petition him immediately to convene a general aſſembly. The governor anſwered, that his information was of a private nature, and that he could not call another aſſembly this year, till he received his majeſty's inſtructions. A committee appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the affairs of the colonies, now declared, that the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army among them, without their own conſent, was contrary to law, and a violation of an act paſſed in the reign of king William. This report was unanimouſly agreed to by the people aſſembled, and a general reſolution was paſſed, founded on a clauſe in the ſame law, which recommends the frequent holding of parliaments; on which a convention was ſummoned to meet at Boſton. This convention being aſſembled without the governor's conſent, they repreſented their grievances to him, and preſſed him, in the moſt urgent terms, to convoke a general aſſembly. The governor admoniſhed them to ſeparate before they did any buſineſs: but, inſtead of obeying him, they appointed a committee, who drew up a report, in which they aſſigned the cauſes of their meeting, diſclaimed all pretence of authority, adviſed the people to pay the greateſt deference to government, and to wait with patience for the redreſs of their grievances, from his majeſty's wiſdom and clemency; at the ſame time, declaring that they would, in their ſeveral ſtations, yield every poſſible aſſiſtance to the civil magiſtrate, for the preſervation of peace and order, and the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults. The convention then prepared a repreſentation of their conduct, and a detail of many of the late tranſactions, to be tranſmitted to their agent in London, and then broke up.

The affairs of Corſica at this time excited conſiderable intereſt among the people of England. That iſland is ſituated in the Mediterranean, and had been conquered by the Genoeſe, who governed it very deſpotically for upwards of four centuries; but the Corſicans, impatient of their uſurpation, made many efforts to throw off the yoke. In 1755 they roſe once more, and having invited Paſcal Paoli, the ſon of one of their exiled generals, to take the ſupreme command, ſeemed reſolved to recover their independence, or to periſh in the ſtruggle by a glorious death. The war was continued with various ſucceſs till 1767, when the Genoeſe concluded a treaty with France, by which they gave up the ſovereighty of Corſica to that kingdom. For a twelvemonth the Corſicans withſtood the whole power of the French monarchy, and in their diſtreſs applied to the Britiſh government for aſſiſtance; but this was refuſed, while the people felt a ſympathy in their fate, worthy a great and generous nation, and complained that the miniſtry were more intent upon enſlaving Britain than relieving Corſica. In the preſent year that iſland was ſubdued, and

and Paoli fled to England, where he lived for many years on a ſmall penſion.

Lord Shelburne had taken particular offence at the rejection of his advice to oppoſe the invaſion of Corſica, and reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, which was ſupplied by lord Weymouth from the northern, and he was ſucceeded by the earl of Rochford. A few days after, lord Chatham reſigned the office of privy-ſeal, which was given to the earl of Briſtol. He explained the motives of his reſignation in a ſpeech in 1770, which will ſerve to account for the fluctuating ſtate of the miniſtry. He complained ſtrongly of the ſecret influence of the earl of Bute, a favourite whoſe pernicious councils had occaſioned all the preſent unhappineſs and diſturbance in the nation; that he had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a reſponſible office; that he himſelf had been duped he confeſſed with ſorrow; for he found there was no original adminiſtration to be ſuffered in this country: that the ſame ſecret influence ſtill prevailed, which had put an end to all the ſucceſſive adminiſtrations, as ſoon as they oppoſed, or declined to act under it.

A. D. 1769.] The parliament was aſſembled in January, when the affairs of America were taken into conſideration. As coercive meaſures ſeemed now to have been adopted by adminiſtration, a cloſe enquiry was attempted into the conduct of the ſeveral governors and other officers of the crown, as well as into the propriety of the orders which had been iſſued to them; but this was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the miniſterial ſide of the houſe. A petition was preſented to the commons, ſigned by the preſident of the council of Boſton, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was worded in the moſt reſpectful terms, and promiſed, that if theſe acts were repealed, the people would make ample compenſation by taxing themſelves.

In the houſe of lords ſome reſolutions, and an addreſs to his majeſty on American affairs, were voted, which being approved by the commons, became the act of both houſes. By theſe reſolutions, the late acts of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſets' bay, were declared to be illegal and unconſtitutional; and the convention which had been held at Boſton, from the ſeveral towns of the province, was declared to be a daring inſult to his majeſty's authority, and an audacious uſurpation of the power of government. The utmoſt ſatisfaction was expreſſed in the addreſs at the meaſures which had been purſued to ſupport the conſtitution, and induce obedience to the authority of the mother country. It was given as a matter of opinion that nothing would ſo effectually preſerve the royal authority, and prevent the people of that province from being farther deluded than to bring the authors of the late diſorders to an exemplary puniſhment; and for that purpoſe it was requeſted that governor Bernard might be directed to tranſmit the fulleſt information he could obtain of all treaſons committed within his government ſince the thirtieth of December 1767, together with the names of the perſons moſt active in ſuch offences, in order that his majeſty might iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion for trying the delinquents in England, according to an obſolete ſtatute of Henry VIII.

The Rockingham and the Grenville parties united in their oppoſition to theſe meaſures. They urged, that as the ſtamp act was repealed, the policy of the mother country was from that moment altered, though her rights were not abridged. An attempt to tax the colonies no longer ſtood on its ancient footing of wiſdom or practicability: that the people of America were very peaceable till theſe new taxes were impoſed; and it was now become the practice of thoſe who were the original cauſe of the preſent diſorders to repreſent them as in a ſtate of rebellion, artfully endeavouring to make the cauſe of the miniſtry, the national cauſe. That part of the addreſs which propoſed bringing delinquents from the province of Maſſachuſets to England to be tried for crimes ſuppoſed to be committed in America, underwent many ſevere animadverſions. It was declared

to

to be a proceeding contrary to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, which requires that a man ſhould be tried in the county where he is ſaid to have committed any offence with which he may be charged. It was alſo contended, that it would be extremely difficult for the accuſed to procure evidence proper for his defence, though he ſhould be innocent, and require an affluent fortune to bring them to England; while thoſe againſt him being ſupported at the national expence, would be eaſily procured: ſo that the life, fortune, and character, of every man who might become obnoxious to the governor of a province, would lie at his mercy. Theſe objections were feebly anſwered by the miniſtry, but what they wanted in argument they ſupplied by numbers; and the addreſs was carried by a majority.

Lord Weymouth, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, had written a leter to the chairman of the quarter-ſeſſion in Surry, which Mr. Wilkes, and many others, conſidered as the cauſe of the maſſacre in St. George's Fields. Having procured a copy, Mr. Wilkes publiſhed it with a preface, expreſſive of that indignation which the nature of the caſe could not fail to excite. Early in the ſeſſion, lord Weymouth complained of this publication in the houſe of peers as a breach of privilege. The lords complained to the commons of the conduct of one of their members, when Mr. Wilkes, who had been brought up from the King's bench, acknowledged himſelf to be the author of the prefatory remarks, and boldly defended them. The commons having taken this preface into conſideration, voted it an inſolent, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel; and expelled Mr. Wilkes the houſe. After the vote of expulſion a writ was iſſued for electing another member in his room; but the people conſidered his cauſe as their own, and his popularity was ſo great that no one could be prevailed upon to oppoſe him, he was therefore unanimouſly re-elected. When the return was made to the houſe, they declared him incapable of ſitting in the preſent parliament, and iſſued a new writ of election. He again became a candidate, and was re-choſen, but his election was declared void. The miniſtry at length found one, in the perſon of the famous colonel Lutterel, who had the courage to withſtand the popular candidate; but on the day of election he had only two hundred and ninety-ſix votes, while Mr. Wilkes had the unbought ſuffrages of eleven hundred and forty-three freeholders. Two days after this election, a reſolution was carried in the houſe by a majority of two hundred and twenty one againſt one hundred and thirty nine, that Mr. Lutterel ought to have been returned a knight of the ſhire for the county of Middleſex, and the clerk of the crown was ordered to amend the return, by eraſing the name of Mr. Wilkes, and inſerting that of Mr. Lutterel. Fourteen days were allowed to petition againſt this deciſion, and one was accordingly preſented, ſigned by a great number of freeholders; but after a warm debate, the former reſolution was confirmed. This outrage on the rights of election excited a general alarm throughout the nation, and produced much diſcontent and oppoſition.

On the laſt day of February, a meſſage was ſent to the houſe, by lord North, from the king, ſtating that his expences had exceeded the income of the civil liſt, on which he had incurred a debt of upwards of half a million ſterling. The commons granted five hundred and thirteen thouſand, five hundred and eleven pounds, for the diſcharge of the above debt; but this meaſure did not paſs without conſiderable oppoſition. The miniſter, it was argued, ought to produce the neceſſary papers, to convince the people that the debts of the civil liſt were fairly contracted, ſince under the veil of myſterious concealment, they would naturally ſuſpect the ſcene to be darker if poſſible than it was; but no papers were produced.

Soon after the prorogation of parliament, a petition was preſented to the king, ſigned by fifteen hundred and ſixty-five free-holders of Middleſex, containing a long liſt of grievances, and praying his majeſty to diſmiſs his evil counſellors, and to afford ſuch relief as in his wiſdom he might think fit. Petitions were likewiſe preſented from the cities of London and

and Weſtminſter, and moſt of the counties and conſiderable cities of England, many of which prayed for an immediate diſſolution of the parliament.

The weavers, who were greatly oppreſſed in their prices, entered into a ſubſcription of ſixpence a loom to ſupport their cauſe againſt the maſters. Many of the members of this club armed themſelves with piſtols, and in a body went at night and cut the work out of the looms of thoſe men who worked at an under price. Cutting the work out of a loom being made death by a late law, ſeveral of the perſons concerned in that practice were apprehended, two of whom were executed at Bethnal-green.

Mr. Woodfall was proſecuted for Junius's letters, and brought to trial before lord Manſfield, who told the jury, that the *fact of publication* was all that came under their cognizance; the queſtion of libel or no libel, being a mere queſtion of law, to be decided by the court. But the jury, knowing their duty, and conſcious of their power, were not ſo obedient to his lordſhip's direction as he was to thoſe of his ſuperiors, and returned their verdict, "guilty of printing and publiſhing only." Upon which Woodfall was diſcharged, amidſt the unbounded acclamations of the people.

On the eleventh of November came on the long expected cauſe in the court of common pleas, before lord chief juſtice Wilmot, between lord Halifax and John Wilkes, eſq. relative to the ſeizing of his papers, and the impriſonment of his perſon. The damages were laid for 20,000l. but the jury gave the plaintiff only 4000l. with full coſts of ſuit; which being much leſs than Mr. Wilkes's friends expected, was ſo little to the ſatisfaction of the populace, that the jury, for fear of being inſulted, were obliged to withdraw privately.

There is one proſecution for libel, which was omitted to be mentioned in its place, and, as it was attended with ſome peculiar circumſtances, we ſhall introduce it here. John Williams, bookſeller, being convicted of having ſold the North-Briton, was, on the fourteenth of February 1765, put in the pillory, in Old Palace-yard, Weſtminſter. He was received amidſt the acclamations of twenty thouſand people, who kept a continual ſhouting during the hour of his ſtanding. Oppoſite the pillory were erected four ladders, with cords running from each, on which were hung a jack-boot, an ax, and a Scotch-bonnet, the two latter of which were burnt, after hanging ſome time, and the boot was beheaded: this was in deriſion of the earl of Bute. While Mr. Williams was in the pillory, a gentleman went round among the multitude, and collected upwards of two hundred pounds for him.

A. D. 1770.] The parliament was aſſembled on the ninth of January, when the earl of Chatham propoſed an amendment to the addreſs, importing, "that they would take into conſideration, with all convenient ſpeed, the cauſes of the diſcontentment, which prevails in many parts of the kingdom, particularly the late proceedings of the houſe of commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, to be elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament, thereby refuſing (by a reſolution of one branch of the legiſlature only) to the ſubject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middleſex of their free choice of a repreſentative. This amendment was loſt on a diviſion; and, in conſequence of the earl of Camden dividing againſt the miniſter, he was obliged to reſign the chancellorſhip. Mr. Yorke, then attorney-general, accepted of the great ſeal at the earneſt entreaty of the king, but by this fatal ſtep he incurred the diſpleaſure of all his former friends, even of his brother, who refuſed him admiſſion to his houſe; when ſtung with regret, and humbled by the mortification, he, in a few hours afterwards, put a period to his exiſtence. After this cataſtrophe, the great ſeal was put in commiſſion. The removal of lord Camden was followed by ſeveral other reſignations; among them, Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. who was ſucceeded by Sir Fletcher Norton. The duke of Grafton very unexpectedly reſigned his office as firſt lord of the treaſury, and lord North, who had been two years chancellor of the exchequer,

was nominated his ſucceſſor. Thus was formed that infamous adminiſtration, which for twelve ſucceſſive years exerciſed the powers of government, and by their ignorance or their crimes, ſeparated America from the Britiſh empire.

Several motions were made, and ably ſupported during the laſt ſeſſion, by the marquis of Rockingham and the earl of Chatham, for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation; for an enquiry into the expenditure of the civil liſt; the diſſolution of the parliament; and many other noble efforts, both to oppoſe the extenſion of arbitrary power in England and America, and to obtain a redreſs of grievances, but all in vain; their arguments were borne down by the invincible power of a corrupt majority. On the motion to enquire into the expenditure of the civil liſt, the earl of Chatham ſaid:--- "Does the king of England want to encourage the polite and uſeful arts? does he mean to reward the hardy veteran? or does he mean, by drawing the purſe-ſtrings of his ſubjects, to ſpread corruption through the people; to procure a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit his miniſters at all adventures? I do not ſay, my lords, that corruption lies *here*, or that corruption lies *there*; but if any gentleman in England were to aſk me, whether I thought both houſes of parliament were bribed? *I ſhould laugh in his face*, and ſay, "Sir, is it not ſo?" My lords, from all that has been ſaid, I think it muſt appear, that an enquiry into the ſtate and expenditure of the civil liſt revenue is expedient, proper, and juſt; a refuſal of it at this time will only add ridicule to diſgrace, and folly to enormity."

Petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons by ſeveral merchants, complaining that their trade was ruined, in conſequence of the Americans having refuſed to take certain articles of Britiſh manufacture, when lord North moved for the repeal of the obnoxious duties of 1767, *excepting the duty on tea*, which was omitted on the avowed principles of aſſerting the ſupremacy of Great Britain over America; and when ſtrongly urged not to preſerve the contention, when he relinqniſhed the revenue, his language breathed only anger and reſentment. "Can it be proper," ſaid he, "while they deny our legal power to tax them, to acquieſce in the argument of illegality, and by the repeal of the law, give up the power? No---the proper time to exert the power of taxing is when the right is refuſed. To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the mother country, if it is now unſupported, will in reality be relinquiſhed for ever. A total repeal cannot be thought of till *America is proſtrate at our feet.*" In vain was it urged, that the repeal of the ſtamp act had produced all the happy effects which had been expected by its advocates; that lenity on the part of Britain had produced moderation on that of America, and that the ſubſequent diſcontents or violences had ariſen from ſubſequent provocations. "If the aſſertion of an abſtract claim of right," ſaid the oppoſition, "be of ſuch mighty importance, a poſitive law already exiſts declaratory of that right---a law in which America ſilently acquieſces; but any attempt to carry this right into practice will produce nothing but diſcord and confuſion."

In this ſeſſion, a bill was paſſed for deciding controverted elections, known by the name of the Grenville act. This bill provides, that when a petition is preſented, complaining of an undue return, a day ſhall be appointed for hearing the caſe; when the names of one hundred members, who ſhall be preſent, are to be depoſited in glaſſes, and drawn alternately, till forty-nine are drawn; of theſe thirty-ſix are ſtruck out, and the remaining thirteen form the committee, with two other members, whom the ſitting member and the petitioner are at liberty to nominate. The deciſion of theſe fifteen is final.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, Mr. Beckford, lord-mayor of London, waited upon his majeſty with another addreſs, petition, and remonſtrance from the citizens, in which, after ſtrong profeſſions of loyalty, they deplored the ſevere cenſure caſt upon them by the former anſwer, and renewed their application for the diſſolution of the preſent parliament. His majeſty ſaid, that he could give them no other anſwer than he had done before. On which Mr. Beckford,

WILLIAM BECKFORD,
The Patriotic
LORD MAYOR of LONDON.
1770.

Beckford, with a boldneſs and freedom peculiar to himſelf, made an immediate and ſpirited reply, which he concluded in the following words: "That whoever had already dared, or ſhould hereafter endeavour, by falſe inſinuations and ſuggeſtions, to alienate his majeſty's affections from his loyal ſubjects in general, and the city of London in particular, and to withdraw his confidence and regard from his people, was an enemy to his majeſty's perſon and family, and a betrayer of our happy conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſhed at the glorious and neceſſary revolution." This ſpeech was highly applauded by the citizens, and is annexed to his monument in Guildhall.

A diſpute at this time exiſted between England and Spain, relative to the Falkland Iſlands. Theſe are three or four ſmall iſlands, near the extremity of South America, on which the Engliſh had made a ſmall ſettlement, and built a fort for the protection of the South Whale-fiſhery; but the Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres claimed it as belonging to the crown of Spain, and obliged the Engliſh governor, captain Hunt, and his people, to quit the iſland. This had nearly involved the two nations in a war; but was prevented by ſubſequent negociations.

During the receſs of parliament no change took place in the miniſtry. Lord North maintained his ground, aided by a great majority. On the day that the parliament met, Mr. G. Grenville departed this life, and ſeveral of his party went over to the court. The earls of Chatham, Temple, and Shelburne, however, ſtrengthened the Rockingham party, who ſteadily profeſſed the old whig principles. The ſpeech from the throne began with mentioning the inſult lately offered to the honor of this nation by an act of the *governor of Buenos Ayres*, in ſeizing one of his majeſty's poſſeſſions; and deſiring that an immediate demand of ſatisfaction for this injury ſhould be made. Much of the ſeſſions was taken up in diſcuſſing the diſpute with the Spaniards concerning Falkland's iſlands, and when it adjourned for the Chriſtmas holidays, a few promotions took place. Lord Hawke reſigned the place of firſt lord of the admiralty, and was ſucceeded by lord Sandwich; many more of the friends of Mr. G. Grenville joined adminiſtration; and the earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy ſeal, in the room of the earl of Halifax, now promoted to be ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department. Mr. Bathurſt was created baron Apſley, and appointed lord chancellor; Mr. Thurlow, attorney, and Mr. Wedderburne, ſolicitor-general.

A. D. 1771.] The parliament met after the receſs, on the twenty-ſecond of January. The firſt buſineſs related to the convention on the affair of Falkland's Iſlands, which the Spaniards had given up to the Engliſh. Soon after the day of meeting, the declarations of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and the acceptation of lord Rochford were laid before the houſe.

The charge that had been given to the jury on Woodfall's trial, by lord Mansfield, became a ſubject of ſevere criticiſm in both houſes. The earl of Chatham declared his directions to be contrary to law, repugnant to practice and injurious to the deareſt liberties of the people. A great number of the freemen of Shoreham had formed themſelves into a ſociety called the *Chriſtian club*; and under the ſanction of piety, ſold their votes to the higheſt bidder. Their corruption was ſo groſs, that a bill was paſſed for diſfranchiſing eighty one of the freemen, and extending the right of voting to the contiguous hundreds.

The characters of ſome of the members of the houſe of commons having been aſperſed in the papers and their ſpeeches miſrepreſented, they were determined to puniſh the printers, a motion was therefore made, and carried by a majority, for calling two of them to an account. Upon the printers not anſwering the meſſenger's call, a motion paſſed, that they ſhould be taken into the cuſtody of the ſergeant at arms. This ſtep being found inſufficient alſo, a royal proclamation was iſſued for apprehending Wheble and Thompſom, the two printers, and a reward of ſixty pounds was annexed. When the former was

taken

taken and carried before Mr. Wilkes, now an alderman, he was diſcharged and bound over to proſecute the perſon who apprehended him; his companion Thompſon was diſcharged in the ſame manner. J. Miller, a printer, who had refuſed to attend, was taken into cuſtody at his own houſe, by a meſſenger of the houſe of commons; Miller ſent for a conſtable, who carried both him and the meſſenger before Mr. Croſby, the lord-mayor. That gentleman, together with the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, not only diſcharged the printer, but required the meſſenger to give bail to anſwer the complaint of the printer againſt him, for daring to ſeize him in the city without the order of a magiſtrate; and upon his refuſing to do ſo, they ſigned a warrant for his commitment to priſon; upon which he conſented to give bail and was ſuffered to depart. The commons, reſenting this contempt of their authority, ordered the lord-mayor and the two aldermen to appear before them. Mr. Croſby and Mr. Oliver, as members of the houſe, appeared in their places; but Mr. Wilkes refuſed to appear unleſs he was permitted to take his ſeat for Middleſex. As they had no method of coming at the latter gentleman, they contented themſelves with puniſhing the two former. They were accordingly ſent to the Tower, where they continued in confinement till the end of the ſeſſion: when, on the riſing of parliament, the lord-mayor and alderman were relieved from the Tower, and they were welcomed by the moſt diſtinguiſhing demonſtrations of congratulation from their fellow citizens.

A. D. 1772.] In this ſeſſion, ſome of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church preſented a petition againſt ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles. In this petition they contended that they had a natural right, and were alſo warranted by thoſe original principles of the reformation from popery on which the church of England is conſtituted, to judge in ſearching the ſcriptures, each man for himſelf, what may, or what may not be proved thereby. This petition was rejected by a large majority. The diſſenting miniſters afterwards preſented a petition by Sir George Saville, praying to be relieved from the neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. A bill for their relief was carried triumphantly through the commons; but was ſtopped in the peers, through the oppoſition of the biſhops, and the bed-chamber lords.

The king's two brothers, the dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland, having married privately, the former the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave, the latter a widow lady of the name of Horton, daughter to lord Irnham, a bill was now paſſed, in conſequence of a meſſage from the king to the lords, enacting, that all the deſcendants of his late majeſty (other than the iſſue of princeſſes who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families) ſhall be incapable of contracting marriage without the previous conſent of the king, or his ſucceſſors on the throne; that every ſuch marriage, without ſuch conſent, ſhall be null and void; that nevertheleſs, ſuch deſcendants, being above the age of twenty-five years, upon their giving the privy-council twelve months previous notice of their deſign, may, after the expiration of that term, enter into marriage without the royal conſent, unleſs both houſes of parliament ſhall within that time expreſsly declare their diſapprobation of it; and that all perſons who ſhall knowingly preſume to ſolemnize, or aſſiſt at the celebration of ſuch illicit marriage, ſhall be liable to all the pains and penalties of the ſtatute of premunire. This unnatural, unneceſſary, and impolitic law, which was founded in pride, did not paſs without a vigorous oppoſition in both houſes, and a proteſt againſt it by ſeveral peers.

This year Poland was diſmembered; the emperor of Germany, the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Ruſſia, having entered into a felonious conſpiracy to divide the greateſt part of that fertile country among them. The king of Pruſſia carried off from the province of Great Poland, twelve thouſand families to ſtock the barren ſands and bleak wilds of his own hereditary dominions. The king of Sweden, in violation of the moſt ſacred engagements to which he had pledged himſelf

at

at his acceſſion, raiſed himſelf from one of the moſt limited, to one of the moſt abſolute monarchs in Europe. In Denmark, the weakneſs of the king, and the inſolence of his two minions, counts Struenſee and Brandt, cauſed almoſt another revolution, at the head of which was the king's mother-in-law and prince Frederick, her ſon by a former marriage. Struenſee was accuſed of having embezzled one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds from the king's coffers; of having iſſued orders in the king's name without his authority; of having ſecreted ſeveral letters from the king that were ſent to his majeſty; and of having been guilty of criminal converſation with the queen-conſort. Brandt was charged with having abetted him in all his crimes. A tribunal was appointed for the trial of them and the queen, when they were all pronounced guilty. The two counts were beheaded; and the queen, at the interceſſion of her brother, the king of England, was permitted to retire to Zell, in Hanover, where ſhe died. Caroline Matilda was married to the king of Denmark in 1766, by whom ſhe had two children, both declared legitimate. The eldeſt ſon has been ſince aſſociated with his father in the government, and proves to be a prince of great virtue and abilities.

A. D. 1773.] A committee had been appointed laſt year, to enquire into the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, and ſuch inſtances of rapacity, cruelty, and injuſtice, were diſcovered among their ſervants abroad, that, in order to check them, a ſupreme court of judicature was now eſtabliſhed at Bengal, conſiſting of a chief-juſtice, with a ſalary of eight thouſand pounds, and three inferior judges, with a ſalary of ſix thouſand pounds each. The parliament entered upon an enquiry into the rapacious conduct of lord Clive while in India, who made a very weak defence. The friends of his lordſhip were by no means of opinion that the charges were of ſuch an atrocious nature, and wiſhed to ſubſtitute the terms "policy, critical neceſſity, and the urgent occaſion of the moment, for criminality." General Burgoyne moved, "that lord Clive had received preſents at various times amounting to two hundred and thirty-four thouſand pounds ſterling, to the diſhonour and detriment of the ſtate." After many debates, this motion was rejected, and another paſſed, importing that "lord Clive did at the ſame time render great and meritorious ſervices to his country." This nobleman ſome time after put an end to his exiſtence.

The diſſenters again petitioned parliament for relief, and a bill in their favour paſſed the commons; but the malign influence of the biſhops again procured its rejection in the houſe of peers. The eſtabliſhed clergy likewiſe renewed their petition, but it met with its former fate.

Great diſcontents continued to prevail in America, and bitter altercation between the governors and the provinces, on account of the obnoxious duty on tea. The letters of Mr. Hutchinſon, the preſent governor of Maſſachuſet's bay, tended greatly to aggravate matters; as he propoſed an abridgement of their liberties. Theſe letters being by ſome means tranſmitted to the aſſembly at Boſton, occaſioned much reſentment and confuſion. The aſſembly paſſed ſome ſpirited reſolutions; and a petition and remonſtrance, containing heavy charges againſt him, were ſent to his majeſty, which being laid before the council, who deemed it groundleſs, vexatious, and ſcandalous, the petition was diſmiſſed. But what produced the greateſt confuſion, and finally led to the revolution, was the arrival of ſome ſhips from England with cargoes of tea. The miniſtry had determined to put the Americans to the teſt, and by a new regulation paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, the Eaſt-India company were permitted to export tea to the colonies. Three of their ſhips entered the harbour of Boſton; when the people inſiſted upon their returning without unlading, and the captains were ſo alarmed that they would gladly have complied, if they could have obtained the proper diſcharges from the conſignees, the government, and the cuſtom-houſe. The night after this refuſal, a number of armed men, many of them perſons of property, or the ſons of thoſe who held

held offices in the town, dreſſed like Mohawk Indians, went on board the ſhips, and emptied all the tea, of which there were three hundred and fifty-two cheſts, into the ſea, but no miſchief was done to any other property: this was in December. The governors of the other provinces, wiſely permitted the tea to be carried back. At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, it was reſolved, that the diſpoſal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen: that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from them, without their conſent: that the claim of parliament to tax America, is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on them at pleaſure; and that the reſolution entered into by the East-India company, to ſend out their tea to America, ſubject to duties on its being landed there, was an open attempt to enforce this miniſterial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

A. D. 1774. When the diſpatches arrived from America with an account of theſe tranſactions, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, deſiring them to enable him to take ſuch meaſures as would be moſt likely to put an immediate ſtop to the preſent diſorders, and ſecure the dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great-Britain. After lord North had delivered this meſſage, he entered at great length into the ſubject, repreſented the conduct of the inhabitants of Boſton in a moſt atrocious light, and hinted at inflicting ſuch puniſhments on this factious town, as crimes of a nature ſo pernicious called for. The oppoſition allowed the preſent caſe to be of the utmoſt importance, but in order to do the Americans juſtice, it was, perhaps, neceſſary to trace the ſource of theſe calamities to their origin, in a ſyſtem of arbitrary and impolitic meaſures at home.

The miniſter having reſolved on a plan of coercion, brought forward a bill for "the immediate removal of the officers of the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton, in the province of Maſſechuſet's-bay; to quarter a military force on the people; and for diſcontinuing the landing, and diſcharging the lading and ſhipping of goods in that port, till his majeſty was ſatisfied that no interruption would be made to collecting the duties, and till full ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the East-India company, for the tea which had been deſtroyed." This bill for ſhutting up the port and harbour of Boſton, having paſſed the houſe, lord North preſented another for "the better regulating the government of the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay," the object of which was to alter the conſtitution of that province. An act was alſo obtained for "the more impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay," in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults; by which perſons indicted might be tried in another colony, or in Great-Britain. Though theſe arbitrary and unconſtitutional acts were carried by the power of miniſterial influence, they were ably oppoſed by the minority. This inglorious ſeſſion was concluded with the Quebec act; which, amongſt other things, eſtabliſhed the French laws, a trial without jury in civil cauſes, and eſtabliſhed the popiſh clergy; refuſed a general aſſembly to the province, and appointed a legiſlative council to be nominated by the crown, which was totally contrary to the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution. The popular clamour was raiſed to a great height againſt this bill; and an ineffectual petition was preſented to the king, previous to his aſſent by the city of London.

In the preſent poſture of affairs, the miniſter thought it neceſſary to appoint a military commander to the government of Maſſachuſet's-bay, and general Gage arrived at Boſton in that character in May. When the Boſton port-bill reached the weſtern ſhores of the Atlantic, the firſt ſtep of the inhabitants was to call a general meeting, at which it was agreed to put an entire ſtop to all trade with Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt-Indies; and to requeſt that their brethren throughout all the colonies would do the ſame, as the only means now left in their power for procuring the reſtoration of liberty to America. A general congreſs now became the object of univerſal deſire; and that this meaſure might be expedited,

expedited, the committee of correſpondence at Boſton entered into a ſolemn league and covenant, binding themſelves to ſuſpend all commercial correſpondence with Great Britain until the rights wreſted from them ſhould be reſtored, The arrival of the troops which had been ordered from Ireland to New York and other places, although it increaſed their diſcontent, did not intimidate the Americans; the approach of violence on one ſide, ſuggeſted the neceſſity of oppoſition on the other. Ammunition and military ſtores were provided with incredible expedition; but the governor ſeized upon ſome ſtores lodged in the arſenal at Cambridge, and ſome in Charles-Town. The Americans remonſtrated with the governor on the injuſtice of his orders in ſeizing theſe ſtores and ammunition, and in fortifying the town of Boſton, and aſſured him, that nothing leſs than a reverſal of the obnoxious acts could ever reſtore peace to America. The congreſs at length aſſembled, and Mr. Hancock, who had been one of the moſt active opponents of government at Boſton, was elected chairman. They complained to the governor, in the form of an addreſs, of their wrongs, conjuring him in the moſt earneſt manner to deſiſt from the diſguſtful endeavours to enſlave them by military force. The governor, in reply, warned them againſt irritating government by farther provocations.

The congreſs was ſoon ſtrengthened by deputies from the other colonies, and a general meeting was firſt held at Philadelphia, on Monday, September the fourth. In all their declarations they united profeſſions of allegiance, with the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, and viewed the recovery of their injured rights through the horrid, but unavoidable medium of a civil war. The congreſs aſſured general Gage, that the thirteen colonies were united as one man againſt his unconſtitutional proceedings, and thoſe of the late ſeſſions of parliament; and recommended to him to reviſe his operations, and countermand thoſe orders which had proved moſt obnoxious. They publiſhed a declaration of their rights, the rights of life, liberty, and property, as handed down from their anceſtors, conſonant to the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, and held inviolate till the late encroachments. They object not to ſuch acts as tend to regulate their external commerce, but reprobate every idea of taxation and revenue adopted without their conſent. They draw from their charters many arguments againſt the keeping of a ſtanding army in time of peace, without the conſent of the legiſlature of the country, as being not leſs contrary to the conſtitution of America, than to that of Great Britain; upon the ſame principles they complain of the Quebec bill. They conclude with entering into articles for themſelves and their conſtituents, againſt importation, exportation, and conſumption of Britiſh goods.

The congreſs next proceeded to draw up a petition to his majeſty; a memorial to the people of Great Btitain; and an addreſs to the colonies in general. In the petition to his majeſty they complain of the grievances under which they labour from a ſucceſſion of endeavours to deprive them of their deareſt rights, the bare recital of which, they truſted, would incline his majeſty to grant them relief; they beg to aſſure him, that the blood which inevitably will be ſhed in their defence would have been loſt with pleaſure, if loſt in their moſt loyal exertions to defend his crown and kingdoms. In the addreſs to the inhabitants of Great Britain, they attempt to intereſt them by depicting the horrors of their condition, in colours the moſt ſtriking, and in appealing to their judgments, whether their injuries may not in time affect the mother country itſelf? The arbitrary meaſures that have been fatal to the colonies may be equally ſo to Great Britain. After they had finiſhed theſe addreſſes they adjourned, having remained unmoleſted and regardleſs of the governor's proclamations againſt them.

America was, at this time, ſpoken of in England with no ſmall ſhare of contempt and indifference. The miniſtry however thought it prudent to call a new parliament, which met on the thirtieth of November, when ſir Fletcher Norton was choſen ſpeaker. His majeſty acquainted the houſes of a moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience ſtill unhappily prevailing in the American colonies. Upon the motion for an addreſs

in

in the commons, the oppoſition found their party to conſiſt of only ſeventy-three againſt two hundred and eighty-four, who voted on the ſide of adminiſtration. Before the cloſe of the year, Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee offered a petition, ſtating, that they were authoriſed by the American congreſs to preſent it to the king; but with that fatal arrogance, which always characterizes the weak or the worthleſs when in power, the petition was rejected, and the agents inſulted by the miniſtry.

A. D. 1775.] The earl of Chatham made a motion for the re-call of the Britiſh troops from America; but this was rejected by a majority. Not diſcouraged by the loſs of his motion, he ſtill determined, if poſſible, to prevent the effuſion of kindred blood, and the diſmemberment of the empire: with this view he brought in a bill "for ſettling the troubles in America; and for aſſerting the ſupreme legiſlative authority, and ſuperintending power of Great-Britain over her colonies." This bill was treated by the majority as degrading to the dignity of the mother-country, and was rejected with contempt.

A number of petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons, from London and other commercial towns, againſt coercive meaſures; but theſe were referred to a committee, and by that means conſigned to oblivion. Lord North laid before the houſe, copies of the correſpondence between general Gage and the earl of Dartmouth, ſecretary for American affairs; when an addreſs of thanks was voted to his majeſty, in which he was deſired to take ſuch meaſures for the enforcing the laws againſt America as might be ſuitable to his wiſdom; and promiſes were made to ſupport him with life and fortune. A bill was paſſed for prohibiting the Americans from fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland, and limiting their commerce to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt-Indies. Lord North informed the houſe, that fourteen frigates were to be added to the ſhips at Boſton, by which all the ports of New-England would be blocked up; and the land force at Boſton to be augmented to ten thouſand men. All theſe meaſures were the ſubject of long debate, and vigorous oppoſition in both houſes. Two thouſand men were added to the navy for the ſervice of the year, and four thouſand three hundred and eighty-three to the army.

In the midſt of theſe preparations, the miniſter came forward with what he called a conciliatory motion, "expreſſing the readineſs of Great Britain to afford the colonies every reaſonable and juſt indulgence, whenever they ſhould make proper application for that purpoſe." This meaſure, he contended, would ſerve to diſcriminate between thoſe in actual rebellion, and the friends of government; the latter having now an opportunity of eſcaping the puniſhment in which the refractory coloniſts would be involved, without giving up the rights of parliament; for the tendency of this motion is to compel the Americans to provide what we, not they, think juſt and reaſonable, ſince the queſtion is reduced to this ſimple ſtate, revenue or no revenue. The oppoſition, on the other hand, regarded this meaſure as contradictory, mean, and treacherous; as tending to widen the breach between the colonies and the mother country.

While the Engliſh government were exerting themſelves to reduce the Americans to ſubjection, the latter were no leſs active in preparing for a vigorous defence. Early in the year, a new congreſs was aſſembled, in defiance of a circular letter from lord Dartmouth, forbidding in the king's name, the the election of delegates. Cannon and military ſtores of all kinds were collected, and no time or pains was ſpared in diſciplining the militia and the *minute-men*; the latter were ſuch inhabitants of the colonies as learned the uſe of arms, for the immediate protection of their reſpective towns againſt an attack of the ſavages, when the militia were not embodied or at hand.

The colonies having collected a quantity of military ſtores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boſton, general Gage diſpatched colonel Smith with nine hundred men to deſtroy

ſtroy them, on the night preceding the nineteenth of April. The troops went a little way up Charles's river, in boats, when they landed at a place called Phipps's-farm, whence they proceeded towards Concord with the greateſt ſecrecy and diſpatch; but they ſoon perceived, by the ringing of bells and firing of guns, that the country was alarmed. Major Pitcairne was therefore ſent forward with ſix companies of light infantry to get poſſeſſion of two bridges, in two different roads, on the oppoſite ſide of Concord. Theſe companies reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boſton, at five in the morning; but finding the militia of the town, who amounted to about an hundred men, drawn up on a green, the major called out to them "diſperſe, you rebels, throw down your arms and diſperſe." He was anſwered by a loud huzza, which was returned by a general fire from the Engliſh, when eight of the militia were killed, and ſeveral wounded; the reſt diſperſed. This gave time for the main body of the Engliſh to come up, and they proceeded to Concord, where they perceived another body of militia; but theſe fled over one of the bridges on the other ſide of the town, where the light infantry poſted themſelves, whilſt the reſt of the ſoldiers deſtroyed what ſtores they could find. The militia returned to the charge, and had a ſharp ſkirmiſh with the troops at the bridge; but theſe were now called off to join their companions at Concord, when the whole detachment began their march back to Boſton.

The country was now up in arms; and not only the rear of the army was aſſailed by an increaſing multitude of purſuers, but a galling fire was directed againſt the flanks as they paſſed along, from behind trees, hedges, and houſes; and their retreat would very probably have been cut off, if a reinforcement under lord Piercy, of ſixteen companies of foot, and ſome marines, with two field-pieces, had not joined them at Lexington. Lord Piercy immediately formed his detachment into a ſquare, and incloſed colonel Smith's party while they received ſome refreſhment. They then reſumed their march, during which they were annoyed as before by an inceſſant fire, which they could not return with any effect, as the Americans were concealed, and kept running from front to flank, and from flank to rear, loading their pieces at one place, and diſcharging them at another. The united detachments reached Boſton at ſunſet, by which time their loſs of men amounted to ſixty-five killed, one hundred and thirty-ſix wounded, and forty-nine miſſing. The loſs of the provincials were thirty-nine killed and nineteen wounded.

According to the account of this expedition in the Eſſex Gazette, publiſhed at Salem, in New-England, the army was guilty of ſhocking exceſſes. In Lexington, the enemy ſet fire to Deacon Joſeph Loring's houſe and barn, Mrs. Mulliken's houſe and ſhop, and Mr. Joſhua Bond's houſe and ſhop, which were all conſumed. They alſo ſet fire to ſeveral other houſes, but our people extinguiſhed the flames. They pillaged almoſt every houſe they paſſed by, breaking and deſtroying doors, windows, glaſſes, &c. and carrying off cloathing, and other valuable effects. It appeared to be their deſign to burn and deſtroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous purſuit prevented their purpoſes from being put into execution. But the barbarity exerciſed upon the bodies of our unfortunate brethren who fell, is almoſt incredible: not content with ſhooting down the unarmed, aged, and infirm, they diſregarded the cries of the wounded, killing them without mercy, and mangling their bodies in the moſt ſhocking manner.

The tranſactions at Lexington and Concord had ſuch an effect, that the militia poured in from all parts of the province, and formed an army for the ſiege of Boſton, under colonels Ward, Priddle, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas, who acted as generals, and fixed their head quarters at Cambridge. Theſe were ſpeedily joined by a detachment from Connecticut, under the conduct of colonel Putnam, an old officer, who had ſerved with great reputation during the two laſt wars, and to whom now was given the chief command. The people of New-York roſe in a tumultuous manner,

entered the town-houſe, ſeized many ſtand of arms, appropriated to their own uſe the cargoes of two ſhips laden with military ſtores, intended for general Gage, and marched to the aſſiſtance of their brethren before Boſton. Reinforcements continued to pour in from different places, till they had collected an army of twenty thouſand men. The congreſs publiſhed rules and orders for its government, and paſſed a vote for the iſſuing a conſiderable ſum in paper currency to defray its expences.

The troops arrived from England about the latter end of May, under the conduct of generals Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe. A proclamation was now iſſued in the king's name, by general Gage, offering mercy to all who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams excepted; and threatening with condign puniſhment thoſe who ſhould not accept of the proffered mercy: at the ſame time, martial law was declared to be in force throughout the province. But theſe empty menaces produced a contrary effect to that intended, for it provoked the Americans to make an immediate attack on Boſton. To the north of the Peninſula, on which that town ſtands, is another of a ſimilar form, entirely ſurrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the main land by an iſthmus. In the centre of the peninſula, riſes an eminence, called Bunker's-hill, ſteep on two ſides, but of eaſy aſcent from the iſthmus, and at the foot of the hill on the other ſide, towards Boſton, ſtands Charleſtown; both places being ſeparated by Charles's river, which is about the breadth of the Thames at London-bridge.

On the night preceding the ſeventeenth of June, a body of the provincialiſts took poſſeſſion of Bunker's-hill, and threw up an intrenchment with a ſtrong redoubt, and a breaſt-work, which were nearly completed by the morning. As ſoon as this was diſcovered by the Engliſh, the men of war in the harbour, the floating batteries, and the battery on Cops-hill, Boſton, began playing upon them; but they perſiſted in their labour with great patience, until interrupted by another meaſure. About noon, generals Howe and Pigot, with two thouſand men and artillery, were ſent to diſlodge the provincials, and landed near Charleſtown without interruption, under protection of the men of war. They immediately formed, and, marching up to the works, began the aſſault by a heavy fire of cannon; but the Americans reſerved theirs till the king's forces had nearly approached them, when they commenced an inceſſant diſcharge of muſquetry; the men in the works, as ſoon as they had emptied their pieces, being ſupplied with others ready loaded. The provincials having thrown ſome men into the houſes of Charleſtown, general Pigot was engaged with them and the line together. General Howe was nearly left alone for ſome ſeconds, moſt of the officers around him being either killed or wounded, the troops were thrown into confuſion by this continual blaze of death, and the fate of the battle ſeemed to be exceedingly doubtful, when general Clinton arrived with a reinforcement, rallied the troops, and brought them back to the charge. The battle was renewed, the Engliſh forced the intrenchments with fixed bayonets, and drove the provincials from their works. The latter retired unmoleſted, except in paſſing the Iſthmus, where they were annoyed by the men of war, and ſuffered the greateſt loſs. The Engliſh were incapable of following them, and their victory was dearly bought, having had two hundred and twenty-ſix men killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded; among the former were nineteen commiſſioned officers, and ſeventy amongſt the latter. Of the provincials, one hundred and forty-five were killed, and three hundred and four wounded; but what they moſt regretted, was the death of Dr. Warren, preſident of the congreſs, who ſuſtained the rank of a major-general, and was killed in the redoubt, while bravely fighting at the head of his troops. During the action, Charleſtown was ſet on fire by the king's troops, and totally conſumed. Though the Engliſh remained maſters of the hill, all the advantages of a victory were on the ſide of the Americans; they put an end to the operations of an enemy ſent to ſubdue

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President of the United States of

AMERICA.

Published by H.D. Symonds, June 10. 1796

due them; and immediately after the action threw up works on an eminence oppoſite to Bunker's-hill, ſo that the troops were as cloſely blocked up in that peninſula, as they had been at Boſton, and the blockade was continued for the remainder of the year.

The general congreſs met at Philadelphia, on the tenth of May: among their firſt acts were reſolutions for raiſing an army, and eſtabliſhing a paper currency for their pay; alſo a declaration that by the late violation of the charter of Maſſachuſets'-bay, the compact between the crown and that colony was diſſolved. Lord North's conciliatory propoſition having been referred to them, was unanimouſly rejected. Georgia now joined the confederacy, which was henceforth denominated, *The Thirteen United Colonies*. The proſcribed John Hancock was choſen preſident; and on the ſixteenth of July, a declaration was publiſhed in his name, ſetting forth the neceſſity they were under of appealing from reaſon to arms. The cruelty and perfidy of general Gage was expoſed, in having promiſed the inhabitants of Boſton liberty to go out of the town, on condition of ſurrendering their arms, and then detaining the greateſt part of them, while the few who were permitted to retire, were compelled to leave their effects behind. The declaration farther ſtates, that endeavours had been uſed by the Britiſh government to excite the Indians and Canadians againſt them, as well as domeſtic enemies; that part of the provinces already felt, "and all of them were ſure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of adminiſtration could inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, ſword, and famine:" that they had not raiſed armies with ambitious deſigns of ſeparating from the mother-country, and eſtabliſhing independent ſtates, and they only meant to defend their rights and property from unprovoked violence. This declaration was followed by diſtinct addreſſes to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland on the ſame points; and by a ſecond petition to the king, expreſſed in the moſt reſpectful and conciliatory terms. The congreſs gave the commiſſion to Mr. George Waſhington, of general, and commander in chief of the continental forces: they alſo nominated Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putnam, major-generals; Montgomery brigadier-general, and Horatio Gates, adjutant-general. Gates and Lee were Engliſhmen, and Montgomery an Iriſhman, the other generals were natives of America; and they had all ſerved with conſiderable reputation, during the late war.

Though the inhabitants of Canada had not declared againſt the Britiſh government, they had diſcovered great diſſatisfaction, particularly on account of the late Quebec act. The congreſs, encouraged by that ſymptom, deſigned to add that province to the confederacy, and with this view appointed general Montgomery to undertake the ſiege of Quebec. Accordingly, in October, he advanced with three thouſand men from Albany, by the lakes, George and Champlain, and made himſelf maſter of Ticonderago, Crown-Point, St. John's, and Montreal, ſucceſſively. About the middle of September, colonel Arnold, at the head of eleven hundred men, ſet out from the camp before Boſton, and penetrated through the back of New-England, by a route hitherto deemed impracticable, in which he endured innumerable hardſhips, and loſt a great number of men. At the end of ſix weeks he reached the plains of Canada, and encamped at Point Levi, oppoſite Quebec, which he ſoon after attempted to take by aſſault, but was repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter. General Montgomery having left ſome of his troops in the forts which he had taken, joined Arnold with the remainder, at Point Levi. Their united forces were very little ſuperior to the garriſon, but they depended on the motley compoſition of the troops by which it was defended for ſucceſs. That the beſiegers might not receive any aſſiſtance from within, the firſt care of governor Carleton was to turn out all thoſe, with their families, who would not take arms in its defence. General Montgomery attempted to bombard the garriſon, but his artillery was too light to do any execution, he therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to take it by ſtorm.

Early

Early in the morning of the laſt day in the year, having divided his little army into four unequal parts, for the purpoſe of diſtracting the garriſon by two falſe and two real attacks, with the largeſt diviſion, conſiſting of nine hundred men, he undertook the moſt perilous part of the enterpriſe, but was killed in the firſt onſet, which was the fate of moſt of the officers and men near his perſon, and the reſt, after ſuſtaining, for half an hour, a dreadful diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry, retreated in diſorder. Arnold, with his party of ſeven hundred men, was a little more ſucceſsful, they had forced the firſt and ſecond barrier, when his leg was ſhattered by a cannon ball, but his place was well ſupplied by the other officers and men, who, knowing nothing of Montgomery's misfortune, puſhed on with unabated ardour, and were applying the ladders to the third barrier, when they received an irrecoverable check. The garriſon now being relieved from other objects, brought their main force to this quarter; and while the aſſailants were engaged in the front, another party, with ſeveral field-pieces, poured upon their rear, and compelled them, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of three hours, to ſurrender. The priſoners were treated with great humanity by general Carleton; while the ſhattered remains of the beſiegers, who were reduced to ſeven hundred, retired from the city; and thus ended the unfortunate enterpriſe againſt Quebec.

In the ſouthern provinces, affairs began to wear an aſpect equally hoſtile. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, found ſuch a ſpirit of reſiſtance to the Engliſh government, that he thought it prudent to retire privately with his family on board the Fowey man of war, which then lay near York town, on the river of that name. After this, a number of meſſages and anſwers paſſed between the burgeſſes and his lordſhip; but no intreaties could prevail on him to ſet his foot on land again. He made ſeveral attempts to raiſe troops, but all without effect. The town of Norfolk was deſtroyed by the Liverpool man of war, for refuſing to provide her with proviſions. Beſides ſome lives which were loſt upon the occaſion, the loſs of property was computed at 300,000l.

The governor of South-Carolina was alſo obliged to retire from Charleſtown, on board a ſhip of war in the river. Governor Martin, of North-Carolina, was declared by the congreſs, an enemy to America, and, before he could fortify the palace at Newburn, was obliged to retire on board a ſloop of war in Cape Fear river, leaving the ammunition to fall into the hands of the Americans, who adopted the ſame mode of government as the other provinces.

During theſe tranſactions in America, an addreſs, petition, and remonſtrance was preſented to his majeſty, from the city of London, recapitulating the grievances of America; complaining of the arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures of the miniſtry, and praying for their diſmiſſion. The king in his anſwer expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that any of his ſubjects ſhould be capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which exiſted in the colonies; and that he ſhould abide by the advice of his parliament in purſuing ſuch meaſures as they had recommended for ſupporting the conſtitutional rights of Great-Britain. The lord Chamberlain afterwards informed Mr. Wilkes, the lord-mayor, that his majeſty would not receive any more petitions from them on the throne. When this letter was laid before the citizens at the Midſummer meeting, they paſſed ſeveral reſolutions, in one of which it is declared, that the adviſers of ſuch a meſſage were enemies to the right of the ſubject to petition the throne; and that the advice was calculated to intercept the complaints of the people from reaching the ſovereign, to prevent a redreſs of grievances, and to alienate the minds of Engliſhmen from the Hanover ſucceſſion. Another remonſtrance was alſo agreed to, deſiring his majeſty to conſider, "what the ſituation of the people here muſt be, who had nothing now to expect from America, but gazettes of blood, and mutual liſts of their ſlaughtered fellow-ſubjects." It was farther reſolved, "that this addreſs ſhould not be preſented, unleſs it was received ſitting on the throne," which being refuſed by the

king,

king, ſeveral other reſolutions were paſſed at a ſubſequent common-hall, maintaining that it was the undoubted right of the ſubject to be heard, and that not as a matter of grace and favour: that the late anſwer was a denial of that right; and that whoever adviſed it, was equally an enemy to the king and the people. Theſe reſolutions were preſented to the king by the City Remembrancer, and afterwards publiſhed, together with the remonſtrance. Petitions were likewiſe preſented to the king from ſeveral commercial and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, where the unbiaſſed voice of the people could be heard, againſt the meaſures purſuing towards America: but to counteract their effects, addreſſes of a contrary tendency were procured by miniſterial influence in other places.

An information was laid before lord Rochford, ſecretary of ſtate, by one Francis Richardſon, a native of America, and an adjutant in the guards, charging a countryman of his, Mr. Stephen Sayre, a banker in London, with having an intention of ſeizing the king's perſon, as his majeſty went to the houſe of peers; alſo an intention of taking poſſeſſion of the Tower, and of overturning the preſent government. The means by which this was to be accompliſhed, the witneſs ſtated, was to bribe ſome ſerjeants of the guards, and their men, to concur in the deſign. Nothwithſtanding this information was ſo ridiculous and improbable, and unſupported by any circumſtance, or the teſtimony of any other witneſs, ſo regardleſs was lord Rochford of the character and liberty of the gentleman accuſed, that he iſſued a warrant for ſeizing him and his papers; and though upon his examination, nothing appeared to his diſadvantage, and the only papers of a political nature, was a letter from the celebrated Mrs. Macaulay, and another called Barnard's-ghoſt, addreſſed to the livery of London, both perfectly harmleſs, the ſecretary thought proper to commit him cloſe priſoner to the Tower, on a warrant for treaſonable practices, where he was confined five days, and denied the preſence of any friend but his wife. At length an *habeas corpus* was granted for bringing him before lord Mansfield, when he was admitted to bail. No proſecution on the part of the crown was afterwards attempted, and the recognizance being conſequently diſcharged, Mr. Sayre ſued lord Rochford for falſe impriſonment, and obtained a verdict of one thouſand pounds damages.

The petition to his majeſty from congreſs, was delivered by Mr. Penn, on the firſt of September, to lord Dartmouth, who ſaid, "no anſwer would be given." The duke of Grafton had wrote a letter to lord North, ſuggeſting one method by which he thought intercourſe and negociation might commence, under the offer of a truce to the revolted colonies, ſanctioned by an addreſs of both houſes to the king, on various motives of policy, affection, and humanity; and after the reſpectful petition, brought over by Mr. Penn, he renewed his application. When he found he could not bring over any one of the cabinet to his opinion, he requeſted an audience of the king, who remained as inflexible as his miniſters: he then explained, at full length, the reaſons why he could no longer take any part in the adminiſtration of affairs; and reſigned the office of privy ſeal. After the meeting of parliament, he declaimed, with great warmth, againſt the proceedings of his former colleagues. Shortly after his reſignation, the earl of Dartmouth was appointed lord privy ſeal, and lord George Germain ſucceeded Dartmouth as ſecretary for American affairs. Lord Rochford having retired from public buſineſs, was ſucceeded by the earl of Weymouth as ſecretary for the ſouthern department.

The parliament was aſſembled on the twenty-ſixth of October, when his majeſty ſpoke at great length on the rebellion exiſting in the colonies, and the neceſſity of coercion to bring them to obedience. The addreſs was ſtrongly oppoſed in both houſes. An amendment was moved by lord John Cavendiſh, and ſeconded by Mr. Fox, cenſuring the raſhneſs and inefficacy of the late meaſures, and recommending the conſideration of other

means of reſtoring order to the diſtracted affairs of the empire, without the dangerous expedient of calling in foreign forces, or the more dreadful calamity of ſhedding Britiſh blood by Britiſh arms. But arguments were vain, the amendment was rejected, and the addreſs was carried by a venal majority of 176 to 72. The petition from the congreſs being laid before the houſe of peers, the duke of Richmond moved, "that it was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and America," but his motion was rejected. Various other conciliatory motions were made in both houſes; but they were all rejected through the ignorance or wickedneſs of the miniſter. Lord North brought in a bill for prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with the colonies while they continued in a ſtate of rebellion; and for making all their ſhips lawful prizes to his majeſty's ſhips of war; it alſo enabled his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, who beſides the power of granting pardon to individuals, ſhould be authoriſed to determine whether any part or the whole of a colony were returned to that ſtate of obedience which might entitle them to the king's peace and protection; in which caſe the penalties were to ceaſe in their favour. This bill was ſtrongly oppoſed as an heterogeneous mixture of peace and war, but approved by a majority.

Lord North, aware that Engliſhmen would not be very fond of ſupporting his ſanguinary ſchemes of prerogative, laid before the houſe ſome treaties entered into by his majeſty with the duke of Brunſwick, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the count of Hanau, for hiring about ſeventeen thouſand of their troops for the American ſervice. This iniquitous meaſure met with violent oppoſition. It was contended that nothing could be more diſgraceful to Great-Britain, than to be obliged to apply to the petty deſpots of Germany for ſuccours to enable her to ſubdue her own ſubjects. The danger of the meaſure, the expence attending the troops, and the little probability of ſucceſs, were ſtrongly urged. In the upper houſe, the duke of Richmond moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, which, beſides ſeveral obſervations on the treatise, took a comprehenſive view of American affairs, and the conſequences of a perſeverance in the preſent meaſures, all tending to give weight to a requeſt, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to countermand the march of thoſe foreign troops, and likewiſe give directions for an immediate ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the contending parts of the empire. But all argument, all demonſtration was loſt, the miniſter's majority in both houſes determined every queſtion his own way, however much againſt the intereſt or inclination of the people; and theſe German barbarians were ſent to ſlaughter our American brethren.

A. D. 1776.] The chief command in America devolved to ſir William Howe, in conſequence of the recall of general Gage. The operations of the Americans againſt Boſton were greatly facilitated by the capture of a ſtore ſhip intended for general Howe, containing a large mortar on a new conſtruction, ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, and a vaſt quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition. On the ſecond of March, general Waſhington opened a battery at a place called Phipps's Farm, a little weſtward of Boſton, whence it was annoyed by a furious diſcharge of cannon and bombs; and another was opened from the heights of Dorcheſter-Point, on the oppoſite ſide. General Howe finding it impoſſible to diſlodge the provincials or defend the town, got ſome of the ſelect men to go out to general Waſhington, and inform him that if the firing continued, he would ſet fire to the town to cover his retreat. Two of the ſelect men returned to general Howe with propoſals, in which it is ſaid, he agreed to leave the artillery ſtanding, and the works undemoliſhed; when the men went back to Waſhington, the firing ceaſed. The embarkation took up ſeveral days; but general Howe broke the convention by endeavouring to deſtroy the ſmall arms belonging to the town, and to burſt the mortars and heavy artillery, though it failed. This determined general Waſhington to ſtorm the town; and while he was making preparations

tions for that purpoſe, a deſerter gave Howe notice of his deſign. In conſequence of which, the Engliſh general was obliged to evacuate Boſton precipitately, leaving the greateſt part of the ſtores and artillery behind him; he however blew up caſtle William at the entrance of the harbour, and retired with a few of the inhabitants who were attached to the royal cauſe, to Halifax in Nova-Scotia.

General Arnold, with his brave little army, remained encamped on the heights of Abraham, about three miles diſtant from Quebec, and aware that the time now approached when the ſuccours were expected from England, he redoubled his efforts to get poſſeſſion of the city, and had even penetrated into the ſuburbs. But the timely arrival of the Iſis man of war and two frigates, compelled the provincials to retire to their camp; and enabled general Carleton to go out and face them, when they fled on all ſides, leaving their artillery and ſtores behind. Sir Guy Carleton being reinforced by ſome Engliſh and German troops, purſued general Arnold to take Champlain, where the two commanders determined to exert their ſkill and courage on a new element. The American fleet, though greatly inferior, was drawn up in the line of battle to receive the Engliſh, when a ſharp engagement began, in which Arnold loſt one of his largeſt ſhips and a gondola. The greateſt part of the fleet then bore away for ſafety under the guns of Ticonderago; while Arnold run his own ſhip and five gondolas aſhore, and burnt them to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh, remaining on deck till his veſſel was in flames, and keeping his flag flying to the laſt. The American forces being concentrated at Ticonderago, general Carleton found it too ſtrong to attack, and therefore put his troops into winter cantonments in Canada.

In the beginning of June, Sir Peter Parker's fleet anchored off Charleſtown-bar, South-Carolina; the land forces were commanded by generals Clinton, Cornwallis, and Vaughan. The Engliſh commenced a vigorous attack on the garriſon, on Sullivan's iſland, while the fleet endeavoured to cut off the communication between it and the continent; but they were obliged to give up the enterprize, after the loſs of a great number of men, and the ſhipping had received conſiderable damage.

The Britiſh government having rejected the petition from the congreſs, and inſiſted upon the unconditional ſubmiſſion of the colonies, the Americans ſaw there was no alternative between a baſe ſubjection and entire independence, they therefore choſe the latter. Nothing can be more inconteſtable, than that this was the will of the people. Before the congreſs came to this reſolution, they conſulted the different colonies by a circular letter in May. The delegates from Maryland were inſtructed by the aſſembly to oppoſe the declaration of independency, which they accordingly did, and then withdrew; but the body of the people ſoon obliged them to return, and the aſſembly were alſo compelled to ratify the important reſolution. In Penſylvania it met with ſome oppoſition in the aſſembly, but the people decided in its favour. In the other colonies it was received with univerſal ſatisfaction. The congreſs having thus obtained the approbation of their conſtituents, aſſumed the title of the *repreſentatives* of the *United States of America*; and publiſhed a ſolemn act on the fourth of July, declaring thoſe States free and independant. The declaration publiſhed by that reſpectable body on this occaſion, is a maſterpiece of compoſition; and contains ſo many great and uſeful principles of politics, as well as a full ſtatement of the complaints of the Americans, that it would be inexcuſable to withhold it from public obſervation. It is as follows:

"When, in the courſe of human events, it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the powers of the earth, the ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation.

"We

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:——

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

"For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should

ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe ſtates:

" For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

" For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent:

" For depriving us, in many caſes, of the benefits of trial by jury:

" For tranſporting us beyond the ſeas to be tried for pretended offences:

" For aboliſhing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh laws in a neighbouring province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an example and fit inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute rule into theſe colonies:

" For taking away our charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments.

" For ſuſpending our own legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with power to legiſlate for us in all caſes whatſoever.

" He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war againſt us.

" He has plundered our ſeas, ravaged our coaſts, burnt our towns, and deſtroyed the lives of our people.

" He is, at this time, tranſporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, deſolation and tyranny, already begun with circumſtances of cruelty and perfidy, ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

" He has conſtrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high-ſeas, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themſelves by their hands.

" He has excited domeſtic inſurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the mercileſs Indian ſavages, whoſe known rule of warfare is an undiſtinguiſhed deſtruction of all ages, ſexes, and conditions.

" In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions we have petitioned for redreſs in the moſt humble terms: our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injury. A prince, whoſe character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

" Nor have we been wanting in attention to our Britiſh brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legiſlature, to extend an unwarrantable juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumſtances of our emigration and ſettlement here. We have appealed to their native juſtice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to diſavow theſe uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of juſtice and of conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the neceſſity, which denounces our ſeparation, and hold them as we hold the reſt of mankind, enemies in war---in peace, friends.

" We, therefore, the repreſentatives of the United States of America, in general congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by authority of the good people of theſe colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, that theſe United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh Crown; and that all political connection between them and the ſtate of Great-Britain is, and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that as free and independent ſtates, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent ſtates may of right do. And for the ſupport of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our ſacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident."

The ſignature of the preſident is followed by that of all the other members of congreſs, amounting to fifty-four, with the names of the reſpective colonies they repreſent. On the fourth of October, the congreſs publiſhed ar-

ticles of confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen ſtates, laying down rules or laws for their government in all public caſes, with reſpect to each other in peace or war; and alſo extending to their commerce with foreign nations. Theſe articles received the ſeparate ratification of each colony, as ſoon as the neceſſary forms would permit.

General Howe had ſailed from Halifax, to the province of New-York, in June, and taken poſſeſſion of Staten iſland without oppoſition, where he waited the arrival of reinforcements from England. On the tenth of July, he was joined by his brother lord Howe, with the fleet from England, and thirteen thouſand German auxiliaries. To theſe were added, ſoon after, general Clinton, with the troops from South Carolina, making a force together of thirty thouſand men. Lord Howe and his brother had been appointed commiſſioners under the late act for ſettling differences with America, he therefore ſent a circular letter aſhore, addreſſed to the late governors, acquainting them with his powers, and deſiring them to publiſh as generally as poſſible, for the information of the people, a declaration which accompanied the letter. In this piece he acquainted them with the power he had to declare any diſtrict or colony to be at the peace of his majeſty on ſubmiſſion, and to grant pardons to all ſuch perſons as ſhould return to their duty. The letter and declaration appeared in all the papers, accompanied with a preface, by order of congreſs. One of theſe letters being addreſſed to general Waſhington, he replied, that as their powers went little farther than to grant pardons, they who had committed no offence ſought no pardon, and that they were only defending their moſt indiſputable rights.

The Britiſh commiſſioners having no authority to treat with the Americans about the original ground of the quarrel, each party prepared for the farther events of war. General Howe, with his whole army, croſſed over from Staten-iſland, to the weſtern extremity of Long-iſland, without oppoſition. On the other ſide, near the village of Brooklyn, within view of New-York, about fifteen thouſand Americans were ſtrongly poſted, under the command of generals Sullivan and Putnam. A range of hills lay between the two armies, with three paſſes, guarded by the Americans; theſe were forced by the Engliſh, when a general engagement enſued, in which the Americans were defeated, with the loſs of a thouſand men in killed and wounded, beſides half that number made priſoners, including generals Sullivan, lord Stirling, and ſeveral other officers. The loſs of the Britiſh and Heſſians amounted to four hundred and fifty. During the engagement, and ſubſequent to it, general Waſhington drew over part of his army to Long-iſland, and collected the ſcattered forces; but finding the works of Brooklyn not ſtrong enough to ſuſtain a regular ſiege, he drew off the army and artillery, with ſuch ſecrecy and diſpatch, that he had quite evacuated the iſland before the Engliſh had any knowledge of his movement, and returned to New-York.

In the beginning of September, general Howe took poſſeſſion of New-York, under the protection of five ſhips of war, when the provincial forces retired to the north-end of the iſland, on which that city is erected. On the twelfth of October, the royal army embarked in flat-bottomed boats, and landed near Weſt-Cheſter, with a view to gain the rear of Waſhington's encampment, and thereby force him to hazard an engagement, or ſuffer himſelf to be ſurrounded and confined on York-iſland. It was the intention of the American commander to have given battle to the Engliſh, but general Lee, who had juſt arrived from South-Carolina, diſſuaded him from this reſolution, which muſt have decided the fate of America; and he immediately decamped to White-plains, with his whole army, where he took a ſtrong poſition. Thither he was followed by general Howe, who finding him too ſtrongly poſted to be attacked to advantage, returned to York iſland to reduce fort Waſhington, in which three thouſand provincials had been left, contrary to the advice of general Lee. The commandant, colonel Magaw, was required to ſurrender, which being refuſed, the place was taken by aſſault,

fault, with the loſs of twelve hundred Britiſh and Heſſians, killed and wounded. Lord Cornwallis then croſſed over to take fort Lee, on the oppoſite Jerſey ſhore, but this was evacuated by the provincials, who left their artillery behind.

General Waſhington croſſed the North river, with a view to protect New Jerſey, but was obliged to retreat before Cornwallis to Newark, to Brunſwick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Penſylvanian ſide of the Delaware. At Brunſwick, general Howe, with the main army joined Cornwallis, and ſo cloſe were they in purſuit of the fugitives, that the rear of one army pulling down bridges, was within ſight and ſhot of the other building them up. During the retreat, general Lee, who was on a reconnoitreing party, ſtopped to breakfaſt, where he was ſurpriſed by colonel Harcourt; and thence conveyed to the Britiſh camp. The loſs of this able officer was a great misfortune to the Americans. Waſhington not having any priſoner of equal rank, propoſed to exchange ſix field officers for him, or if this was not accepted, he required that general Lee ſhould be treated ſuitable to his ſtation. General Howe did not think Lee ought to be conſidered as a priſoner of war, but rather as a Britiſh deſerter, though he had reſigned his commiſſion at the beginning of the troubles, and therefore cloſely confined him, which provoked the Americans to treat ſome of their priſoners with unuſual rigour. In the following year, colonel Barton laid a plan for ſurpriſing general Preſcot, who commanded the Britiſh forces on Rhode iſland, by way of retaliation for the capture of general Lee, and as an indemnity for his perſon. The enterpriſe was ſucceſsful, and the two generals were exchanged.

On the day general Waſhington retreated acroſs the Delaware, general Clinton took poſſeſſion of Rhode iſland, which the Americans at his approach abandoned. The affairs of the colonies now ſeemed verging to a criſis; general Waſhington's army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted to near thirty thouſand men, was now reduced to a tenth part of that number, whole regiments retiring from the ſervice, alledging that the time for which they had engaged was expired, and that it was imcumbent on their countrymen to bear an equal ſhare in the ſupport of the common cauſe. The congreſs fled to Baltimore in Maryland; and even Waſhington talked of retiring to the receſſes of the Allegany Mountains, with the remains of his army, expecting to have been immediately followed by the Britiſh forces, but their progreſs was arreſted by the removal of the boats to the Penſylvanian ſhore. General Howe ordered the troops into cantonments in New Jerſey, forming an extenſive chain from Brunſwick to the Delaware and many miles down that river, waiting till the ice ſhould be formed ſo as to enable them to croſs into Penſylvania. Nothing appeared more improbable, than that their late retreating, half naked enemies ſhould, at that rigid ſeaſon of the year, turn about and commence offenſive operations. General Waſhington, however, having determined upon his meaſures, croſſed the Delaware, on the night after Chriſtmas day, at Konkey's Ferry, marched to Trenton, and at day-break attacked the advanced poſts of the Heſſians, of whom between thirty and forty were killed, and the reſt, to the number of nine hundred, were made priſoners. He then advanced into Trenton, where the three regiments of Rahl, Loſsberg, and Kynphauſen, amounting to ſixteen hundred, were killed or taken, with their artillery. In the evening Waſhington re-croſſed the Delaware, carrying with him his priſoners, their artillery, and colours, and entered Philadelphia in triumph.

Nothing could be more favourable to the republican cauſe than this enterprize; numbers who had quitted the American army, immediately rejoined it, and reinforcements poured in from all quarters, ſo that Waſhington was, in a few days, again able to eroſs over into Jerſey; and took a ſtrong poſt at Trenton Creek. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with lord Cornwallis, he fixed his head quarters at Morris town, oppoſite Stateniſland, and ſituated among hills, having a fine country in his rear; while Cornwallis was cooped up at Amboy and Brunſwick, the only places the

Engliſh

Engliſh retained of all their late acquiſitions in Jerſey, and obliged to receive their forage and proviſions from New York, as neither were to be procured in the ſurrounding country but at the price of blood. The licentious ravages of the German ſoldiery, while they were in poſſeſſion of the province, had excited the utmoſt reſentment and deteſtation of the inhabitants: the whole country now roſe in arms, and thoſe who were well affected to the royal cauſe, or wavering, became its moſt bitter and determined enemies. Such was the iſſue of the campaign.

The Britiſh parliament was aſſembled on the laſt day of October, when violent conteſts were renewed on the affairs of America; but the Rockingham party, finding all their efforts to put an end to hoſtilities ineffectual, ſeceded from both houſes for a time.

A. D. 1777.] After the Chriſtmas receſs, a bill was paſſed, for granting letters of marque and repriſal to the captains of private ſhips, againſt the revolted colonies. This was followed by another, which brought back ſeveral of the ſeceded members. Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill "to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon, committed in America, or on the high ſeas." This was ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of commons, as a violation of that corner ſtone of the liberty of the people, the *habeas corpus act*. In the upper houſe it paſſed without oppoſition, the only peer in the minority preſent being lord Abingdon.

On the 9th of April, lord North delivered a meſſage from the king, importing, that the debts incurred on the civil liſt, amounted to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand pounds; and that he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons to enable him to diſcharge this debt, and to make ſome future proviſion for the better ſupport of his houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of his crown. This extraordinary demand was vigorouſly oppoſed by the minority. They contended, that, at a time when the country was involved in war, and the humbleſt cottager obliged to give a portion of the produce of his daily labour towards the public expence, this demand was highly unreaſonable: that the country could not bear ſuch an additional burden; that the civil liſt eſtabliſhment was ſufficient to ſupport the dignity of the throne; that an undue and dangerous influence was obtained by the crown, from the application of this revenue to the creation of ſtanding majorities. Theſe, and many other objections, were advanced againſt the propoſed increaſe, but to no purpoſe. The houſe granted the ſum of ſix hundred and eighteen thouſand three hundred and forty pounds to his majeſty, to diſcharge the debt incurred, and the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds a year, over and above the ſum of eight hundred thouſand, as a further proviſion for the better ſupport of his houſehold. When this bill was preſented to his majeſty, ſir Fletcher Norton obſerved, in his ſpeech to the throne, "your faithful commons have not only granted to your majeſty a large and preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue; great, beyond example; great, beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence. But all this, ſir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wiſely, what they have granted liberally." This noble and energetic ſpeech was repreſented, by the ſycophants of the court, as an inſult to the throne.

The houſe of peers having been ſummoned for the thirtieth of May, the earl of Chatham moved "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, adviſing him to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for putting a ſtop to the preſent unnatural war againſt the colonies, upon the only juſt and ſolid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances." By the removal of accumulated grievances, ſaid he, I mean the repeal of every oppreſſive act which has been paſſed ſince the year 1763. This will open the way for treaty, and be the harbinger of peace to the afflicted colonies. We have been trying for unconditional ſubmiſſion, let us now try what may be unconditional redreſs. To conquer the Americans is impoſſible,---you cannot do it; I may as well pretend to drive them before

me

me with this crutch. His lordſhip, though oppreſſed by age and infirmity, and leaning upon crutches, exerted all the vigour of youth; but to no purpoſe, his motion was rejected.

The campaign in America began early in the ſpring, by an expedition to Peck's Hill, about fifty miles from New York city, where the Engliſh deſtroyed ſome mills and a magazine, belonging to the provincials. In another expedition for the ſame purpoſe, they burnt the town of Danbury in Connecticut; but the country people, riſing upon them, endeavoured to cut off their retreat, when a ſharp engagement enſued, and an hundred lives were loſt on both ſides.

General Howe having in vain attempted to bring Waſhington to a general engagement in New Jerſey, evacuated that province, and embarking his troops on board the fleet, proceeded to invade Penſylvania, by Cheſapeak Bay, and landed at Elk's Ferry, on the river Elk, about the end of Auguſt. General Waſhington, who had returned to Philadelphia, on hearing this, took a ſtation at Brandywine Creek, which falls into the Delaware below that city, determined to diſpute the paſſage. September the eleventh, an action began, when the Americans where defeated with great loſs, and fled to Philadelphia, and thence to Skippach Creek. Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of Philadelphia without oppoſition, the congreſs having removed to York town in Virginia. Lord Howe no ſooner heard of this ſucceſs, than he ſailed round from the Cheſapeak to the Delaware; but his paſſage was obſtructed by ſeveral large beams, with ſpikes driven through them, *like a cheveaux de frize*, ſunk in the mid channel, and ſeveral works erected on Mud Iſland and the oppoſite ſhore at Redbank. A body of Heſſians were ſent to ſtorm the fortreſs at Redbank, but they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The ſhips at the ſame time carried on an attack upon Mud Iſland, but they could not bring their guns to bear to any great effect. The Auguſta man of war, and Merlin ſloop, were ſtranded, in avoiding the *cheveaux de frize*, and the Auguſta was blown up by accident. The attack was renewed with a more formidable force on the fifteenth of November, when the provincials retired from Mud Iſland to Redbank, which was alſo ſoon after evacuated. The chevaux de frize were now weighed with great difficulty, and the navigation of the Delaware laid open, but no further military operations were carried on in that quarter during winter. General Waſhington retired to a place called Valley Forge, about twenty-ſix miles from Philadelphia, where his ſoldiers, who were deſtitute of tents and winter clothing, were obliged to build themſelves huts in the woods. A dreadful mortality raged in his hoſpitals; and the ſupply of proviſions was exceedingly ſcanty and precarious. In this ſituation, he remained with a very diminiſhed force till May; while luxury, indolence, and the want of diſcipline, proved equally fatal to the Britiſh troops at Philadelphia.

In the north, an expedition was undertaken by general Burgoyne, to proceed from Quebec by lake Champlain, to join the royal army under ſir Henry Clinton, at New York. His army, amounting to near eight thouſand Britiſh and Germans, beſides a numerous body of Canadians and Indians, with a vaſt train of artillery, ſet off from St. John's, and proceeding up the lake, landed at Crownpoint. Here he met the Indians in congreſs, and gave them a war feaſt. He ſoon after publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he magnified the number of his Indian aſſociates, and deſcribed their eagerneſs to be let looſe on their prey, with uncommon energy. The force of the Britiſh fleets and armies, every where ready to cruſh the revolted colonies, was repreſented in bombaſtic language. Encouragement was given to thoſe who ſhould remain peaceable in their habitations; while all the calamities of war, arrayed in their moſt terrific form, were denounced againſt thoſe who perſevered in their hoſtility. Theſe cruel menaces, inſtead of frightening the Americans to ſubmiſſion, roufed their indignation, and provoked the moſt deſperate reſiſtance.

The royal army proceeded to Ticonderago, which general St. Clair, the American commandant, evacuated in the night of the fifth

of July, and retreated to Fort Edward, on Hudſon's river, where general Schuyler, commander in chief of the American northern army, had fixed his head quarters. Their united forces, including the militia, did not exceed four thouſand four hundred men. Burgoyne purſued his route through a terrible country, interſected with ſwamps, woods, and trees laid acroſs the road, till at the end of twenty-four days he reached Fort Edward. This delay afforded time for general Schuyler, who had retreated to Saratoga, to publiſh a proclamation to the inhabitants, calling to their minds the barbarities and deſolations of the royal army in Jerſey, and requiring them to repair with their arms to the American ſtandard. The formalities of draughting and officering the militia, was, in many inſtances, diſpenſed with: hundreds flew to their firelocks at the general call, without waiting for their commanders. The terror excited by the Indians, inſtead of inducing the inhabitants to court Britiſh protection, had a contrary effect; the friends as well as enemies of the royal cauſe, had ſuffered from their indiſcriminate barbarity: among many inſtances, the murder of Miſs Macrea, excited an univerſal horror. This young lady, the daughter of a ſteady loyaliſt, and engaged to be married to a Britiſh officer, was, on the very day of her intended nuptials, maſſacred by the Indian auxilliaries attached to the royal army. Every man ſaw that the protection of his property, his wife and children, depended on a vigorous and determined reſiſtance; and an army was poured forth from the woods and mountains, which ſoon increaſed the republicans to thirteen thouſand men.

Burgoyne detached colonel Baum with ſix hundred men, to ſeize a magazine at Bennington. This officer found it better guarded than he had been led to expect, he therefore entrenched his party, and ſent for a reinforcement. Colonel Breyman, with the ſame number of men, was ſent to his aſſiſtance; but general Starke, who commanded at Bennington, engaged them before this junction could be effected. On this occaſion, about eight hundred undiſciplined militia, without bayonets, or a ſingle piece of artillery, attacked and routed five hundred German regulars, and one hundred Indians, advantageouſly poſted behind entrenchments, furniſhed with the beſt arms, and defended by two pieces of artillery. Colonel Baum, and moſt of his party, were killed; ſome were taken priſoners, and a few eſcaped into the woods. Colonel Breyman arrived on the ſame day, but not till after the action, when, inſtead of friends, he found himſelf briſkly attacked. This was begun by colonel Warner, (who, with a continental regiment, came opportunely at this time,) and was well ſupported by Starke's militia. Breyman's troops, though fatigued by their march, behaved with great reſolution, but were, at length, compelled to abandon their artillery, and retreat. In theſe two actions, the Americans took four braſs field pieces, twelve braſs drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon ſwords, four ammunition waggons, and ſeven hundred priſoners.

General Gates was, at this time, appointed to ſuperſede general Schuyler, in the command of the northern army. Reinforcements continued to pour in from all parts of the country; and ſo determined was the oppoſition to the Britiſh government, that thoſe who had not muſkets, armed themſelves with implements of huſbandry. The American army now became formidable, and, fluſhed with ſucceſs, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing Britiſh, and engaged them with firmneſs and reſolution. The attack began a little before midday, on the nineteenth of September, between the ſcouting parties of both armies. The conflict, though ſevere, was only partial for an hour and an half, but, after a ſhort pauſe, it became general, and continued for three hours without intermiſſion, A conſtant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies ſeemed to be determined on death or victory. At length, night put an end to the effuſion of human blood. The Britiſh loſt five hundred men killed and wounded, and the Americans three hundred and nineteen. This hard-fought battle decided nothing, but it was followed by important conſequences. The ſavages had

been

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, L.L.D.

Published by H.D. Symonds Aug.ˢᵗ 25 1796.

been diſappointed in their hopes of plunder, and had loſt ſeveral of their head men; they therefore determined to continue no longer in the Britiſh Service, notwithſtanding all the offers and entreaties of general Burgoyne. But this defection was not the only diſappointment the general met with. Sir Henry Clinton had promiſed to make a diverſion in his favour; accordingly, with three thouſand men from New York, and a naval force under commodore Hotham, he took forts Clinton and Montgomery, at the bottom of Hudſon's river, by ſtorm; while ſir James Wallace, with a light ſquadron of ſhips, and a detachment, under general Vaughan, proceeded for ſeveral days up the river, burning many villages and carrying terror wherever they went, but they were obliged to return for fear of having their retreat cut off, and abandon him to his fate.

The ſituation of the royal army now became extremely critical; they had waited a long time in hopes of relief, ſubſiſtence was ſcarce, and the men were reduced to half their uſual allowance. In this extremity, Burgoyne made a movement with fifteen hundred ſelect men, in order to ſee if there was a poſſibility of forcing a paſſage. The Americans perceiving his lines weakened, immediately ſtormed them in ſeveral parts. The German troops were totally routed, with the loſs of their baggage, tents, and artillery, beſides a great quantity of ammunition, of which the Americans were much in want. Several officers were killed, and upwards of two hundred men taken priſoners. After this action Burgoyne retired to the heights of Saratoga; and, finding general Gates had cut off all poſſibility of retreat, he ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of October. This army, when it went out of Canada, amounted to upwards of ten thouſand men, but was now reduced to leſs than half that number.

A. D. 1778.] The iniquitous policy of employing Germans and Indians, was ſeverely cenſured in parliament, particularly by the earl of Chatham, who moved for copies of all the orders or treaties, relative to the employment of the ſavages; but his motion was rejected.

Lofty as the language of adminiſtration had been, and conſtantly as they had rejected every plan of conciliation with America, propoſed by the minority, lord North now brought in two bills for that purpoſe, which were paſſed. By the firſt, the tea act, paſſed in 1767, was repealed; and a declaration made, that the king and parliament of Great Britain would not in future impoſe any tax payable in the colonies, except ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary for the regulation of trade, and which ſhould be applied to the uſe of the colony where it was collected. The other bill enabled his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat with any aſſemblies of men, or individuals, concerning any grievance in the government of any of the colonies, or in the laws of Great Britain extending to them. In ſome inſtances the commiſſioners were inveſted with power, if they thought proper, to proclaim a ceſſation of hoſtilities, to ſuſpend the operation of all acts of parliament paſſed ſince 1763, and to grant pardons. Theſe conceſſions ſhould have been made before the ſword was drawn, or at leaſt before the declaration of independence; for, after the injury which the Americans had ſuſtained, reconciliation became impoſſible. Theſe bills were intended to counteract the effects of a negotiation then pending between France and America.

On the ſixth of February two treaties, one of commerce, and the other of defenſive alliance, were ſigned at Paris, by chevalier Gerard, in behalf of the French king, and by doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, on the part of America. The French ambaſſador preſented a declaration from his court to lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate, on theſe treaties, in which it is obſerved, that the United Sates have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the court of London, the French king is firmly perſuaded it will find new proofs of his majeſty's *conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace*. However reaſonable it may appear that every foreign power ſhould be at liberty to enter into treaties of commerce and amity with ſtates who have declared

clared themſelves independent, and thereby invited ſuch treaties, yet the Britiſh court regarded ſuch a convention with her revolted colonies as equivalent to a commencement of hoſtilities, and an open declaration of war on the part of France. The king ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament on this occaſion, and informed them, he had ordered his ambaſſador to withdraw from the court of France.

The duke of Richmond moved for an addreſs to the king, urging the neceſſity of inſtantly withdrawing his fleets and armies from America; and of diſmiſſing his miniſters, as the authors of every public calamity and diſgrace. To ſecure the dependence of America was now, he ſaid, impracticable: the ſooner therefore we relinquiſhed the claim, the better able we ſhould be to ſave the reſt of the empire from deſtruction. The earl of Chatham oppoſed the motion: he ſaid, he never would agree to the diſmemberment of the empire. The duke replied, that as his lordſhip has not only omitted to point out, but acknowledges he knows not the means by which we are to ſupport ourſelves, in a conteſt with France, Spain, and America, I muſt adhere to my former opinion. The earl attempted to riſe again, but fell down in a convulſive fit, however by medical aſſiſtance he was a little recovered, and the houſe adjourned. Next day the duke's motion was reſumed, and negatived by a majority of fifty to thirty three. The earl of Chatham expired a few weeks after, on the eleventh of May, in the ſeventieth year of his age. By a vote of parliament he was interred at the public expence, a monument erected to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey, and four thouſand pounds a year annexed to the earldom of Chatham for ever, as a mark of reſpect for his public ſervice. The city of London alſo erected a monument to his memory in Guildhall.

In this ſeſſion an act was paſſed for the repeal of certain penal ſtatutes againſt the roman catholics, by which they are at liberty to educate their own children, and their clergy are protected in their function.

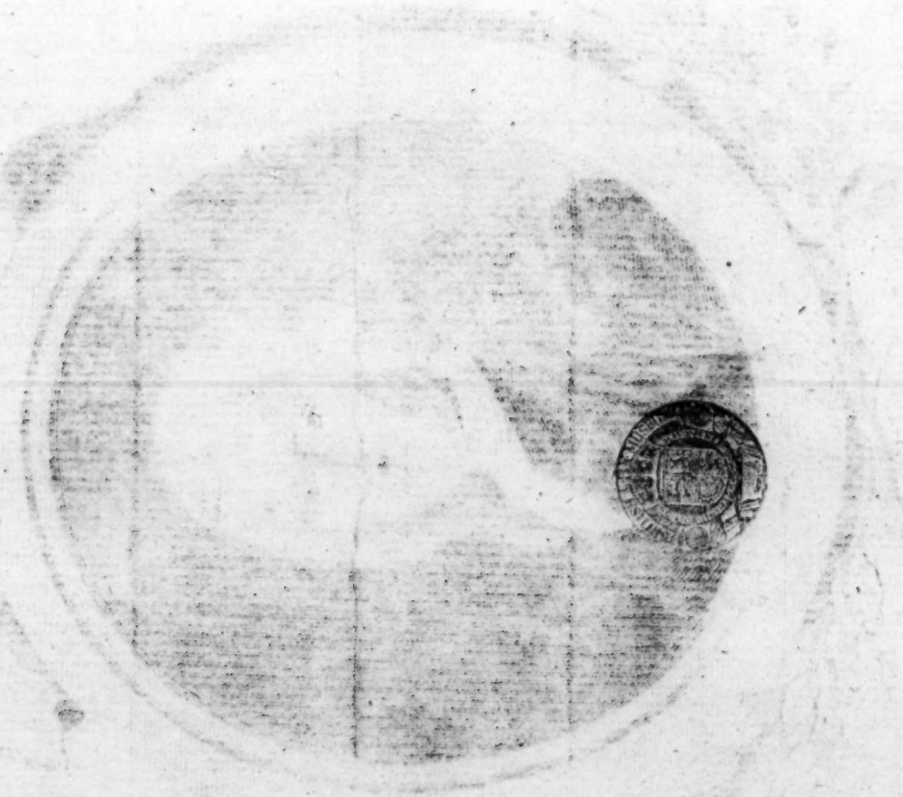
Lord North ſent off a rough draugh of the two bills immediately after the firſt reading, to be circulated among the people of America, before they could know the reſult of the negociation of their deputies in France, in order, if poſſible, to defeat the object of the treaty. The congreſs conſidered the bills as an inſidious plan to diſunite the colonies, and enſlave America; and they finally reſolved "that any man, or body of men, who ſhould make a ſeparate agreement with the Britiſh commiſſioners, ought to be conſidered as open and avowed enemies; and that the United States neither could, nor would hold any conference with ſuch commiſſioners, unleſs they ſhould, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in expreſs terms acknowledge the independence of the United States." They alſo called upon the ſeveral provinces to have their quotas of troops in the field as ſoon as poſſible, as they ſaid, it appeared to be the deſign of the enemy to lull them into a fatal ſecurity. A few days after (May the 2d) Mr. Deane arrived from Paris with the treaty.

In the beginning of June, the earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Johnſtone, who had formerly been a governor in America, arrived at Philadelphia as commiſſioners, with ſir Henry Clinton commander in chief, in the room of general Howe, lately returned to England. They forwarded a letter to congreſs, containing the acts of parliament and their commiſſion. The congreſs returned for anſwer, that the acts, and their commiſſion, ſuppoſed the people of the American ſtates to be ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, which was utterly inadmiſſable, but they were ready to enter into a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, whenever the king of Great Britain ſhould manifeſt a diſpoſition for that purpoſe; the only proof of which would be an acknowledgment of their independence, or withdrawing his fleets and armies.

Governor Johnſtone preſuming in the confidence of former friendſhips, addreſſed letters to ſeveral perſons of conſequence, requeſting them to uſe their influence with congreſs, and offered a bribe to Mr. Joſeph Reed

of

EARL of CHATHAM.



of 10,000*l*: the honeſt American replied, "he was not worth purchaſing; but ſuch as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it." Johnſtone's letters were laid before congreſs, who interdicted all intercourſe with him. After many ineffectual appeals to the people to intereſt them in the cauſe of Britain, the commiſſioners publiſhed a farewell manifeſto, which was anſwered by congreſs; and all proſpect of an accommodation being at an end, the commiſſioners took their leave of America in November.

The commiſſioners had carried out an order with them for ſir Henry Clinton to evacuate Philadelphia, and return to New York. He accordingly quitted it on the eighteenth of June, and the American army entered as he was retiring. Clinton croſſed the Delaware, and purſued his route through Jerſey, while Waſhington hung upon his rear. At Freehold Court-houſe, the van of the provincials under general Lee, advanced upon the Britiſh army with great impetuoſity, and after a ſharp engagement, were obliged to retreat. Clinton then proceeded to Sandy-hook, where the troops were embarked on board lord Howe's fleet for New York.

General Sullivan, in conjunction with count D'Eſtaigne, who had ſailed from Toulon in April, with twelve ſhips of the line, made an unſucceſsful attempt to recover Rhode iſland. On this occaſion, the Engliſh deſtroyed ſix frigates at Newport, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Lord Howe, with eleven ſhips of the line, had been blocked up at Sandy Hook by the French, but having received a reinforcement he ſailed for Rhode iſland; D'Eſtaigne went out to give him battle, but the fleets were ſeparated by a ſtorm. The French admiral retired to Boſton to refit, and Howe returned to New York, while Sullivan evacuated Rhode iſland. General Waſhington kept upon the defenſive, nor could ſir Henry Clinton by any effort bring him to a general engagement. In December, ſir Hyde Parker with a ſquadron of ſhips, and a detachment of troops under colonel Campbell, reduced the province of Georgia.

The Indians, under colonel Butler and one Brandt, during the ſummer, put in practice their predatory deſigns, they committed the greateſt cruelties to all ages, ſexes, and conditions; and many devaſtations, particularly the deſtruction of the ſettlement of Wycoming, a happy and thriving colony, conſiſting of eight townſhips, each containing a ſquare of five miles, ſituated on the eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna. To the diſgrace of Great Britain, the enormities of Butler and his ſavages, ſtand recorded in monument, that will laſt with time itſelf, and chill every feeling breaſt for many a diſtant year.

In the Weſt Indies, the iſland of Dominica was taken by D'Eſtaigne and the marquis de Bouillé; while admiral Barrington, and general Matthews, took St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon from the French. But the loſſes of France were greateſt in the Eaſt Indies, where the Engliſh reduced Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coaſt, and all their ſettlements in Bengal.

The command of the channel fleet, conſiſting of thirty of the line, was given to admiral Keppel, who, on the 27th of July, had an engagement with the French fleet of thirty-two ſail of the line under the count d'Orvilliers, which laſted near three hours. The Britiſh admiral, intending to renew the action as ſoon as his diſabled ſhips were refitted, made the ſignal for the rear diviſion to form in his wake; but admiral Palliſer continued ſo long to windward, that it was night before his diviſion took its ſtation. On the return of daylight, the French fleet was deſcried at a great diſtance, bearing for the port of Breſt, and in a few hours they were entirely out of ſight. The Britiſh fleet continued cruiſing off the coaſt of France till the approach of winter. The admirals Keppel and Palliſer, mutually recriminated each other for neglect of duty in the late action. Keppel was brought to trial in the January following, and honourably acquitted, to the great joy of the nation. Palliſer was afterwards tried, and though acquitted, he received a ſevere cenſure from the court-martial, in conſequence of which he re-

ſigned his commiſſion, but the king made him governor of Greenwich Hoſpital.

A. D. 1779.] The chief debates in parliament turned on the conduct and incapacity of miniſters in the proſecution of the American war. In June, the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes, informing them, that the Spaniſh ambaſſador had delivered a manifeſto from his court, containing a declaration of hoſtility. On this occaſion, the duke of Richmond made a motion, that the only means of reſiſting the powerful combination which now threatened the country, would be, by a total change of that ſyſtem, which had involved us in our preſent difficulties in America, in Ireland, and at home. This motion was rejected, and produced a very ſtrong proteſt ſigned by twenty lords.

One of the firſt operations of Spain, was the blockade of Gibraltar. France opened the year by the capture of Senegal, and the Britiſh ſettlements on the river Gambia, in Africa; while ſir Edward Hughes took from them the iſland of Goree. In the Weſt Indies, St. Vincent's and Grenada were taken by count D'Eſtaigne. On the ſixth of July, the French and Engliſh fleets, under D'Eſtaigne and Byron, came to an engagement, in which a number of lives were loſt, but no ſhips taken on either ſide; the French claimed the victory. Don Galvez, the Spaniſh Governor of Louiſiana, in Auguſt, took the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſipi. About the ſame time, the governor of Honduras attacked the Britiſh log-wood-cutters, made many of them priſoners, and expelled the reſt. Commodore Luttrel, with a ſquadron of frigates, and captain Dalrymple with a detachment of troops, took the Spaniſh fort Omoa, in which were two regiſter ſhips of great value; the priſoners were exchanged for an equal number of the log-wood-cutters: but the Engliſh were ſoon after obliged to abandon the fort.

In October, an unſucceſsful attempt was made by the American general, Lincoln, and count D'Eſtaigne, upon Savannah in Georgia; but they were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe with conſiderable loſs. Sir George Collier, who had the command of the fleet on the American ſtation, and general Matthews with a detachment of troops, made a deſcent upon the Cheſapeak and Virginia, where they deſtroyed fort Nelſon, and the dock-yards and ſhipping at Goſport, Suffolk, Kempe's landing, Tanners creek, and other places in that neighbourhood. The damage ſuſtained by the provincials was eſtimated at half a million ſterling. Another expedition was undertaken by ſir George Collier, and governor Tryon, againſt Newhaven in Connecticut, where they deſtroyed the artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, with the veſſels in the harbour. They afterwards proceeded to Fairfield, Newark, and Greenfield, which they burnt to aſhes.

In the mean time, general Wayne took by ſurpriſe, the fort at Stony Point, on the North of Hudſon's river, with five hundred priſoners. This unexpected attack cauſed general Clinton to advance with the main army for the recovery of the fort, while ſir George Collier proceeded up the river, in hopes of bringing Waſhington, who had fortified himſelf in the high mountainous poſts above Stony Point, and Verplanks, on both ſides of the river, to a general engagement. But this was not the American commander's deſign, he therefore gave orders for demoliſhing and evacuating the fort, of which the Engliſh afterwards took poſſeſſion, and having repaired it, left a ſtronger garriſon for its protection. A fortreſs had been lately erected at the mouth of the river Penobſcot by the Engliſh, which was cloſely inveſted by an armament from Boſton. Sir George Collier attacked the American fleet, and took two frigates of twenty and eighteen guns, with ſome proviſion veſſels; the reſt, including fourteen frigates and armed brigs, beſides twenty-four tranſports, were all blown up. This was a fatal blow to the provincial marine. The appearance of D'Eſtaigne on the coaſt of Georgia, and the expectation of a viſit from him at New York, induced ſir Henry Clinton to withdraw the garriſon from Rhode Iſland, and concentre his forces.

The war of devaſtation was ſtill carried on by the Indians. To take vengeance on them for their cruelties, congreſs appointed general Sullivan, with an army of five thouſand men, and a ſuit-

a ſuitable train of artillery. After a bloody conflict, on the 29th of Auguſt, the Indians were obliged to abandon their ſettlements, when the provincials executed a ſevere, but juſt retaliation. Eighteen towns were laid in aſhes, one hundred and fifty thouſand buſhels of corn were deſtroyed, their gardens were laid waſte, their fruit trees were cut down, and nothing ſuffered to remain that could afford them any ſuſtenance. A ſimilar chaſtiſement was inflicted on the Indians at the back of the ſouthern colonies.

An unſucceſsful attempt was made by the French on the iſland of Jerſey; and a few weeks after, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to ſixty ſail of the line, paraded the channel as if they menaced an invaſion of England.

A. D. 1780.] The uſual addreſs to the throne at the meeting of parliament, which is a mere echo of the king's ſpeech, was violently oppoſed. The minority with great force of argument, ſhewed that nothing could deliver the empire from its preſent calamities, or the conſummation of total ruin, but an entire change of meaſures as well as men; they even obſerved, that, *when evils reached to a certain height, miniſters were forgotten, and the prince alone was puniſhed.*

The repeated refuſals of the Engliſh parliament to remove the deſtructive reſtrictions on the Iriſh commerce, had excited ſuch diſcontent, that the people of Ireland no longer confined themſelves to timid murmurs. All hopes of redreſs by peaceable and reſpectful application being at an end, aſſociations were formed throughout that kingdom; the people armed themſelves at their own expence, and were trained in all the arts of war; ſo that in a few months, they had a well-diſciplined army of fifty thouſand volunteers, formed for the double purpoſe of reſiſting foreign invaſion and domeſtic uſurpation. The Iriſh parliament in their addreſſes to the throne, declared that nothing could ſave that country from ruin but a free trade. Government began to take the alarm, and what had been denied to juſtice, was granted through fear. At the opening of the Britiſh parliament, the king recommended the conſideration of the affairs of Ireland. Lord Shelburne introduced the ſubject to the upper houſe, where it was aſſerted to be highly criminal in his majeſty's miniſters to have neglected taking effectual meaſures for the relief of Ireland, until the diſcontents had riſen to ſuch a height as threatened a ſeparation between the two kingdoms. In the houſe of commons, lord North propoſed his plan reſpecting Ireland. It conſiſted of three articles; the repeal of thoſe laws which prohibit the exportation of Iriſh manufactures, made of, or mixed with wool, and wool-ſtocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe. The repeal of ſo much of the act of the 19 Geo. II. as prohibits the importation of glaſs into Ireland, except of Britiſh manufacture, or to export glaſs from that kingdom. And third, that Ireland be ſuffered to trade with the Britiſh colonies in America, the Weſt-Indies, and Africa, ſubject to ſuch regulations, duties, &c. as the parliament of Ireland ſhall impoſe. Theſe regulations were unanimouſly agreed to.

The averſion of the people to the preſent ſyſtem of adminiſtration, and the abhorrence of the war, now became very conſpicuous. Early in the year, public meetings were convened in ſeveral counties, and petitions were drawn up and preſented to the houſe of commons from them, as well as ſeveral cities, praying for a correction of abuſes in the public expenditure, and ſome of them extending to Reform. The houſe having formed itſelf into a committee on the 6th of April, for the purpoſe of taking theſe petitions into conſideration, a long and warm debate enſued, in the courſe of which, ſeveral reſolutions were carried, in ſpite of lord North's moſt ſtrenuous reſiſtance. By the firſt of theſe it was declared, "that the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed." This was followed by another reſolution, "that it was competent to that houſe to examine into, and to correct abuſes in the expenditure of the civil liſt, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it ſhould ſeem expedient to the houſe ſo to do." A third reſolution was paſſed, ſtating, "that it was the duty of that houſe

houſe to provide, as far as might be, an effectual redreſs of the abuſes complained of in the petitions preſented to the houſe from the different counties, cities, and towns in the kingdom." Several other reſolutions were afterwards paſſed for ſecuring the purity of parliament, and excluding certain officers of the crown from a ſeat in that houſe. This triumph over the miniſter, afforded great joy to the nation, who now began to expect ſome redreſs of their grievances: but their hopes were diſappointed,—the miniſter had failed in his logic, but he had more weighty reaſons at command. An adjourned motion for an addreſs, "that his majeſty would be pleaſed not to diſſolve the parliament, or prorogue the preſent ſeſſion, until the objects of the petitions were anſwered," was rejected by a majority of 254 to 203; and on the 26th of May, the chairman was voted out of the chair, which amounted to a diſſolution of the committee. Thus corruption again triumphed.

The act which had been paſſed in 1778, in favour of the Roman catholics, excited a ſuſpicion in the minds of many perſons, that the miniſter had ſome arbitrary meaſure to promote by this juſt and reaſonable indulgence. That it did not ariſe from any deſire to promote general liberty, they were well aſſured, as every act of his adminiſtration had been in direct oppoſition thereto. They did not fail to recollect that the application of the proteſtant diſſenters to obtain relief, had been repeatedly rejected; nor that popery with an arbitrary government had been eſtabliſhed in Canada, in 1774. To guard the proteſtant religion, an inſtitution under the denomination of the *Proteſtant Aſſociation* was formed, which extended all over the kingdom, and lord George Gordon was choſen preſident. To procure a repeal of the act in favour of the Roman catholics, a petition was prepared with one hundred and twenty thouſand ſignatures to be preſented to the houſe of commons by the preſident, who was a member; but as it had been ſaid that theſe ſignatures were forgeries, he declared he would not preſent the petition, unleſs accompanied by twenty thouſand men. Accordingly, on the 2d of June, the day appointed for preſenting the petition, fifty thouſand people aſſembled in St. George's fields, and proceeded in regular diviſions, with their preſident, to the parliament houſe. After ſome violent altercation, the conſideration of the petition was adjourned to the ſixth, and finally rejected. In the mean time, the multitude without inſulted every obnoxious member of either houſe, as they paſſed in their carriages, making them call out No Popery. In the evening, ſome of the miſguided people deſtroyed the chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian ambaſſadors. On ſunday and the following days, the Roman Catholic chapel in Moorfields, and two others in Wapping were deſtroyed, beſides the houſes of many opulent members of that communion. The inſide of Newgate, where ſome of their comrades who had been apprehended were confined, was burnt, and the priſoners releaſed. The King's-Bench and Fleet priſons, ſhared the ſame fate; as did the houſes of ſeveral magiſtrates, and lord Mansfield's, whoſe valuable library, collection of manuſcrips, and fine paintings, were committed to the flames. Two attempts were made to get poſſeſſion of the Bank and Pay-Office. Theſe outrages continued for a week, during which the capital was held in the utmoſt terror by a handful of men, the active incendiaries ſeldom exceeding twenty at any one place. If there had been the ſmalleſt courage among the people, or if they had been provided with fire-arms, this dreadful riot might have been ſuppreſſed in the beginning, without calling in the military force. The houſe of the archbiſhop of York, next door to lord Mansfield's, in Bloomſbury-ſquare, was beſet; but he armed his ſervants, and the aſſailants relinquiſhed their enterpriſe. One or two more individuals did the ſame, with equal ſucceſs. The military were at length called in, which preſerved the Bank, and ſome other buildings. Upwards of two hundred perſons were killed upon this occaſion, and among them, many who were led to theſe places by curioſity.

One hundred and thirty-four of the rioters were apprehended and tried by a ſpecial commiſſion, of whom ſeventy-ſix were acquitted, thirty

thirty-one reſpited, and twenty-ſeven executed. Of all that were tried, not one was found to have any connexion with the Proteſtant Aſſociation. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower for high treaſon on the 8th of June, and brought to trial in the February following, when he was houourably acquitted.

The parliament was diſſolved by proclamation in September, and writs were iſſued for calling a new one.

Early in the year, admiral Rodney was ſent with a convoy of tranſports to Gibraltar, and to proceed to the Weſt-Indies. In his paſſage, he met with ſixteen merchantmen bound for Cadiz, under convoy of a ſixty-four and four frigates, and captured the whole fleet. Soon after, he met with another Spaniſh fleet, under Don Juan Langara, of which he captured the admiral an eighty gun ſhip, and three of ſeventy, beſides one blown up, and two drove aſhore. Having relieved Gibraltar, he proceeded on his voyage, while admiral Darby returned to England with the prizes. In the Weſt-Indies, Rodney had an engagement with the French admiral, Guichen, when the only fruit of a hard-fought battle, was the loſs of many lives. On the other hand, an outward-bound fleet of fifty-five ſail of merchantmen for the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, was captured by the Spaniſh admiral de Cordova, and carried into Cadiz; and the Quebec fleet of fourteen ſail, was captured by ſome American privateers.

An expedition was undertaken againſt South Carolina, by general Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot. General Lincoln bravely defended Charleſtown for ſome time, but was obliged to yield to ſuperior force. Garriſons were then poſted in various parts of the province, to overawe the inhabitants, and a detachment advancing towards North Carolina, put to flight ſeveral ſmall parties of Americans, who were proceeding to the relief of Charleſtown. Colonel Tarleton ſoon after ſurrounded about three hundred provincials at Wachaws, who ſcarcely made any reſiſtance, but laid down their arms: notwithſtanding which, they were cut to pieces in cold blood, and in the very act of intreating quarter. The war in the ſouthern provinces ſoon became almoſt entirely predatory. The rebels, as they were called, were plundered without mercy and without meaſure; and the ſpoils were ſo conſiderable, that the dividend of a major-general on one occaſion, amounted to above 4000l. Sir Henry Clinton returned in June to New York, and left the command in the ſouth to lord Cornwallis. Auxiliaries having arrived from Maryland and Delaware, general Gates formed an intention to attack lord Rawdon, who was poſted at Cambden; but on the approach of Gates, lord Cornwallis haſtened from Charleſtown with a large reinforcement. The advance guards of the two armies, met on the night of the 15th of Auguſt, and engaged; but the raw American militia, haraſſed by poor living, and a long march, gave way almoſt on the firſt fire, and the victory was complete in favour of the Britiſh. The Americans loſt the whole of their artillery, 200 waggons, 8 field pieces, 2000 ſtand of arms, 800 men killed, and 1000 taken priſoners.

The promiſed ſuccours from France were delayed by unforeſeen accidents, ſo that they did not arrive at Rhode Iſland till the 10th of July. The armament conſiſted of ſeven ſail of the line, and five frigates, under the command of M. de Ternay, with a fleet of tranſports, conveying one thouſand choſen troops, commanded by count de Rochambeau, which the general repreſented as only the vanguard of a very conſiderable army, deſtined for the ſervice of America. While general Waſhington was gone to Rochambeau, Arnold, who commanded a large body of provincials at Weſt Point on the North river, concerted with major André, aid-de-camp to ſir Henry Clinton, who had been ſent to him for the purpoſe, a plan for betraying his army into the hands of the Engliſh. André had received a paſſport from Arnold in the name of Anderſon, and for the greater ſecurity, had changed his uniform, which he wore under his ſurtout, for a plain coat. Thus provided, he ſet off on horſeback, on his return for New York. In his way, he was met by three privates of the New York militia, when one of them

ſeized his horſe by the bridle. As ſoon as he found whoſe hands he was in, he offered them a purſe of gold and a valuable watch, if they would ſuffer him to eſcape, with promiſes of permanent proviſion, and future promotion; if they would accompany him to New York. But theſe honeſt provincials refuſed his bribe, and conducted him to colonel Jameſon, who, it is much to be regretted, permitted him to write to Arnold, by which circumſtance the traitor eſcaped the fate that ſo deſervedly awaited him. André was tried by a board of fourteen officers, French and Americans, and executed as a ſpy. The three men who apprehended him, were rewarded by congreſs, for their integrity, with a penſion of fifty pounds per annum.

The Northern Powers, Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, entered into an alliance, called the *armed neutrality*; the principle of which was, that neutral bottoms made neutral property; and to prevent the ſearching of neutral veſſels. The deſign of the Britiſh government was to prevent Holland from engaging in this confederacy. Accordingly, they ordered ſome Dutch ſhips containing naval ſtores, and bound for France, to be ſeized and brought to England. Strong remonſtrances were preſented by the States-General to the Britſh miniſtry on this occaſion, but they obtained no redreſs. On the 17th of April, his Britannic majeſty publiſhed a declaration againſt the States, but they were ſenſible of their own weak and divided condition, and therefore choſe to purſue a pacific ſyſtem, rather than precipitate themſelves into the calamities of war. Another circumſtance however occurred, in which the Engliſh conſidered the Dutch as enemies. The congreſs packet, Mercury, bound for Holland, was captured off the banks of Newfoundland, by the Veſtal frigate. On board the packet, was Mr. Laurens, late preſident of congreſs, charged with a commiſſion to the ſtates of Holland. Before the veſſel ſtruck, he threw his papers overboard, but they were ſaved from ſinking, and contained a treaty of amity and commerce between the two republics. Mr. Laurens was examined by the privy council, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treaſon. A memorial was preſented to the States-general, but an anſwer not being returned by the time expected, ſir Joſeph Yorke was recalled, and a declaration of war was publiſhed on the 20th of December.

A. D. 1781.] When the Britiſh parliament aſſembled, the uſual addreſs to the throne was moved, on which occaſion, Mr. Fox obſerved, "that in the addreſs which was propoſed, the bleſſing of his majeſty's reign was to be recognized; but in this he could not concur, as he was unacquainted with thoſe bleſſings. The preſent reign had been one continued ſeries of diſgrace, misfortune, and calamity." The war with Holland was ſeverely reprobated by oppoſition; they obſerved, that the Britiſh manifeſto ſtated, that a treaty had been entered into, between the city of Amſterdam and America; but the treaty now laid before the houſe, was in the expreſs terms of it, the plan of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact, the ratification of which, depended on events that might never happen. The refuſal of the States-general, to furniſh 6000 troops and twenty ſhips of war, according to the treaty of 1678, was conſidered by the miniſtry as a great cauſe of offence: but if they had been furniſhed, the territories of the States would have been attacked; and then in compliance with the ſame treaty, we muſt have ſent a large army to Holland, and ſupported her with our naval force. It was therefore the intereſt of Great Britain to have left Holland in a ſtate of neutrality. An addreſs, however, in favour of the war, was carried by a great majority.

The war had brought expences, which the uſual ſupplies would not diſcharge; to make the deficiencies, recourſe was had every year to new loans; but the terms of the preſent, amounting to twelve millions, were ſhameful beyond all example, and many motions were made in both houſes, to fix a cenſure on the miniſter, who had ſacrificed the public in ſo groſs and daring a manner, but he was ſcreened by his majority. It was contended that he had divided the loan among his dependents, for the ſake of ſtrengthening his intereſt.

A ſpirit

A ſpirit of intrigue, conqueſt and rapacity, had pervaded the whole ſyſtem of Britiſh government in India, and at length provoked a formidable confederacy of the native powers. While the company's forces were engaged on one ſide by the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally broke into the Carnatic with a vaſt army. In the September preceding, he ſurrounded a large body of troops under colonel Baillie, who were either cut to pieces, or made priſoners. Arcot was taken, and the preſidency of Madraſs trembled for its ſafety, when ſir Eyre Coote took the command of the forces on the coaſt of Coromandel, and defeated Hyder in ſeveral engagements. The firſt intelligence of theſe convulſions, produced the appointment of a ſecret committee, to enquire into the cauſes of the Mahratta war, but no effectual meaſure was taken for the correction of the evil. A bill was paſſed for reſtraining the arbitrary encroachments of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal; and another for continuing the privileges of the company for a limited term, with a clauſe, by which they were compelled to pay four hundred thouſand pounds to the public.

The exiſting grievances increaſed ſo much, and ſo little proſpect of redreſs was afforded by the laſt parliament, that an aſſociation was formed by ſeveral counties; and delegates were ſent to a central committee in London, for the purpoſe of proſecuting the object of a parliamentary reform, with vigour and unanimity. On the 8th of May, the delegates preſented a petition, ſigned by themſelves only, when ſir George Saville and Mr. Duncombe, moved that it ſhould be referred to a committee, but the motion was rejected by 212 to 135.

The military operations of the year commenced on the 8th of January, by a deſcent of 800 French troops, under baron Rullecourt, on the iſland of Jerſey, before daylight; and to the aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, were, in the morning, ſeen drawn up in the market place of St. Hilliers. The lieutenant governor, major Corbett, was taken priſoner, and compelled to ſign a capitulation; but there were three regiments of king's troops, beſides the militia in the iſland, of whom major Pierſon took the command. The French were obliged to ſurrender, after an engagement in which both commanders were killed.

The ſiege of Gibraltar was continued during the winter, but on the 12th of April admiral Darby, with a convoy of victuallers arrived in the Bay, and afforded a ſeaſonable relief to the half famiſhed garriſon. The Spaniards erected formidable works, from which they entirely deſtroyed the town; however, a ſortie was made by the garriſon in November, when thoſe works, which had been erected at an immenſe labour and expence, were completely deſtroyed.

Commodore Johnſtone was ſent with a ſquadron againſt the Cape of Good Hope. The French court, knowing the inability of the States-general to protect their foreign poſſeſſions, diſpatched M. Souffrein after him, with a ſuperior force; and coming up with the Engliſh at Port Praya, in St. Jago, one of the Cape Verd iſlands belonging to the Portugueſe, he attacked them in violation of a neutral harbour. But the India ſhips taking part in the action, the French were beaten off, after ſuffering ſeverely in the conflict. Though the object of Johnſtone's expedition was defeated, his convoy reached India in ſafety, and he afterwards fell in with five Dutch Indiamen, which he brought to England. Souffrein having ſecured the Cape, proceeded to the Eaſt Indies, but did not arrive time enough to afford the like protection to the Dutch ſettlements there. Sir Edward Hughes took their fort of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, and the valuable ſettlement of Trincomale, in the iſland of Ceylon. Several engagements took place between admirals Hughes and Souffrein, but they were ſo nicely balanced in point of ſtrength, that no advantage was obtained by either ſide.

The Orange faction in Holland was in the intereſt of Great Britain, and the prince of Orange being at the head of the navy, that department was neglected, and the trade left unprotected. At length, a fleet was fitted out under admiral Zoutman, who ſailed with a convoy for the Baltic. On the fifth of

Auguſt,

Auguſt, they were met off the Dogger bank, in the German ocean, by admiral ſir Hyde Parker, when a furious cannonade enſued, which was continued for three hours and a half, and then only ceaſed becauſe the ſhips on both ſides became unmanageable, from the injury they had ſuſtained. The Dutch returned with their convoy to the Texel, while the Engliſh were unable to follow them.

In December, admiral Kempenfelt fell in with a French ſquadron, in a hard gale of wind, and ſucceeded in cutting off twenty ſhips of the convoy, with ſtores and reinforcements, deſtined for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

Intelligence of the rupture with Holland, was early ſent to the Weſt Indies, and in the beginning of February, admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, took poſſeſſion of the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatia, where they conducted themſelves with the moſt ſhameleſs rapacity, confiſcating every thing on the iſland, and plundering the inhabitants. The value of the property they ſeized, was eſtimated at three millions ſterling, excluſive of one hundred and fifty merchant ſhips, many of them richly laden, a frigate of thirty ſix guns, and five others of inferior force. A fleet of thirty ſhips which had ſailed for Holland two days before, under convoy of a man of war, was brought back, and the commander, count Byland, was killed in making an ineffectual reſiſtance. St. Martin and Saba, ſmall neighbouring iſlands, were reduced at the ſame time. The Dutch ſettlements of Demerary, Eſſequibo, and Berbicia, were taken by the governor of Barbadoes.

That the gain of the captors might be as great as poſſible, a free market was opened for the ſale of the confiſcated property at St. Euſtatia, and hoſtile ſhips came there as purchaſers. While the Britiſh commanders were occupied in this ſhameful plunder and traffic, admiral de Graſſe and the marquis de Bouillé took the iſland of Tobago. The moſt valuable part of the captures at St. Euſtatia, were ſent to England, but the whole convoy fell into the hands of the French, juſt as it entered the channel; and in November, the iſland itſelf, with its dependencies, St. Martin and Saba were taken by the marquis de Bouillé, the liberality and juſtice of whoſe conduct, was a ſtriking contraſt to the rapacity and oppreſſion of the Britiſh commanders. Private property was univerſally protected, and he publiſhed a proclamation, ſignifying, that he only kept the iſland till the troops of their high mightineſſes ſhould take poſſeſſion.

The arms of Great Britain were ſtill more unſucceſsful on the continent of America, the province of Weſt Florida was wholly reduced to Spain, by Don Galvez, in May.

After the victory of Camden, lord Cornwallis had been retarded in his progreſs into North Carolina, by the exceſſive heats, and the total deſtruction of a corps of royaliſts, under major Ferguſon; but early in the new year, he began his march. The Engliſh had a poſt at Ninety-ſix, in South Carolina, which they held for thirteen months, and their reſidence was marked by rapine and murder: while the afflicted inhabitants found they had leſs to fear from reſiſtance than ſubmiſſion. Under theſe favourable circumſtances, general Greene, who had ſuperſeded Gates in the command of the ſouthern army, diſpatched colonel Morgan to take a poſition in that diſtrict. Cornwallis, unwilling to leave ſo conſiderable a corps in his rear, diſpatched colonel Tarleton with a ſuperior force to drive him out of the country. The attempt ended in the total defeat of the Britiſh detachment at the Cowpens; 300 were killed, 500 were taken priſoners, and 300 eſcaped with difficulty; and the cannon, colours, and baggage-waggons fell into the hands of the victors.

Lord Cornwallis in vain endeavoured to come up with colonel Morgan, who ſoon rejoined the main army under general Greene. That general finding himſelf too weak to contend with the royal army, retreated before it into Virginia. The continental army being driven out of North Carolina, Cornwallis thought the preſent a favourable opportunity to collect the royaliſts of that province; and invited them to join the royal ſtandard at Hillſborough. General Greene recroſſed the Dan into North Carolina, and diſpatched general Pickens after Tarleton, who had been ſent to encourage the inſurrection of the royaliſts.

aliſts. Three hundred and fifty of theſe Tories fell in with Pickens, and miſtook his corps for the royal detachment ſent to their ſupport. While labouring under this miſtake, they were attacked by the republicans, who cut them down as they were crying out "God ſave the King." Tarleton, upon hearing of this unexpected ſlaughter, retreated to Hillſborough, but in his way he met with ſome royaliſts who were going to join the royal army, and, miſtaking them for republicans, cut them to pieces.

General Greene having received a reinforcement, which gave him a decided ſuperiority, determined no longer to avoid an engagement; but his army being half compoſed of militia, and many of the regulars lately raiſed, they were not able to ſtand againſt the Britiſh army, grown veterans by long ſervice. Cornwallis embraced the opportunity which he had long ſought, and an action enſued near Guilford, in which the provincials were defeated; but they retreated in good order, having loſt four pieces of artillery, and two ammunition waggons. The victory coſt the Britiſh dear, having had ſeveral hundreds killed and wounded; and while they had the name, all the good conſequences of a victory remained with the Americans.

Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Virginia, where Arnold, who had now the rank of a Brigadier general in the Britiſh army, had been carrying on a predatory war. Lord Rawdon remained in South Carolina with the chief command; and was oppoſed by the American generals, Sumpter and Marion. General Greene determined to march to their aſſiſtance; and, after various engagements, the Britiſh were driven from all their poſts, and compelled to retire within Charleſtown. In Virginia, lord Cornwallis was oppoſed by the young marquis de la Fayette, with about three thouſand men. In his circumſtances, not to be deſtroyed, was triumph. He conducted himſelf on the defenſive with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old ſoldier. His choice of poſts, and movements were ſo judicious, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakneſs. New York was at this time threatened with an attack by general Waſhington, ſir Henry Clinton therefore ſent for general Arnold and ſome troops from Virginia. In conſequence of which, Cornwallis quitted Williamſburgh, the capital, and removed to York town.

While the appearance of a deſign upon New York was kept up, general Waſhington ſuddenly quitted his ſtation on the North river, and marched to Philadelphia, and thence to York Town; the fleet of admiral de Graſſe entering Cheſapeak bay at the ſame time. York town is ſituated near the extremity of a narrow peninſula, incloſed between York river to the north, and James river to the ſouth; and therefore eaſily inveſted by an enemy who commanded the navigation of the rivers. The beſieging army amounted to 12,500 men, of which 7000 were French, under count Rochambeau. Their batteries were opened on the 9th of October, and after a vigorous reſiſtance, the Britiſh army, to the amount of 7000, was obliged to ſurrender as priſoners of war. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refuſed to general Lincoln on his giving up Charleſtown, was now refuſed to lord Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the army of York town, in the ſame way his own had been conducted. The royaliſts were given up to their countrymen without any condition in their favour.

A. D. 1782.] Notwithſtanding the diſaſters and diſgrace with which the war was attended, the miniſter ſtill preſerved his lofty tone, and majorities in parliament. The ſupplies were all readily granted, with a new loan of thirteen millions and a half. But the voice of an indignant people was now more loudly expreſſed againſt the further proſecution of this iniquitous war. The city of London took the lead, in a ſtrong remonſtrance to the throne, which was followed by others from various parts of the kingdom. The minority renewed their oppoſition to the war, and on every motion, acquired an acceſſion of numbers. The influence of the miniſter began to totter; and his partizans could no longer ſupport a declining cauſe. On a motion of Mr. Fox for a cenſure

on lord Sandwich, firſt lord of the admiralty, for criminal neglect of duty, he was ſcreened by a majority of only 22 in a very full houſe. Lord George Germaine, the American ſecretary, ſhrunk from a ſimilar enquiry, by reſigning his office, and ſought a retreat in the houſe of peers, under the title of viſcount Sackville. He was ſucceeded by Mr. Welbore Ellis. On the 22d of February, a motion was made for an addreſs, imploring his majeſty, that the war might be no longer proſecuted for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing the people of America by force. This was rejected by a majority of one only, 192 being for, and 193 againſt it. Five days after, the motion was renewed, and carried by a majority of 19. After a variety of pointed attacks, the tendency of which was the removal of miniſters, the laſt blow was to be ſtruck on the 19th of March, on a previous notice of the earl of Surry, ſince duke of Norfolk; but before his lordſhip could open the queſtion, lord North attempted to ſpeak, and through the interpoſition of Mr. Fox, he with great difficulty obtained a hearing. Lord North then ſaid, "that as he underſtood the object of the motion to be the removal of miniſters, he wiſhed to ſave the houſe further trouble by an explicit declaration, that his majeſty had come to a determination, to make an entire change of adminiſtration; and he and his colleagues only, retained their ſituations till other miniſters were appointed to ſucceed them." Upon this, lord Surry conſented to wave his motion; and nine days after, the new arrangements were announced to the public. It is ſuppoſed that the ſame ſecret influence of which the earl of Chatham complained, prevailed during lord North's adminiſtration, as he often declared that the war *was not his*; and that it had been engaged in, contrary to his advice.

In the new adminiſtration, the marquis of Rockingham held the principal ſtation, as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The earl of Shelburne, and Mr. Fox, were appointed ſecretaries of State; lord Cambden, preſident of the council; duke of Grafton, privy ſeal; lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; admiral Keppel, who was alſo created a viſcount, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; general Conway, commander in chief of the forces; duke of Richmond, maſter of the ordnance; Mr. Burke was made pay-maſter of the forces; colonel Barré treaſurer of the navy; Mr. John Townſhend, ſecretary at war; Lloyd Kenyon and John Lee, attorney and ſolicitor general; lord Thurlow continued in his office of lord high chancellor; and the duke of Portland was ſent as lord lieutenant to Ireland.

The firſt buſineſs of the new miniſtry, was the repeal of an act of George I. for ſecuring the dependence of Ireland, againſt which the moſt juſt and loudeſt clamours had been raiſed in that country. This repeal was underſtood as a virtual renunciation of the right of Great Britain to legiſlate for Ireland. The power of altering or ſuppreſſing Iriſh acts of parliament in the privy council, with the perpetual mutiny bill, were likewiſe renounced. While the whig miniſtry were taking theſe judicious ſteps to ſoothe the diſcontents and remove the jealouſies of Ireland, they were not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity at home. Bills for diſabling revenue officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the houſe of commons, which had been repeatedly negatived, were now paſſed. Theſe were ſtigmatiſed *puny regulations*, and experience has proved them ſuch; yet the principle was good, as far as it went of excluding the immediate dependents of the crown from any ſhare in the legiſlature. Mr. Burke's bill for reforming the expenditure of the civil liſt was again brought forward, and paſſed. By this bill, the board of trade, the board of works, the great wardrobe, the office of American or third ſecretary of ſtate, and many ſinecure places were aboliſhed. On a motion of Mr. Wilkes, the reſolution paſſed in 1769, for expelling and incapacitating him to hold a ſeat in that parliament, was reſcinded and expunged from the journals. This prevented ſo unconſtitutional a procedure from ſtanding as a preſident.

The death of the marquis of Rockingham, on the 1ſt of July, entirely diſconcerted the new miniſtry. His office of firſt lord of the treaſury

treaſury, was given to the earl of Shelburne, to which it was intended by the Rockingham party, that the duke of Portland ſhould have ſucceeded. Lord Shelburne having accepted the appointment without conſulting his colleagues, was conſidered as contrary to whig principles; therefore, Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendiſh, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, the duke of Portland, and ſeveral others reſigned. To them ſucceeded the earl of Grantham, and Mr. Thomas Townſhend, as ſecretaries of ſtate; ſir George Yonge was made ſecretary at war, colonel Barré paymaſter of the forces, Mr. Dundas treaſurer of the navy, Mr Pitt chancellor of exchequer, and earl Temple, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The parliament was cloſed on the 11th of July, when his majeſty expreſſed an ardent deſire for peace.

Early in the year, general Murray had been obliged to ſurrender the iſland of Minorca to the army of the king of Spain, after a long ſiege. In the Weſt Indies, the French recovered the Dutch ſettlements, Iſſequibo and Demerary. They afterwards took the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher, Nevis, and Montſerrat; while the Bahama iſles ſubmitted to the Spaniſh governor of Havannah. In America, no military operation of conſequence was performed.

On the 12th of April, admiral de Graſſe with 32 ſhips of the line, was totally defeated in the Weſt Indies, by admiral Rodney, whoſe fleet amounted to 36 ſhips. The action began at ſeven in the morning, and continued with the greateſt fury, till night put an end to the conflict. The French admiral in the Ville de Paris, and five other ſhips were taken, one was blown up, and another ſunk. The Ville de Paris, and two more of the prizes were loſt at ſea in their paſſage to England.

The laſt memorable object of this campaign, was the ſiege of Gibraltar. The Spaniſh monarchy was anxiouſly bent upon the reduction of this fortreſs, which was as bravely defended by general Elliot. Eighty floating batteries, gun boats, and bomb ketches, were brought to the attack; but they were deſtroyed by an unremitting ſhower of red-hot-balls from the garriſon; and above 1500 Spaniards are ſuppoſed to have periſhed in this vain attempt.

By a reſolution of the houſe of commons laſt ſeſſion againſt offenſive operations in America: the war with the colonies was at an end; and though lord Shelburne had declared in the houſe of peers, "that whenever the parliament ſhould acknowledge the independence of America, the ſun of England's glory was ſet for ever." But when he came into office, he took occaſion to obſerve, that he now conſidered it as a neceſſary evil to which the country muſt ſubmit. The other belligerent powers were equally convinced of the neceſſity of terminating the war; accordingly, negociations were opened at Paris for a general peace in the ſummer. On the 30th of November, preliminary articles were ſigned by Mr. Oſwald, on the part of Great Britain; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, who had been confined in the Tower, on the part of America; by which, the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and the country ſouth of the great lakes on both ſides of the Ohio, and eaſtward of the Miſſiſſipi was ceded to them, with a full participation of the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland.

A. D. 1783.] The preliminary articles between Great Britain, France, and Spain, were ſigned on the 20th of January. By this treaty, the French were permitted to fiſh on ſome of the banks of Newfoundland, and the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to them; as were Tobago and St. Lucia in the Weſt Indies; Senegal and Goree on the coaſt of Africa; and Pondicherry with the other conqueſts in the Eaſt were reſtored. The articles relative to Dunkirk, eſtabliſhed at the treaty of Utretcht, were annulled. In return for theſe conceſſions, France reſtored Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincents, Dominica, St Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat, in the Weſt Indies; and in Africa, Fort James, and the river Gambia, were guaranteed to Great Britain. By the treaty with Spain, Great Britain relinquiſhed all right and claim to Weſt Florida, and the iſland of Minorca; and ceded Eaſt Florida, in exchange for the Bahamas.

Bahamas. Preliminaries were not ſettled with Holland till ſome months after, when Great Britain reſtored all her conqueſts, except Negapatam, in the Eaſt Indies. The definitive treaty of peace with France, Spain, and America, was ſigned on the third of September, and with Holland in the beginning of 1784.

CHAP. VI.

Coalition of Mr. Fox and Lord North---Mr. Fox and Pitt's India Bills---Impeachment of Warren Haſtings---Commercial Treaties with France and Spain---The Dutch attempt to throw off the Uſurpations of the Stadtholder---Revolution in France---Trial and Execution of the French King---War with France---Proſecutions on Charges of pretended Treaſon---Pop-gun Plot---The French enter Holland and enable them to eſtabliſh a free Government---War with Holland---Peace between France, Pruſſia, and Spain---War between England and Spain---Lord Malmeſbury's Embaſſy to France---The French attempt an Invaſion of Ireland.

A. D. 1783. THE treaty of peace produced a political conflict at home. Mr. Fox and his friends having ſteadily oppoſed the American war, reaſonably expected a ſhare in the adminiſtration, when it became indiſpenſable to adopt their principles; but they had the mortification to ſee the earl of Shelburne continue prime miniſter, and the ſecond poſt in the ſtate held by Mr. Pitt, a young man, without eminence or experience. They therefore formed a coalition with lord North, for the purpoſe of putting an end to that miniſtry, and the treaty of peace furniſhed the opportunity. When the preliminary articles were preſented to the houſe, in February, lord John Cavendiſh moved, that the conceſſions made to the adverſaries of Britain were greater than they had a right to expect. This motion being carried, aſcertained a ſpeedy change in the miniſtry. The earl of Shelburne reſigned, and all public buſineſs was ſuſpended for more than a month, which produced great alarm and confuſion. Both houſes addreſſed the king in ſtrong terms to change his miniſters; and were proceeding greater lengths, when Mr. Pitt gave notice that he had reſigned; and the other miniſters, who like him had lingered in office to the laſt, gave place to their victorious antagoniſts. The duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treaſury; lord North and Mr. Fox were nominated ſecretaries of ſtate; lord Stormont preſident of the council; lord Carliſle privy ſeal; and lord Keppel firſt lord of the admiralty: the great ſeal was put into commiſſion, and lord Loughborough, ſo diſtinguiſhed for political verſatility, who could change, and change, and yet go on---was declared firſt commiſſioner; Mr. Burke was made paymaſter of the forces; and lord Northington governor of Ireland.

The firſt buſineſs was to compleat the emancipation of Ireland from the legiſlative authority of the Britiſh Parliament, and to remove every impediment to a free intercourſe with America, by preventing any certificate or other document being required from ſhips belonging to the United States, on their arrival in, or on their clearing out of this kingdom, which paſſed with ſome amendment. The critical ſituation of the Eaſt Indies next engaged the attention of Parliament: It was diſcovered that the adminiſtration of juſtice there, had been perverted to the purpoſes of plunder and oppreſſion.---Theſe diſcoveries produced an unity of opinion on the neceſſity of taking ſome ſteps to ſecure the natives from injuſtice, and preſerve our territorial poſſeſſions in India. To a repreſentation of the abuſes of Indian government, ſucceeded, in a few days, a diſcloſure of the ruined ſtate of the Company's finances, by a bill introduced by ſir Henry Fletcher, for ſuſpending payments due from the Company

pany to the Exchequer, and for leave to borrow three hundred thouſand pounds. Lord John Cavendiſh obſerved, it would have been more for the Company's advantage, had they confined themſelves to the character of merchants, the expenditure of their ſettlements had far exceeded their revenue, ſo that the exiſtence of the Company depended on the ſucceſs of the bill, which paſſed with little oppoſition.

About this time died Hyder Ally, a man eminently diſtinguiſhed for an enterprizing ſpirit, great abilities, and the moſt rooted averſion to the Engliſh name, and who had long proved himſelf the moſt formidable of the Company's enemies.

In May Mr. Pitt produced a plan for reform of parliament, by which a hundred members were to be added to the counties, and a proportional number of the burgage tenures to be aboliſhed. Lord North affirmed, the conſtitution ſtood in no need of amendment. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, ſaid it required innovation and renovation; its nature expoſed it to change and its beauty did not conſiſt in theory, but in practice. But the reform propoſed by Mr. Pitt was not at all deſired by the people; they ſaw clearly it would produce no advantage to them; on the contrary, it would only have ſerved to ſtrengthen the ariſtocracy of the houſe of commons, render them ſtill leſs ſubject to the controul of the people, and leſs reſponſible for their conduct. The bill, however, was rejected from more intereſted motives. Mr. Sawbridge brought forward a motion, which he afterwards repeated annually, for ſhortening the duration of parliaments. He ſaid, he had heard the Britiſh conſtitution characterized as the moſt glorious fabric, and the work of ages. To him ſuch a deſcription appeared moſt abſurd. The Britiſh conſtitution, till the deco[illegible]ation of Charles the firſt, was a ſyſtem of the moſt wretched deſpotiſm; the government had always been a monarchical, or an ariſtocratical tyranny. The motion was ſeconded by alderman Bull, but rejected by a great majority.

After a prorogation, the parliament met in November, and his Majeſty ſtated, as a principal object of their conſideration, the ſituation of the Eaſt India company. Mr. Fox accordingly moved for leave to bring in a bill for veſting the management of the Eaſt India company's affairs, in the hands of ſeven commiſſioners, to be appointed by parliament, and not removeable by the crown, except in conſequence of an addreſs from either houſe of parliament. Theſe commiſſioners were to be aſſiſted by nine directors, to be named by parliament, and afterwards choſen by the proprietors, and were to take poſſeſſion, in truſt, of all the lands and effects of the company; to declare, once in ſix months, an exact ſtate of their accounts to the company; and, at the beginning of every ſeſſion, a ſtatement of all their affairs to parliament. This was a bold meaſure, and demanded the ſevereſt ſcrutiny; it was to continue in force four years. It was accompanied by another bill, enacting equitable regulations for the future government of the Britiſh territories in India, and took from the governor general the power of acting independently of his council.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive the aſtoniſhment excited in the houſe of commons, on the diſcloſure of this ſyſtem. It was eſpouſed with enthuſiaſm by the friends of the miniſter, and it was attacked by his opponents with all the energy of invective. Mr. Pitt diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on this occaſion, as a formidable adverſary of the miniſter: He ſaid the bill before the houſe was an attack on the moſt ſolemn charters, and broke through every principle of equity: He aſked what ſecurity had the other great companies. It included a confiſcation of the property of the company; the power was pretended to be given, in truſt, for the benefit of the proprietors; but in caſe of the groſſeſt abuſe of the truſt, to whom was the appeal---to the majority of either houſe of parliament, which the moſt contemptible miniſter could not fail to ſecure with the patronage of two millions per annum, which was given by this bill.--- Doubtleſs the ſuſpicion Mr. Pitt expreſſed, of the virtue of parliament, was well founded; but it will be curious to remark the change in

that gentleman's opinion, on many ſubſequent occaſions, when it ſuited his purpoſe, to expatiate on its honour and integrity.

Mr. Fox vindicated the bill with great ability; he inſiſted the company's charter had been ſeveral times altered; he adverted to the plea of neceſſity, and aſked how they could adopt a new ſyſtem without ſtriking at the old one. This bill, he ſaid, provides for the poſſibility of bad adminiſtration, it annexes reſponſibility to every action, and as little augments the influence of the crown as any that could be deviſed: it would produce to this country the bleſſings of commerce and revenue, and extend a generous and humane government under thoſe millions who were placed under us in the remoteſt regions of the earth. While the bill was pending in the commons, the company petitioned againſt it, but it was carried with great rapidity through all its ſtages in the lower houſe. Mr. Fox then carried the bill to the upper houſe, where, after ſome oppoſition from earl Temple and lord Thurlow, it was read the firſt time; but on the ſecond reading it was moſt vehemently oppoſed. Lord Camden ſpoke againſt it with great ability: he ſaid it was treating the company as if they were idiots, and threw an enormous weight into the ſcale of miniſterial influence; it likewiſe endangered the prerogative of the crown, for if this bill ſhould paſs into a law, we ſhould ſee the king of Bengal (meaning the board of controul) and the king of Great Britain contending for ſuperiority in the Britiſh parliament. There were various opinions concerning the ſecret cauſe of this unexpected oppoſition, but the prevailing one was that on the eleventh of December; earl Temple had a private conference with his majeſty, and by repreſenting to him that it would render parliament ſo independent, by the vaſt influx of Indian wealth and patronage, that the crown would be ſcarce worth the wearing, and obtained the king's permiſſion to ſay that thoſe who voted for the India bill would be conſidered as his enemies, and that in conſequence of this it was rejected in the houſe of lords at the ſecond reading.

An interference of ſo extraordinary a nature was not likely to eſcape cenſure in the houſe of commons, and Mr. Baker moved, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, upon any bill while depending in parliament, was a high crime and miſdemeanor. Mr. Pitt treated the motion as unworthy the dignity of the houſe, and ſaid, when miniſters cannot anſwer for their meaſures, let them retire. Mr. Fox replied to Mr. Pitt in a ſtyle of glowing eloquence.--- When the hour comes (ſaid he) which may not be very diſtant, that ſhall diſmiſs me from the ſervice of the public, the honorable gentleman's example of lingering in office after the voice of the nation had called upon him to quit it, ſhall not be mine. It was at the deſire of the people I have been called to a ſtation in their ſervice, and perhaps it would not be treating them well haſtily to abandon my poſt. I ſee the extreme eagerneſs of the honorable gentleman about our places; if however a new miniſtry is to be formed, not by the confidence of this houſe or the public, I, for one, ſhall not envy the honourable gentleman his ſituation. After an animated debate Mr. Baker's motion was carried by a majority of ſeventy-three.

This conteſt between the crown and the commons preſented a ſcene truly novel and intereſting. Since the revolution, the kings of England, ſatisfied with the ample revenues of the civil liſt, appear to have quietly acquieſced when the commons were determined on any meaſure. But the king had never been very partial to the then adminiſtration, and it ſeems the jealouſy he was inſpired with, that this meaſure would render parliament too independent of himſelf, overcame every other conſideration. Having thus quarrelled with his miniſters, to receive them again into confidence was to ſacrifice both pique and dignity. The miniſters were alſo committed on their Indian ſyſtem, and could not, without a total ſacrifice of reputation and principle, abandon the ſcheme, an entire change of adminiſtration therefore became indiſpenſable, and at midnight, on the eighteenth of December, a meſſage was ſent to the ſecretaries

ries of ſtate, demanding the ſeals to be delivered to the ſovereign by the under ſecretaries, as a perſonal interview would be diſagreeable. Early next morning letters of diſmiſſion, ſigned Temple, were ſent to the other members of the cabinet, and in a few days after Mr. Pitt was declared firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. Thomas Townſhend, now created lord Sydney, were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; lord Thurlow was re-inſtated as lord chancellor; earl Gower was preſident of the council; the duke of Rutland was conſtituted lord privy ſeal; lord Howe was placed at the head of the admiralty; and the duke of Richmond of the ordnance; lord Temple, who had retained the ſeals of ſecretary only three days, was again appointed to the government of Ireland.

A report having been circulated that parliament would ſpeedily be diſſolved, the houſe preſented an addreſs to the king, ſetting forth the inconvenience of a diſſolution at the preſent conjuncture. The king in his anſwer, recommended to them the conſideration of the Eaſt Indies, and aſſured them, he ſhould not interrupt their meeting by prorogation or diſſolution. The parliament then adjourned with tolerable ſatisfaction for the uſual Chriſtmas receſs.

A. D. 1784.] On the tenth of January, when the ſtate of the nation was reſumed, the commons forbid the iſſuing of any public money after a diſſolution or prorogation of parliament, unleſs the act of appropriation ſhall have previouſly paſſed. Lord Surry then moved, that it was neceſſary there ſhould be an adminiſtration that had the confidence of the public, and that the late changes in his majeſty's councils were accompanied with circumſtances which did not conciliate the confidence of that houſe. This motion was carried in the affirmative; and ſoon after, lord Charles Spencer moved that the continuance of the preſent miniſters in office who had loſt the confidence of parliament, was contrary to the principles of the conſtitution, which motion was alſo carried. But notwithſtanding theſe efforts of the houſe of commons to remove the miniſters, they were powerfully ſupported by the people; addreſſes came in from all parts, and particularly from the city of London, thanking the king for the removal of his late miniſters. Mr. Pitt was now become a very popular character, and Mr. Fox, who had hurt himſelf in the good opinion of the public by joining the party of lord North, had quite loſt it by his India bill, which was every where conſidered as an attempt to raiſe a moſt enormous and unconſtitutional influence in the houſe of commons; the ſtrength of the oppoſition began to fall off, and ſome reſpectable independent gentlemen endeavoured to unite the leading members of the two parties in a new adminiſtration, but in vain. The peers alſo who had hitherto been ſilent ſpectators of this diſpute, at length joined in ſupporting the miniſters. The commons yet continued addreſſing the king to remove his miniſters, to which he anſwered, that no ſpecific charges had been made againſt, them and numbers of his ſubjects had expreſſed great ſatisfaction with them.

Mr. Fox in the following week, moved a REPRESENTATION, a mode of addreſſing to which no anſwer was cuſtomary, ſtating the dangerous tendency of thoſe meaſures, which acting in defiance of the reſolutions of the houſe, muſt prove inadequate to the objects of government, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. This motion was carried by a majority of ONE only, and Mr. Fox finding himſelf deſerted by many of his partizans, abandoned his original intention of poſtponing the mutiny bill, and diſclaimed any intention of obſtructing the ſupplies A diſſolution of parliament was ſaid to be now unneceſſary and indefenſible, but it was evidently to the advantage of the preſent miniſters, and therefore on the twenty-fifth of March it was diſſolved by proclamation.

If the origin, progreſs, and concluſion of this extraordinary conteſt, are impartially reviewed, it will appear, that the ſuppoſed merit of the crown in the tranſaction, aroſe from a jealouſy of power and influence over the houſe of commons; but the cauſes which raiſed

raiſed ſuch a ferment in the public mind, were the prevailing ſentiments on the famous coalition, by which Mr. Fox loſt much of the public confidence; and the apprehenſions of all the companies and corporations for their charters, if that of the India company could be violated by authority of parliament. But what had moſt weight with the public, was a ſtrong ſuſpicion of the integrity of parliament itſelf; as that it would only be transferring the plunder of India, from the agents of the company, to the agents of a parliament, whom they could neither reject or controul, if they ſhould abuſe their truſt. The eloquence of the miniſter was miſtaken for a pledge of the wiſdom of his meaſures; and the magical name of Pitt proclaimed him heir to the talents of his ſire. The return he has made to the people for their groundleſs partiality, will be ſeen in the hiſtory of his adminiſtration. Such was their infatuation, that many of the moſt able and upright men were thrown out at the general election, for their oppoſition to the miniſter. Mr. Fox carried his election for Weſtminſter, by a conſiderable majority; but the high bailiff, by a ſcandalous partiality, refuſed to make a return in his favour; for which he was tried in the king's bench, and caſt in large damages.

The new parliament met in May, and Mr. Pitt opened his plan for the government of India, on the 6th of July. By *his* bill, a board of controul, compoſed of commiſſioners, appointed by the king, and removeable at pleaſure, was eſtabliſhed. This board was authorized to check, ſuperintend, and controul, the civil and military government and revenue of the company; and if any diſpute ariſe between the board and the directors, they are to appeal to his majeſty in council, whoſe deciſion is to be final. All appointments of the directors to the places of governors, &c. in India, are ſubject to the approbation and recal of the company. Laſtly, a high commiſſion-court was conſtituted, conſiſting of three judges, four peers, and ſix members of the houſe of commons, for the trial of Indian delinquents. Such were the leading features of Mr. Pitt's bill for the government of India.

Mr. Fox, on diſcuſſing this bill, obſerved, that it rendered the government weak and inefficient, by dividing its powers. By the negatives veſted in the commiſſioners, the chartered rights on which ſuch ſtreſs had been laid, were inſiduouſly annihilated, and the appeal from the deciſions of the board of controul to the privy council, was only an appeal from the aggreſſor to himſelf in another character; that it transferred in a concealed manner, an immenſe patronage to the crown, whoſe influence was already too great; that the property of the Zemindar was not ſecured by any fixed rules, but left to a vague enquiry; that the new tribunal was a ſcreen for delinquents, and an unconſtitutional violation of the trial by jury; and he would venture to pronounce it a BED OF JUSTICE, where juſtice would ſleep for ever. With all the partiality in favour of Mr. Pitt, his bill was found, even by his friends, ſo crude and imperfect, that it underwent a variety of alterations, and it was at laſt accompanied with a ſevere proteſt.

This bill was aſſented to by the India company, though with great reluctance, in order to receive the aid they ſo much wanted. During the debates, the benefits derived from this company to the public were much inſiſted on, particularly the ſhare which government had in their revenue; but this advantage is evidently fallacious, for having the ſole right of trading to thoſe parts, they will raiſe the price of their commodities, ſo as to get what they think a reaſonable profit, after all the burthens the government may lay upon them are diſcharged.

To qualify this bill, and promote the intereſts of the company, Mr. Pitt, under the pretence that the encouragement given to ſmugglers by high duties, was a great loſs to the revenue, brought in a bill to reduce the duties upon tea, and lay a large additional tax upon windows, which he pretended would be balanced by the reduction in the price of tea, and which he therefore called a commutation tax. The fallacy of this pretence was clearly pointed out by Mr. Fox, and it ſoon appeared in fact, for the reduction which took place

place in the price of tea was very inconſiderable, and in a little time tea was ſold at as great a price as before the commutation took place.

The next buſineſs of parliament, was diſpoſing of the unfunded debt, partly in the four per cents, and partly in a new five per cent. ſtock, made irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the exiſting funds ſhould be extinguiſhed. But what gave a new offence to the nation, was the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds voted to his majeſty, for the diſcharge of debts contracted on the civil liſt. This was the fourth grant for the ſame purpoſe ſince his acceſſion, with a revenue of eight hundred thouſand pounds, afterwards increaſed to nine hundred thouſand, excluſive of what aroſe from the crown lands: more than fourteen hundred thouſand pounds had been voted within the ſpace of fifteen years, for payment of debts of the crown. It was a ſtern obſervation of Milton, that the trappings of a monarchy were more than ſufficient to defray the whole expence of a republic. The laſt meaſure which came before parliament during the preſent ſeſſion, was a bill for reſtoring the eſtates forfeited in 1715 and 1745 to the deſcendants of the rebel chiefs, who were thought to be unjuſtly puniſhed for the errors of their fathers. A ſum was likewiſe granted to compleat the canal from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde in Scotland. The parliament was prorogued in Auguſt, when the king acquainted them in his ſpeech, that all the definitive treaties of peace were ratified.

A. D. 1785.] No event of importance intervened from the prorogation to the meeting of parliament in January. The Weſtminſter ſcrutiny having laſted eight months without getting through an eighth part of the buſineſs, it appeared to every one, that it was prolonged merely to keep Mr. Fox from taking his ſeat. After ſeveral attempts in parliament to bring this buſineſs to a concluſion, it was at length carried, and Mr. Fox was returned duly elected. Mr. Pitt again brought forward his plan of reform in parliament. He now propoſed to ſet apart one million ſterling, to purchaſe ſuch of the boroughs as were willing to accept a pecuniary conſideration, inſtead of the privilege of chooſing repreſentatives. The bill was again rejected; and demonſtrated an aſſertion which had been often repeated, that parliament would never reform itſelf. The miniſter next propoſed, to fund the floating debts, and to pay the intereſt; but the ſubject which chiefly engaged the attention of parliament, was ſome regulations reſpecting the commerce of Ireland. The Iriſh having, during the American war, obtained a free trade, found themſelves overwhelmed by a deluge of foreign manufactures, and projected a plan of commercial intercourſe with England, which having paſſed in the Iriſh parliament, was ſent to England to be ratified; but after having been canvaſſed a long time in both houſes, it was ſo totally changed, that on being ſent back to Ireland, it was rejected with great indignation.

A. D. 1786.] The parliament having met in January, the plan of fortifying the coaſts of England, as ſuggeſted by the duke of Richmond, was brought forward. It was juſtly oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, who ſhewed that it was nothing more than a pretence, to keep up a large military force conſtantly in readineſs, to bridle the Engliſh themſelves, and take away even the ſhadow of liberty. The miniſter being deſerted on this occaſion by many of his partizans, on a diviſion of the houſe of commons, the numbers were exactly even, when the caſting vote fell of courſe to the ſpeaker; who, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, gave it againſt this dangerous meaſure.

A committee which was appointed to examine the public revenue, ſtated that there was a ſurplus of nine hundred thouſand pounds per annum, and Mr. Pitt propoſed to appropriate a million annually to the payment of the national debt, which was unanimouſly agreed to. But immediately a meſſage came from the king, ſtating that it had not been found poſſible to confine the expences of the civil liſt within the annual ſum of eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, a further debt had been incurred, which he truſted the affection of his parliament would provide for. This was the more extraordinary, as in the year 1782, on a

ſimilar occaſion, he had promiſed his expences ſhould not in future exceed his income. All oppoſition, however, was fruitleſs, and two hundred and ten thouſand pounds was voted for this purpoſe.

The next ſubject of importance, was the celebrated impeachment of Warren Haſtings. Mr. Burke exhibited twenty-two charges of evil practices in India againſt him, on the ſecond of which, his impeachment was determined upon, and the trial was continued for ſeveral years, at an immenſe expence to the nation.

On the ſecond of Auguſt, as the king was alighting from his chariot, a woman, named Margaret Nicholſon, preſented a paper to him, and at the ſame inſtant ſtruck him in the breaſt with a knife, on being ſecured and examined, ſhe replied ſhe had a right to the crown, and appearing to be lunatic, the idea of a judicial proceſs was abandoned, and ſhe was conſigned to Bethlehem hoſpital.

In September, a commercial treaty with France was ſigned, by which it was ſtipulated to admit the commodities of each country reciprocally at very low duties. About the ſame time, a convention was ſigned with Spain to determine the diſputes reſpecting the Engliſh ſettlements on the Moſquito ſhore, which were given up to Spain to the ruin of many families, who did not receive any indemnification. In return, the other ſettlements belonging to England in the bay of Honduras, were enlarged.

A. D. 1787.] Great part of the preſent ſeſſion was occupied with the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings. Another ſubject which engaged the attention of parliament, related to the prince of Wales. When he arrived at full age, the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds per annum was ſettled upon him, which was repreſented by Mr. Fox as too ſmall, conſidering the numerous ſalaries he was obliged to pay from this eſtabliſhment; but his income was payable from the civil liſt, and the king poſitively refuſed to encreaſe it. The reſult was, that in four years which had now elapſed, he had contracted debts to a large amount, and he applied to the king for aſſiſtance, but meeting a peremptory refuſal, he ſold his effects, and veſted forty thouſand pounds per annum of his income in the hands of truſtees, for the payment of his creditors. The prince had likewiſe contracted an intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of family, and of the Roman catholic religion; to whom it was reported, that he was privately married. After living in retirement near a twelvemonth, he was perſuaded to apply to parliament for relief. Mr. Fox, by his authority, denied his marriage, which if it had taken place could not have been legal. This produced a meſſage from the king to the houſe in his favour, and the ſum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds was granted for the payment of his debts, on a promiſe that, in future, his expences ſhould be confined within his income; and twenty thouſand for the improvement of Carleton houſe. To thoſe who cannot conceive how the dignity of the ſtate, and the happineſs of the people, are connected with the chief magiſtrate or his heir apparent, being attended by a vaſt retinue of idle ſervants, and other pompous appendages, fifty thouſand pounds a year will appear an ample revenue.

During the receſs of parliament, the affairs of Holland engaged the attention of government. The diſſentions between the prince of Orange and the States of Holland, had riſen to an alarming height. The former was deſtitute of talents, but ambitious of power; and the dupe of a party who oppreſſed the people under his authority. The princeſs his wife, who reſided at Nimeguen, was proceeding to the Hague, as was ſuppoſed to overawe the ſtates, but was ſtopped at Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. It was thought the king of Pruſſia recommended this journey in the expectation that the princeſs, who was his ſiſter, would be affronted, and thereby afford him a pretence for interfering; and in conſequence, a large body of Pruſſians, commanded by the duke of Brunſwick, marched into Holland, forced the Dutch to ſubmiſſion, and many were executed. The French having manifeſted an inclination to aſſiſt the States, the Britiſh government had entered into a ſubſidiary treaty with the prince of Heſſe, and was preparing a naval force to attack France on that account. Thus the world ſaw with indignation,

indignation, a people calling themſelves free, forced to take up arms on every occaſion in ſupport of deſpotiſm and oppreſſion. However the Dutch ſubmitted ſo ſoon, that neither France nor England had time to interfere, and all the preparations were ſuſpended; but ſoon after a treaty was concluded between the kings of England and Pruſſia, to ſupport the ſtadtholder. Thus was Britain entangled in the intricate maze of continental politics, the conſequence of which was ſoon after manifeſted.

About this time, the inſidious intention of Mr. Pitt's India bill began to appear, by government propoſing four regiments of the king's troops to be ſent to India, and ſupported at the expence of the company; but the company thinking they had no occaſion for them, refuſed to take them on board their ſhips. To carry the meaſure by force, the miniſter brought into parliament a declaratory bill, which put the whole power of the company into his hands, and which was carried, though not without oppoſition.

A. D. 1788.] A bill was paſſed to regulate the carriage of ſlaves from Africa to the Weſt Indies, whoſe treatment on the paſſage was cruel beyond all imagination. After the receſs of parliament, the king having been indiſpoſed, went to Cheltenham for the benefit of the waters, but on his return to Windſor, a mental derangement appeared, which rendered him incapable of buſineſs. The parliament met in December, and as the miniſter wiſhed to procraſtinate, much time was ſpent in examining the reports of the phyſicians, and on other matters of mere ceremony. At length, Mr. Fox perceiving the miniſter's deſign, propoſed that the prince of Wales being of full age, ſhould be appointed regent. Mr. Pitt oppoſed this with great warmth, and inſiſted that the right of appointing a regency, was veſted in the two houſes of parliament. The object of Mr. Pitt was evidently to preſerve himſelf and his friends in office, which he knew could not be done if the prince of Wales became regent; he therefore contrived by ſearching for precedents and many other means to avoid a deciſion, until there appeared ſymptoms of the king's recovery.

A. D. 1789.] In January, Mr. Cornwal, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, died, and Mr. Grenville, brother to earl Temple, was choſen to ſucceed him, though without the uſual ſanction of royal approbation. Mr. Pitt propoſed to admit the prince to the office of regent, but to reſerve the care of the king's perſon, and the diſpoſition of the royal houſehold to the queen. The appointment of four hundred places was attached to this diſpoſition, and it was evident that Mr. Pitt deſired to ſecure this patronage to himſelf and his party, under the ſanction of the queen. Long and violent debates enſued upon this ſubject, but they were at length terminated by a declaration made on the tenth of March, that his majeſty was perfectly recovered from his indiſpoſition. The king went in ſtate to Saint Paul's, to return thanks for his recovery, and the nation appeared almoſt frantic with joy; but ſeveral members of parliament loſt their places, for attempting to confer the regency on the prince of Wales. The ſeſſion concluded with a vain effort to repeal the teſt and corporation acts, by which diſſenters were prevented from holding any place of truſt or profit; and a fruitleſs attempt to aboliſh the inhuman ſlave trade.

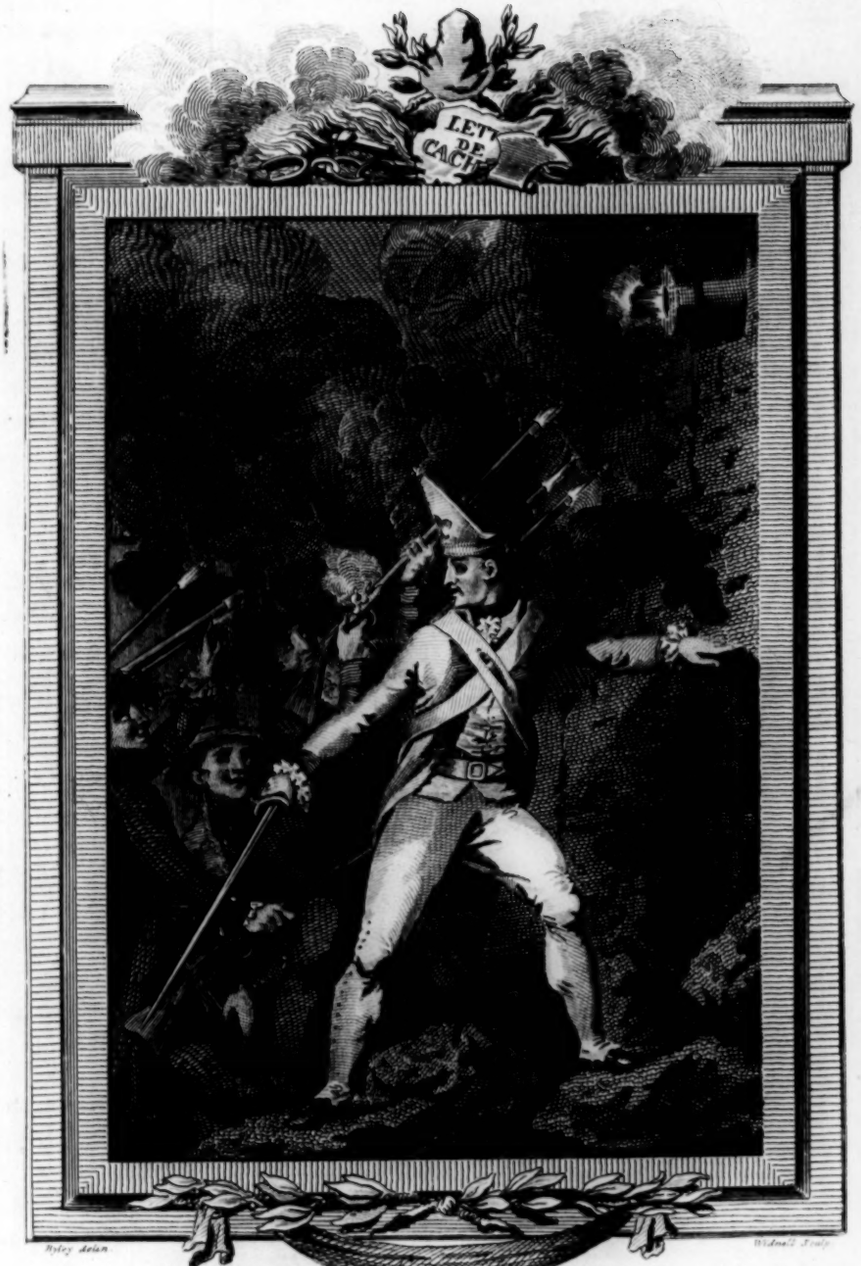
The ſummer of this year was diſtinguiſhed by an event more important in its conſequences than any thing that can be found in hiſtory; THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE. It is well known that France had long laboured under a deſpotic government, and the ſevereſt oppreſſion. The exceſſive extravagance of the queen and her minions, and the diſſolute conduct of other branches of the royal family, had rendered the public burdens ſo great, that the miniſtry found it impoſſible to lay new impoſitions on the people, without obtaining ſomething like their conſent. They therefore propoſed to call an aſſembly, conſiſting of repreſentatives of the three eſtates, that is, of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, to ſettle the affairs of the nation, or rather to impoſe new taxes. The deſign of the court, was to take a majority of the eſtates, for a majority of the aſſembly; for being ſecure of the clergy and nobility, they thought

thought by this means to render any oppoſition of the commons nugatory. But the commons would not be impoſed upon by this flimſy artifice; and inſiſted that a majority of perſons, without regard to rank, ſhould conſtitute a majority of the aſſembly. Several of the clergy and peers concurring in opinion with the commons, joined them, and made a decided majority, with which the reſt after a vain ſtruggle, were obliged to comply. The aſſembly thus united in one body, held their ſittings at Verſailles, about twelve miles diſtant from Paris, to be near the king.

This virtuous band of patriots, found the Augean ſtable of paraſites and plunderers too filthy, and the principles of deſpotiſm too deeply rooted, to be cleanſed by any thing ſhort of an entire change. But the old herd, who had fattened on the public ſpoil, with the count d'Artois, the king's youngeſt brother, at their head, formed a conſpiracy for demoliſhing the National Aſſembly, and thereby of cruſhing all hope of eſtabliſhing a free government. For this purpoſe, thirty thouſand foreign troops in the pay of France, were brought from the diſtant provinces, and ſurrounded the capital, ſo as to cut off all communication between it and Verſailles, and the command was given to marſhal Broglio, a high flying ariſtocrat, cool, and capable of every miſchief; and the miniſters were changed for thoſe who had concerted the project. The greateſt anxiety prevailed at this time in Paris, for the ſafety of the national aſſembly; and on the 12th of July, when intelligence was received of the change of miniſtry, all the theatres, ſhops, and places of public entertainment, were ſhut up. The change of miniſters was conſidered as the prelude to hoſtilities. While a crowd of people were carrying the buſts of M. Neckar, one of the ex-miniſters, and the duke of Orleans, (of whom they conſidered as their friends,) through the ſtreets in triumph, they were attacked by a body of German cavalry, under the prince de Lambeſc, who ſtruck an old man with his ſabre. The French are remarkable for their reſpect to old age, and the inſolence with which it appeared to be done, uniting with the general fermentation, produced a powerful effect: and a cry of *to arms! to arms!* pervaded the whole city. Arms they had none, but deſperate reſolution ſupplied the defect. A pile of ſtones had been collected for building a bridge, and with theſe they attacked the cavalry, who fired upon them in return. A party of the French national guards, who were quartered in the city, upon hearing the firing, ran to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, and the Germans were routed. The night was ſpent by the people in providing themſelves with every weapon they could make or procure, guns, ſwords, pikes pitchforks, iron crows, blackſmith's hammers, ſpits, clubs, &c. The incredible numbers in which they appeared the next morning, and the reſolution they exhibited, embarraſſed and aſtoniſhed their enemies. This day was employed in collecting arms, concerting plans, and arranging themſelves in the beſt order ſo inſtantaneous a movement would admit; and the following night paſſed tolerably tranquil.

The memorable 14th of July at length arrived. By ſome intercepted correſpondence this morning, it was diſcovered that M. Defleſſelles, the mayor of Paris, who appeared to be in the intereſt of the citizens, was betraying them; and from this diſcovery, there remained no doubt, that Broglio would reinforce the Baſtile the enſuing evening. As it was reſolved to demoliſh that fortreſs, to which the new miniſtry were dooming the national aſſembly, it was neceſſary to attack it that day; but that could not be done without a better ſupply of arms, and theſe were procured from the hoſpital of invalids. Thus ſupplied, they marched to attack the Baſtile; a vaſt mixed multitude, having two field-pieces, and armed with all ſorts of weapons. They firſt ſummoned the fortreſs to ſurrender, when De Launay, the governor, admitted forty citizens for that purpoſe; but theſe had no ſooner entered, than the draw bridge was pulled up, and they were all baſely maſſacred. The citizens without upon hearing the guns fire, ſuſpected what was the fate of their compatriots, and immediately began the aſſault. After a ſevere conflict, in which more of the citizens

fell



Ryley delin. W.Dodd Sculp.

STORMING of the BASTILE.

Published by H. D. Symonds, 20 Feb.ry 1790.

fell than of their opponents; the Baſtile was taken. De Launay met with the puniſhment which his cruelty and treachery had provoked; he was put to death, and his head carried on a pike. The ſame fate befel the mayor of Paris, who was taken in the act of betraying them; and afterwards of Foulon, one of the new miniſtry, and of Berthier, his ſon-in-law, who had accepted the office of Intendant of Paris. Broglio fled, and his troops were removed from the neighbourhood of the capital. M. Neckar was recalled, the miniſtry were again changed, and the national aſſembly proceeded in framing the new conſtitution. Thus France was delivered from the chains of deſpotiſm, by the virtue and energy of her citizens.

Conſiderable uneaſineſs was afterwards excited at Paris, by the delay of the king in not ſanctioning and forwarding the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, and the *decrees of the fourth of Auguſt*, which contained the foundation principles on which the conſtitution was to be erected. During this ſtate of ſuſpence, the *Garde du Corps*, which was compoſed of perſons much attached to the court, gave an entertainment at Verſailles, (October the firſt) to ſome foreign regiments then arrived; and on a ſignal given, the *Garde* tore the national cockade from their hats, trampled it under foot, and replaced it by the counter cockade, provided for the purpoſe. This conduct of the *Garde du Corps* alarmed and enraged the Pariſians. The colours of the cauſe, and the cauſe itſelf, were become too united to miſtake the intention of the inſult; and the Pariſians determined to call them to an account. Accordingly, on the 5th of October, a numerous body of women, and men in female habits, collected round the Hotel de Ville, and ſet off for Verſailles. But what has involved this affair in conſiderable embarraſſment, is, that it was countenanced by the enemies, as well as the friends of the revolution. The deſign of the former, was to take advantage of the confuſion, and convey the king to Metz, where they expected to collect a force, and ſet up a ſtandard. To prevent any miſchief from this threatening conflict of parties, M. de la Fayette, by orders of the civil authority of Paris, ſet off after them to Verſailles, at the head of twenty thouſand of the Paris militia, where he arrived at eleven at night. The people had arrived ſome time before, and the *Garde du Corps* was drawn up, but every thing remained in ſuſpence. M. de la Fayette became the mediator between the enraged parties, and the king. To remove the uneaſineſs, occaſioned by his delaying to ſign the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, and ſuch other parts of the conſtitution as were in readineſs, ſent for the preſident of the aſſembly, and gave them his ſanction. Every thing appeared now to be compoſed, a general congratulation took place, and the king and queen retired to reſt. One of the *Garde du Corps* appearing at a window of the palace at day-break, he was accoſted in reviling language by the people; when inſtead of retiring as prudence would have dictated, he levelled his muſket, and killed one of the Paris militia. The peace being thus broken, the people ruſhed into the palace in queſt of the offender, attacked the quarters of the *Garde du Corps*, and purſued them to the apartments of the king. M. de la Fayette again interpoſed, the *Garde* put on the national cockade, and the matter ended as by oblivion, after the loſs of ſome lives. During the latter part of this tranſaction, the king and queen were in public, at the balcony. Tranquility being thus reſtored, a general acclamation broke forth of *Le Roi a Paris*, the king to Paris, which was immediately accepted on the part of the king. By this meaſure, the project of trepanning him to Metz, and ſetting up the ſtandard of oppoſition to the conſtitution, were prevented. The ſittings of the aſſembly were afterwards held at Paris.

In the beginning of the revolution, count d'Artois, the king's youngeſt brother, and many of the nobility, who were diſſatisfied with a government founded on the principles of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, retired into the ſtates on the frontiers, where they formed plans for effecting a counter-revolution; and engaged ſeveral of the princes of Europe to aſſiſt them.

On the 14th of July, 1790, a grand feſtival was held on the Champ de Mars, when the king took the oath to maintain the conſtitution. The preſident afterwards took the oath to the nation, the law and the king, while all the members holding up their right hands, pronounced, "I ſwear it." The ſame words were pronounced by M. la Fayette, with the deputies of the national guard, and the reſt of the immenſe aſſembly.

Notwithſtanding the king appeared to approve of the conſtitution, and both himſelf and his next brother, Monſieur, who remained with him, made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of regard to their country, their ſincerity was diſputed. But while the aſſembly were able to retain the king, and he ſanctioned the decrees, it might be reaſonably preſumed, that it would preſerve the country both from civil war, and foreign invaſion. The mayor had received intelligence of a projected eſcape, in conſequence of which, the Thuilleries was more ſtrictly guarded; but notwithſtanding all their vigilance, on Tueſday morning, June 21ſt, 1791, it was diſcovered that the king and the royal family had eſcaped during the night. As ſoon as it was publicly known, the people aſſembled in the market place, and daſhing the king's arms, with the figure of a crown on the ground, they trampled upon them, crying out, "ſince the king is gone, let us trample upon his trappings."

The king before his flight left a memorial for M. de la Porte, one of the miniſters of ſtate, in which he declares, "That the organization of the different branches of government, is contrary to his opinion, and has been made againſt his will. He proteſts againſt all the acts performed by him during his captivity; and forbids his miniſters to ſign any order in his name." The national aſſembly decreed, that being the repreſentatives of the nation, ſuch decrees as could not have the royal ſanction on account of the king's abſence, ſhall, notwithſtanding, have the force of laws. Several decrees were immediately paſſed for preſerving the peace of the kingdom, and protecting the frontiers.

When the king arrived at St. Menehould, he was recognized by M. Drouet, the poſt maſter, who being alone did not think it prudent to make an alarm, but ſuffered the king and his ſuite to proceed to Varennes, while he determined to follow. Accordingly, he mounted a ſwift horſe, and taking a croſs road, arrived there before them. It was then eleven at night, and every body gone to bed; but he called up the procureur, the mayor, and the commandant of the national guard, and in a few minutes, the number of patriots had increaſed to eighty. The king had now arrived, and the commandant demanded the names of the travellers, when the queen petulantly replied, ſhe was in haſte, and produced a paſſport in the name of the baroneſs Korff, a Ruſſian lady. This appearing to be a deception, they were detained, and the king acknowledged himſelf. M. Bouillé, commander of the army at Metz, had ſent a detachment of dragoons to meet the royal family and eſcort them to the frontiers, under pretence of conducting a treaſure to the army. They inſiſted upon taking the king away; but the national guard having arrived in conſiderable numbers with four pieces of cannon, the dragoons were told, that they ſhould not tear him away alive, and compelled to ſurrender their arms. Monſieur took a different road, and eſcaped to Bruſſels.

The aſſembly no ſooner heard of the capture of the king, than they appointed a deputation to conduct him to Paris. The royal family with their attendants, and the deputies, entered the capital in two coaches, followed by an open carriage covered with laurel, in which Drouet was ſeated, as in a triumphal car. As the king paſſed through the ſtreets, he was received by the groans and ſhouts of the populace. By a decree of the aſſembly, the king, and queen, were confined to ſeparate ſuites of apartments in the Thuilleries, and to ſend in a written declaration, by a deputation appointed to receive it. The decree for putting the ſeal of ſtate to decrees, by which they have the force of laws, without the royal ſanction, is to continue in force till farther orders.

orders. During the king's abſence, the utmoſt tranquility prevailed in the capital.

The king, in his declaration, ſtates, that he quitted Paris in conſequence of his apprehenſions from the popular fury; that he had no deſign to leave the kingdom, but to go to Montmedy, which being ſtrongly fortified, was well adapted for his liberty and ſafety; he endeavours to explain away the memorial that he left at his departure, but obſerves, that in the courſe of his journey, he perceived that the people were in favour of the conſtitution; and that as ſoon as he knew the public wiſh, he did not heſitate to make the ſacrifice of every thing which regards himſelf to procure the good of the people.—His brother was to join him at Montmedy. The queen declares, that the king had no deſign to leave the kingdom, if he had, ſhe would have uſed all her influence to diſſuade him from it; that they were only going to Montmedy, where they were to be joined by Monſieur, who had taken another route for the convenience of horſes. The report of theſe declarations was not heard in the aſſembly without murmurs. The perfidious Bouillé fled to Luxembourg, and wrote a menacing letter to the aſſembly, in which he ſays, that they ſhall anſwer for the ſafety of the royal family to all the potentates of Europe; that if they hurt one hair of their heads, he will march againſt them foreign armies, and there ſhall not remain one ſtone upon another in Paris.

This audacious letter, and the conduct of the French princes, in inviting the ſoldiers to join the ſtandard of counter-revolution, prodigiouſly enraged the people. The king began to dread the conſequence, and in a letter to the aſſembly (July 9) he repeats his declaration, that he had no deſign to go beyond Montmedy, and denies their having received any ſuch power from him. When the fate of the king came under conſideration, the debates were exceedingly warm; ſome were for dethroning him, and others for accuſing him of high treaſon. His duplicity was obvious to all parties, but the moderates, who formed a majority, thought it moſt adviſable, as the conſtitution was nearly completed, not to urge things to extremities, he therefore remained only under ſuſpenſion.

On the 3d of September, 1791, the French conſtitution was completed, and preſented to the king for his acceptance, who required time to conſider it. On the 13th the king ſent a letter to the aſſembly, declaring his approbation and acceptance of the conſtitution, and that he ſhould attend in the hall to-morrow, to give his public ſanction. He accordingly went, and took the oath to be faithful to the nation and the law, and to employ the power delegated to him for the maintenance of the conſtitution; and afterwards ſigned the conſtitutional act. By this conſtitution, a limited monarchy was eſtabliſhed; nobility and the feudal ſyſtem were aboliſhed; the legiſlative aſſembly formed but one body; and the right of making war and peace was veſted in the repreſentatives of the people. The aſſembly having finiſhed their labours, ſurrendered their ſeats to their ſucceſſors, who were in the hall on the 30th of September.

The king appeared to accept the conſtitution with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs, and probably would have ſubmitted to it, but for the intrigues of his brothers and foreign princes; while the different parties in the kingdom ſeemed united in their reſpect for the conſtitution and obedience to the laws. A notification was ſent by the king to all the courts of Europe, declaring his free acceptance of the conſtitution, and he received anſwers expreſſive of much perſonal regard, but in other reſpects worded very cautiouſly. However the court and miniſtry might be pleaſed with theſe empty profeſſions, the people were far from being gratified. The hoſtile preparations of the emperor, and the continental powers; the veil of ſecrecy which they caſt over their proceedings; the vague and obſcure terms in which they expreſſed themſelves, compared with the open boaſts and intemperate declarations of the emigrant princes and nobility, excited ſuſpicion in the minds of the people, in which all the perſons connected with the court were involved.

To

To unravel more explicitly the cauſe of theſe fatal jealouſies, and in reality of all the misfortunes which afterwards afflicted that unhappy country, it will be neceſſary to have a retroſpect to a tranſaction that happened a few months previous to the period of which we are now treating; and which was then but faintly known. An extraordinary convention between the emperor Leopold and the king of Pruſſia took place in Auguſt 1791, at Pilnitz in Saxony, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers are ſuppoſed afterwards to have acceded. The profeſſed object of this treaty, was ſufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hoſtile invaſion of France, and the new modelling of its government. But this league, in which the empreſs is alſo to be conſidered as principally concerned, is generally ſuppoſed to have involved projects ſtill more offenſive, if poſſible, to the dictates of juſtice, and the peace of Europe. The partition of France as well as of Poland, or at leaſt a conſiderable portion of the territories of both, among the confederate powers, and the new modelling of the Germanic circles, are ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded. Dark and myſterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been relative to this conference, ſome of the inferior agents have dropped occaſional hints which leave little doubt of the criminality of their deſigns.

This is farther confirmed by the partition treaty between the courts in concert, concluded and ſigned at Pavia in July, 1791, which has ſince been publiſhed, and never diſavowed by authority. By this treaty, the French and Auſtrian Netherlands are to be given to the elector palatine, ſo that theſe new poſſeſſions added to the palatinate, ſhall have the name of Auſtraſia. Loraine is to be given to the archduchеſs, Maria Chriſtina, and her nephew, the archduke Charles. The emperor is to have the electorate of Bavaria, and Alſace. If the Swiſs cantons accede to the coalition, Franche, Comte, and other places are to be given to them. Should the king of Sardinia be able to make a grand diverſion, he is to be ſuffered to take poſſeſſion of Dauphiny, and other places. Rouſſillon and Bearn, with the iſland of Corſica, and the French part of St. Domingo, were allotted to the king of Spain. The empreſs of Ruſſia was to take upon herſelf the invaſion of Poland, and to retain Kaminieck, with part of Padolia. The emperor was to oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, with the forts in Servia, and on the river Lurna. By means of the invaſion of Poland by the empreſs of Ruſſia, the king of Pruſſia is to acquire Dantzic, Thorne, and Luſace; and the elector of Saxony is to receive the reſt of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary ſovereign. The king of England is ſaid to have acceded to this treaty in March 1792; and Holland, afterwards, provided the arrangements reſpecting their limits with his imperial majeſty ſhould be made according to the deſire of the republic before the partition. Spain renounced it when count D'Aranda came into office.

The conduct of the emperor was a ſingular tiſſue of inconſiſtency and deceit; either unprepared for attack, or confident that his ſiniſter policy would amuſe the aſſembly, he ordered the emigrants to deſiſt from aſſembling in arms; and yet ſuffered them to carry on their military preparations. In a declaration to the powers of Europe, he pretended to revoke his circular letter from Pavia, which had invited them to the combination, and yet exhorted them to declare that the coalition had ſtill an exiſtence.

In the mean time, the emigrants increaſed in their inſolence; proclamations were iſſued by the king's brothers; and the military inrolments were proſecuted with redoubled vigour in the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine. The aſſembly paſſed a decree againſt the emigrants, and another againſt the non-juring clergy, who were the authors of internal commotions; but the king refuſed to ſanction them. This exerciſe of the prerogative, by which he protected both emigrants and refractory prieſts, could not fail to produce great jealouſy and diſcontent. Addreſſes crouded in from every part of the kingdom

kingdom in commendation of the national aſſembly, and indicating their diſſatisfaction with the conduct of the king and his miniſters.

While the emperor held out the language of peace, he continued his preparations for war; but the jacobins penetrated into his deſigns. At their inſtance, a deciſive anſwer was demanded from Leopold, and a period fixed, after which his ſilence was to be conſidered as a declaration of war. The ſudden death of the emperor on the 1ſt of March 1792, afforded a hope that Europe might ſtill be preſerved from the calamities of war; but his ſon, the young king of Hungary, who was afterwards choſen emperor by the title of Francis II, was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when he directed the Pruſſian miniſter to inform his maſter, that he was determined ſtrictly to adhere to the convention of Pilnitz.

The period now approached when the intereſted and barbarous politics of a combination of deſpots was to deluge Europe with blood. In the laſt diſpatches from Vienna, the imperial miniſter avowed the concert of princes againſt the conſtitution of France; and inſiſted upon certain terms, upon which alone the courts of Berlin and Vienna could withhold from hoſtilities. As the intentions of the combined courts could no longer be doubted, war was decreed by the national aſſembly againſt the king of Hungary, on the 20th of April, 1792.

It is not our intention to detail the operations of the French armies, their glorious victories would fill an ample volume; but their firſt action was ſtained with defeat, and the murder of general Dillon, who fell a victim to the ſuſpicions of treachery, by his own troops when they retreated to Liſle.

Though the king had given his ſanction to a decree, pronouncing every emigrant appearing in arms againſt his country, guilty of high treaſon, he ſtill refuſed to ſanction the decree againſt the refractory clergy. This protection, while it emboldened the prieſts, provoked a meaſure of greater ſeverity; a decree was paſſed ſubjecting any non-juring prieſt to baniſhment on the petition of twenty citizens: but the king again affixed his veto.

A combination of courtiers, to betray the nation to the houſe of Auſtria, under the denomination of the *Auſtrian Committee*, was ſaid to exiſt. To ſecure Paris againſt the invading armies, and counter-revolutionary projects, it was decreed that a camp of 20,000 men ſhould be formed near the capital, to which every canton ſhould contribute five; and to be at Paris by the 14th of July to aſſiſt at the Confederation. The court were determined to defeat this precautionary meaſure, the king accordingly refuſed his ſanction.

Whatever might have been his deſigns, he had taken his reſolution, and on the 12th of June, diſmiſſed his jacobin miniſters, who had preſſed him to ſanction the decrees. The capital became extremely agitated; addreſſes were preſented to the aſſembly againſt the king, and in commendation of the decrees. Dumourier, newly appointed war minſter, made a poſitive demand of the king, either to ſanction the decrees, or accept of his reſignation. The king remained ſteady to his purpoſe, and the miniſter and his colleagues reſigned.

On the 20th of June, a deputation of 8000 armed men were admitted into the hall of the aſſembly, when the orator at their head, delivered a ſpeech againſt the king and his court. An immenſe multitude, armed with pikes, preſented themſelves at the Thuilleries; the gates were opened, and the king came out to meet them. To their demands for the recal of the patriotic miniſters, and the ſanction of the decrees, he only replied, it was his firm intention to preſerve the conſtitution. No miſchief was done, but the king received ſome perſonal inſults.

On the 6th of July, the king announced to the aſſembly, that the king of Pruſſia was marching with 52,000 men to aſſiſt the Auſtrians. The French armies had made conſiderable progreſs in the Auſtrian Netherlands; but they again retired within their own frontiers.

The different departments ſent their deputies to Paris, to aſſiſt at the confederation, though the king had not ſanctioned the decree for their encampment. Theſe new levies were

called *Federates*, and often *Marſellois*; their places, on the fourteenth of July, in the Field of Federation, were marked out by eighty-three poplars. This feſtival was conducted with great magnificence, and the king was in general well received.—Though upwards of four hundred thouſand perſons were preſent, no diſorder enſued.

Notwithſtanding the deceitful calm of this day, matters were but ripening to a criſis. The proclamations of the king's brothers; the manifeſto of the emperor and the king of Pruſſia; and the inſulting and ſanguinary declaration of the duke of Brunſwick, of the twenty-fifth of July, all aſſerted poſitively, "that the king was not ſincere in accepting the conſtitution." It was impoſſible that the people could be any longer deceived: the intrigues of the court, and the declarations of the enemy, left no middle party in the nation. All who wiſhed to preſerve a government in any degree popular, felt themſelves obliged to join the avowed republicans, or at once to ſubmit to the deſtruction of liberty by the duke of Brunſwick. The choice was not difficult: on the third of Auguſt, M. Petion, at the head of the ſections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the national aſſembly to demand the depoſition of the king. A petition had lain for eight days on the altar of liberty in the Champ de Mars, and was preſented by a countleſs multitude, who were preceded by a pike with a red cap, on which was inſcribed "The depoſition of the king." This was followed by others of the ſame nature. In compliance with theſe repeated requiſitions, the aſſembly determined to come to a deciſion on the ninth of Auguſt.

By various circumſtances, the public fermentation had riſen to the greateſt height; and early in the morning of the tenth, the toczin, or the alarm bell, was ſounded, and the générale was beaten in all parts of the city. The federates firſt appeared in the ſtreets, and were ſoon joined by the citizens, who procured arms from the guard-houſe, and forming regular battalions, marched to the Thuilleries, preceded by their cannon. After Louis and his queen had reviewed their troops, and given them inſtructions, they retired with their children to the aſſembly, which had been ſitting all night. The Marſellois and citizens entered the court of the palace, and were received by the Swiſs guards with tokens of friendſhip; but ſhortly after a fire was opened upon them from the right and left, followed by a diſcharge of cannon, maſked and loaded with chain ſhot. Near two hundred patriots fell by this perfidious and unexpected attack; but the Swiſs were at length overpowered, when they met with a ſevere but juſt retaliation. They were purſued throughout the palace, and put to death, except a few who eſcaped. The jewels, treaſure, and papers found in the palace, were carried to the aſſembly by the citizens; and thoſe who were detected in purloining any thing, a jury was impannelled to try them on the ſpot, and they were immediately executed.

The king, upon entering the hall of the aſſembly, ſaid, "Gentlemen, I have come here to prevent a great crime." The aſſembly paſſed decrees for ſuſpending the royal function, and for calling a convention on the twentieth of September, to determine on the fate of the king, and the future form of government. The day following, a new executive council was appointed. M. Petion informed the aſſembly, that in their name order was reſtored to Paris. "Every where, ſaid he, the people bleſs you and your decrees." The king and his family were removed from the hall of the aſſembly to the palace of the Temple, amidſt the hiſſes and curſes of the populace. The Britiſh ambaſſador was recalled ſoon after.

M. la Fayette, apprized of the events of the tenth, diſtributed a letter among the battalions of his army, propoſing to reſtore the king to the throne. But from the ſpirit of revolt which they manifeſted, he was apprehenſive that his life would be attempted, or that he ſhould be delivered up to the aſſembly. He and four or five officers left the camp at night, and took the route of Leige, which being a neutral ſtate, they hoped to paſs unmoleſted, but they were ſeized by an

Auſtrian

Auſtrian general, and have been confined in dungeons ever ſince.

Two letters, found in the eſcrutoire of the queen, were publiſhed, to prove a correſpondence between the court and the enemies of the country. M. de la Porte, intendant of the civil liſt, was arreſted. From his papers it appeared, that the king had tranſmitted large ſums to the emigrants at Coblentz, and that the four companies of his guard, which had joined them, was ſupported entirely at his expence. It appeared alſo that proclamations of the emigrants, newspapers, hand-bills, placards, pamphlets, prints, and devices of every kind, to inflame the minds of the people, were paid for out of the civil liſt. Papers were found containing the order of the emigrants' march; and the plan of a conſpiracy for maſſacring the Jacobins, diſſolving the national aſſembly, operating a counter-revolution, &c. M. de la Porte was tried, and executed on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt. On the twenty-third, a decree was paſſed for baniſhing all the prieſts who refuſed to take the oath preſcribed by the law.

All the crimes, as well as misfortunes, which have diſgraced the French revolution, are to be traced up to that combination of deſpots armed againſt their liberty. On a report that the Duke of Brunſwick, after having taken Longwy, intended to march to the capital, without ſtopping to take the towns in his way; and a decree of the aſſembly for raiſing an army of ſixty thouſand volunteers, a number of perſons declared they were ready to go out and meet the enemy, but they muſt firſt purge the nation of its domeſtic foes; and in the moment of alarm and irritation, they maſſacred moſt of the ſtate priſoners at Paris on the ſecond and third of September.

The Duke of Brunſwick, by haſty marches, had reached to Chalons, almoſt half way to Paris; but he was ſoon obliged to meaſure back his paces in ſhame and diſgrace, after having loſt the greateſt part of his army by diſeaſe, famine, and the ordinary chances of war, though the army of Dumourier did not amount to a third part of his number.

Liſle was beſieged by the Duke of Saxe Teſchen, and reduced to a heap of aſhes. The firſt injury was done to that part of the town inhabited by the poorer claſs of citizens, with a deſign to render them mutinous, that they might riſe upon the commanders and magiſtrates, and compel them to capitulate. But it had quite a contrary effect; theſe brave citizens cauſed the keys to be hung upon the tree of liberty in the great ſquare; and paſſed a reſolution, that whoever preſumed to remove them, for the purpoſe of delivering up the city, ſhould be puniſhed with inſtant death. Every citizen bore his part in the public duty, while their wives and children knocked out the fuzees to prevent the exploſion, amidſt ſhowers of bombs and red-hot balls. The archduchefs Chriſtina, governeſs of the Low Countries, aunt of the emperor, and wife to Saxe Teſchen, with her whole court, came to enjoy this *glorious* ſcene of deſtruction. It is even ſaid that this *humane* lady applied the match to ſome of the bombs, that probably deſtroyed a more honourable woman and her children than herſelf. Inſtead of witneſſing a victory, they only ſaw the duke obliged to march off with diſgrace and diſappointment.

The arms of France were at this time victorious in every quarter. War was declared by the aſſembly, on the ſixteenth of September, againſt the king of Sardinia; and general Monteſquieu entered Savoy, where he was received by the people with joy; troops flocked to his ſtandard, the whole country ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and at the deſire of the inhabitants, was annexed to France. General Anſelm, at the ſame time, reduced the country of Nice. On the Rhine, Spires, Worms, Mentz, and Frankfort, ſubmitted to general Cuſtine. The Auſtrians had ſtrongly poſted themſelves on the heights of Gemappe, with three rows of fortifications, one above another, on which were planted upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon. The French army was moſtly compoſed of young

young men, who had been long ambitious of a close engagement; and as their artillery could be of no service on this occasion, all depended on their ardor and enthusiasm. The action began about noon the sixth of November. The line was formed, and general Dumourier presenting himself in the front, the music struck up the celebrated Marseillois song. The soldiers joined the chorus, and amidst shouts of *Vive la Nation*, rushed on with impetuosity, carried the first line of redoubts instantaneously, and by two o'clock, the enemy were completely routed, and fled with precipitation to Mons. The consequence of this glorious victory was the reduction of the Austrian Netherlands, and the bishopric of Liege. Dumourier had promised the French ministry that he would keep his Christmas at Brussels. This assertion was treated as the boast of a vain-glorious man, but he anticipated his engagement by five weeks.

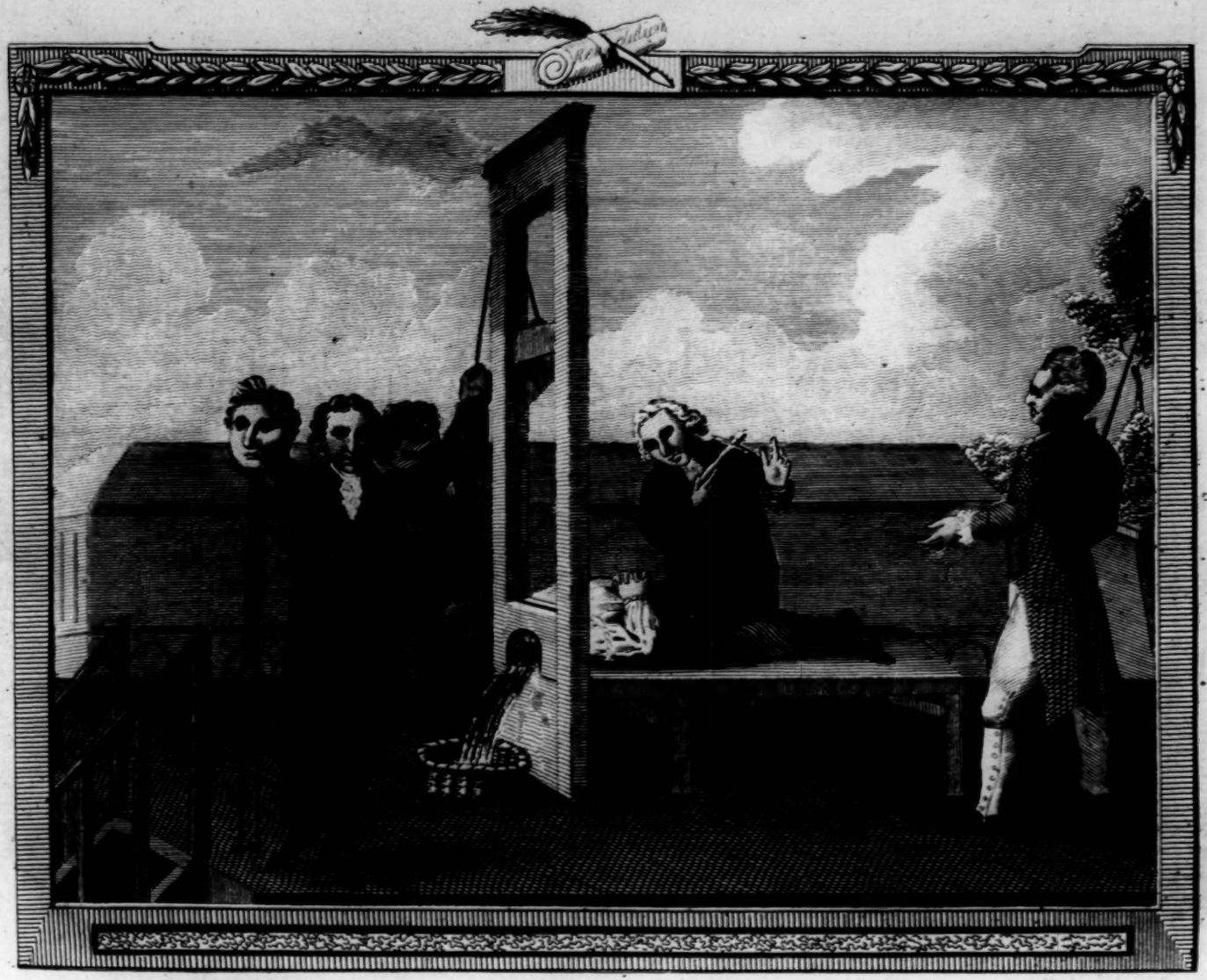
The national convention was assembled on the twentieth of September; and on that day they decreed the abolition of royalty. All public acts were to be dated the first year of the republic. By a subsequent decree, they rejected the ridiculous and unmeaning titles of *Monsieur* and *Madame*, and adopted the expressive term of *Citizen*. The inhabitants of the bailiwick of Darmstadt, in the territory of the duke of Deux Ponts, who was at war with the French republic, had revolted, and declared their wishes to be united to France, and solicited her protection against their former master. In consequence of which, the convention passed a decree, on the 19th of November, for "granting *fraternity* and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty." This decree, and the opening of the Scheld, furnished the British ministry with a pretence for going to war with France.

After storming the Thuilleries, a discovery was made which involved the most important consequences. It was an iron chest, concealed in the wall, in which the king's papers were privately deposited. The workman who formed it was alone privy to the fact, and he revealed it to M. Roland, minister of the home department. There is reason to believe that the chest contained more papers than were produced; but Roland was desirous of preserving the life of the king, and is therefore supposed to have secreted the worst. A committee was appointed to examine the papers, and prepare the act of accusation.

On the sixth of November, Valazé brought up the report, and explained the difficulties attendant on their operations, from the accumulation of letters and papers full of symbolical characters, and of obscure and equivocal expressions. The principal proof of the king's guilt, was a receipt of Bouillé for nine hundred and ninety-three millions, issued for the formation of the camp at Montmedy, and which had been distributed among the king's brothers and other emigrants. Another, signed Choiseul Stainville, attesting the receipt and distribution of six hundred thousand livres; notes, proving that the editors of newspapers had been paid great sums to corrupt the public opinion, and discredit the assignats, (paper circulation;) a bundle of papers, to prove that a person of the name of Gilles had received twelve thousand livres to pay a band of sixty armed men, kept privately; various plans of counter-revolution, memorials, letters, &c. with marginal observations in the king's hand-writing; a carton, full of proofs that Louis continued the pay of such of his body guards as had emigrated to Coblentz; that a number of conspirators had constantly assembled at the Thuilleries; and that Bouillé had the audacity to repair there since the projected invasion of 1791.

Louis was brought to the bar of the convention on the eleventh of December, when he underwent a long examination. On the twenty-sixth, he appeared, for the last time, with his counsel, and M. Dezeze read the defence which they had prepared.

The discussion on the fate of the king was closed on the 16th of January. Out of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were for death, three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment during the war,



BEHEADING of LOUIS XVI, by the Guillotine. Jan.y 21. 1793.

war, and the reſt for death, only, if the country ſhould be again invaded. The preſident, taking off his hat, ſolemnly pronounced, "In conſequence of this, I declare, that the puniſhment decreed by the national convention againſt Louis Capet, is DEATH."

On Monday morning, January 21, 1793, he was ſummoned to his fate. After paſſing ſome time with his family alone, he took his laſt farewel, and proceeded, in the coach of the mayor of Paris, under a ſtrong eſcort, to the Place de la Revolution. He aſcended the ſcaffold with a firm ſtep, and after ſurveying the multitude a few moments, he waved his hand for ſilence, and ſaid, "Frenchmen, I die innocent; I pardon all my enemies; I wiſh that France"—At this moment he was interrupted by a thouſand voices, exclaiming, "No harangues!" M. Santerre, commander of the national guards, ordered the drums to beat, and the executioners to do their duty. He ſubmitted to his fate, and his head was immediately ſevered from his body. The executioner, lifting up the head, ſaid, "Thus dies a traitor;" while the populace, waving their hats in the air, ſhouted, "Vive la Republique." The body was afterwards interred in the burial ground of St. Madelaine, and lime put into the grave. Thus fell Louis XVI. in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

Marie Antoinette, late queen of France, was tried on the 15th October by the revolutionary tribunal, and pronounced guilty by the jury. The day following, ſhe was conveyed to the Place de la Revolution in a cart, and executed amidſt the ſhouts of *Vive la Republique.*

A. D. 1790.] The Britiſh parliament met in January, and Mr. Burke having delivered a violent harangue againſt the French revolution, a warm debate enſued, in which the miniſter preſerved an artful ſilence. A meſſage was ſent from the king, ſtating a rupture with Spain. Some Britiſh merchants having carried on a trade in furs from Nootka Sound, on the north weſt coaſt of America, to China, rouſed the jealouſy of the Spaniards, who claimed all that coaſt, and ſeized on the ſettlement and two ſhips. The Engliſh miniſtry demanded ſatisfaction, and expended 3,000,000 in preparations for war; but the Spaniards gave up the point, and agreed to make reſtitution. In June the parliament was diſſolved.

The next public matter of importance, was the war with Tippoo Saib, in India. The cauſe of this war, was the Dutch having ſold two forts which were claimed by Tippoo, to the rajah of Travancore, who was an ally of the Engliſh. Tippoo propoſed to ſubmit the diſpute to arbitration; but while his troops were lying quiet within their lines, the rajah attacked them, and an engagement enſued. The Britiſh government thought proper to protect their ally, and Tippoo being expoſed to the vengeance of a powerful confederacy, and deprived of the aſſiſtance of his old ally, the French, was, after an arduous conteſt, obliged to ſubmit to the mercy of the Engliſh, and to purchaſe peace by the ſurrender of half his territories.

A. D. 1791.] The arbitrary government of Canada, having occaſioned numerous complaints, Mr. Pitt brought in a bill, which was paſſed, to divide that colony into two provinces, and to eſtabliſh councils nominated by the king, and houſes of aſſembly choſen by the people, ſomething like the lords and commons of England. Mr. Fox objected to this bill, that the repreſentation was not fair and equal; that the aſſembly was not to be choſen oftener than once in ſeven years; and with reſpect to hereditary honours, he thought it extremely unwiſe to create them where they did not exiſt, and alluded to the abolition of nobility in France.

The ſummer was diſtinguiſhed by a moſt ſhameful inſtance of barbarity, at Birmingham, in the pretended friends of government, and of neglect in the magiſtracy. A few gentlemen having aſſembled to celebrate the anniverſary of French liberty, the mob roſe, exclaiming, "church and king," and deſtroyed the houſe of Dr. Prieſtly, with his moſt valuable and extenſive philoſophical apparatus and library, together with the meeting-houſes, and the houſes and furniture, of many other eminent diſſenters.

A. D. 1792.] The duke of York having married Frederica Charlotte Ulrique, princeſs of Pruſſia, the public were burdened with

BEHEADING of LOUIS XVI. by the Guillotine. Jan.y 21. 1793.

an eſtabliſhment for them, of 37,000l. a year, but not without oppoſition.

Though the various attempts to obtain a more equal repreſentation in parliament had proved unſucceſsful, it provoked diſcuſſions that rendered the evil more apparent, which the legiſlature refuſed to remedy; and aſſociations were formed in different parts of the kingdom, to procure a reform. Miniſters took the alarm, and ſoon evinced their fears, by iſſuing a royal proclamation, May 21, againſt ſeditious writings, and illegal meetings. It was generally thought that this proclamation was pointed againſt Paine's Rights of Man, and the reforming ſocieties, which only ſerved to encreaſe the ſale of the book, and animate the ſocieties with greater zeal. Mr. Paine was proſecuted for a libel, and pronounced *guilty*; but as he had been choſen a member of the French convention, and had gone to France, he was not affected by the verdict. To keep up the ſpirit of alarm, another proclamation was iſſued December 1, the militia were embodied, the army brought near London, and the tower was put into a poſture of defence.

A. D. 1793.] The French had no ſooner driven their enemies out of their territories, purſued them into the Netherlands, and reſtored to the Belgians their right to the navigation of the Scheld, than the Britiſh miniſtry pretended to be alarmed for the ſafety of Holland, and determined upon hoſtilities. When the execution of Louis XVI. was known in England, lord Grenville (Jan. 24,) ſent an order from the king to M. Chauvelin, to quit the country in eight days. By an article of the commercial treaty, the diſmiſſion of an ambaſſador from either country, is to be conſidered a declaration of war. M. Chauvelin quitted London four days after he received the order.

His majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe, (Feb. 11,) announcing, that France had declared war againſt Great Britain and Holland, and adding, that he relied on the ſupport of the houſe of commons, and the exertions of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a *juſt* and *neceſſary* war. Mr. Fox contended that the French were treated by us as enemies, and forced into hoſtilities. The commercial treaty between England and France, was infinitely more in favour of the former than the latter, but no ſooner had the war broke out, than it produced an almoſt univerſal bankruptcy amongſt the Engliſh merchants and manufacturers, by the ſtoppage of the French markets.

In the beginning of May, twenty-three petitions, ſigned by many thouſands, praying a reform in parliament, were preſented to the houſe of commons; and on the ſixth, Mr. Grey made his promiſed motion, which was ſeconded by Mr. Erſkine. On the queſtion being put, for referring the petition to a committee, 41 were for, and 282 againſt it.

The duke of York went to Holland with 2,000 of the guards, and was joined by 12,000 Hanoverians in Britiſh pay. Dumourier now entered into a negociation with the allies, by which he engaged to march his army to Paris, reſtore the conſtitution of 1791, and place the dauphin on the throne, by the title of Louis XVII. The convention being apprized of his treachery, ſent four commiſſioners to arreſt him, but when they arrived at his camp, he ſent them priſoners to Cobourg's head-quarters. Dumourier could not prevail upon the troops to concur with him in his treaſon, and when he rode off they fired at him. He is now deſpiſed and abandoned by the powers to whom he had betrayed his country. Young Louis died afterwards, and the commiſſioners were exchanged for the princeſs. The defection of Dumourier, ſo deranged the army, that they were obliged to abandon all their conqueſts, and to retire within their own frontier. The duke of York laid ſiege to Valenciennes, which was ſurrendered, and he took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the *Emperor of Germany*. He afterwards inveſted Dunkirk, but was entirely routed by general Houchard, and loſt all his artillery. Condée, Queſnoy, and Landrecy, were taken by other of the allied generals.

Toulon was ſurrendered by treachery to lord Hood, in Auguſt, on condition of ſupporting the conſtitution of 1789; but reconquered by the republicans in December. Of 31 ſhips which he found in the harbour, 13 were left behind, four were ſent to Rochfort and

Engraved for BAXTER'S *History of England.*

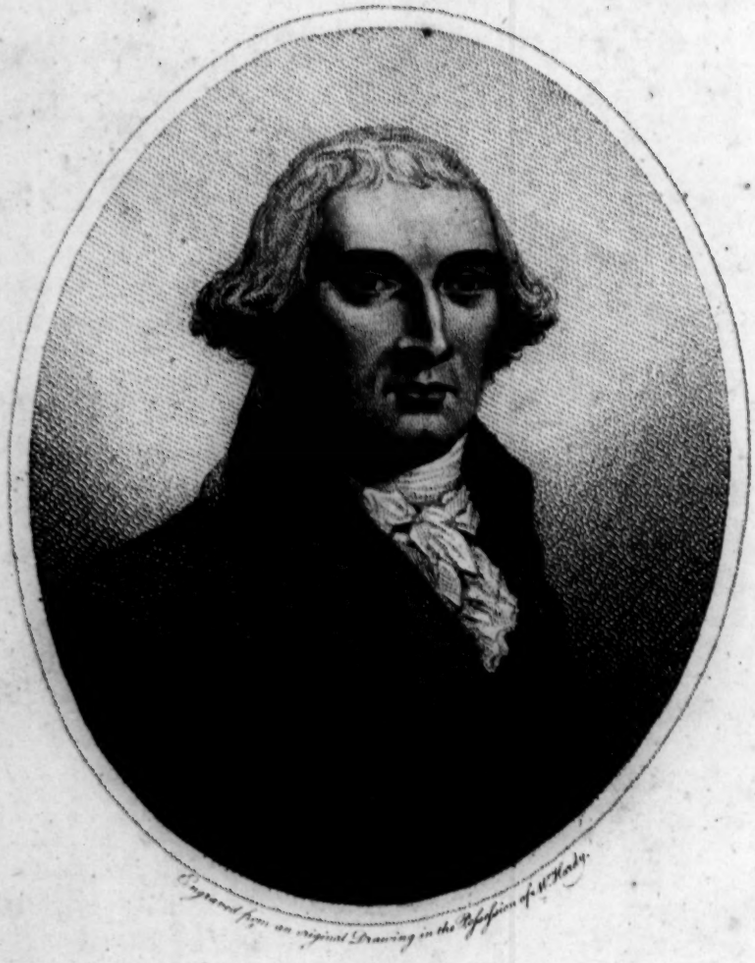
THOMAS PAINE,

Author of the Rights of Man.

Published by H. D. Symonds July 1 1790

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, ESQR.

JOHN THELWALL.



Engraved from an original Drawing in the Possession of M.r Hardy.

THOMAS HARDY.

and Breſt, with 5,000 republican ſailors, and ten were burnt, ſo that four ſhips and ſome frigates, were all that Great Britain obtained by an immenſe profuſion of blood and treaſure, which this expedition coſt.

Much as miniſters might be ſuppoſed to be occupied by the war, they had ſtill leiſure to indulge an unrelenting ſpirit of proſecution againſt the advocates of parliamentary reform; and Scotch laws, and Scotch juries were found to anſwer their purpoſe. Mr. Muir, one of the faculty of advocates, of Edinburgh, was the firſt perſon found guilty of ſedition, for the countenance he had given to a reform in parliament, at various meetings. He was ſentenced by the high court of juſticiary "to be tranſported beyond the ſeas, to ſuch place as his majeſty, with the advice of his privy council, ſhould judge proper, for the ſpace of fourteen years." The reverend Thomas Fyſche Palmer was the next victim. He was tried by the circuit court of juſticiary, on the 17th of September, and ſentenced to be tranſported for ſeven years. Mr. Skirving, ſecretary to the Britiſh convention, at Edinburgh, and Meſſrs. Margarot and Gerald, delegates from London, were proſecuted in the high juſticiary court for ſedition, pronounced guilty, by a Scottiſh jury, and ſentenced to fourteen years tranſportation. Theſe gentlemen, together with Meſſrs. Muir and Palmer, were afterwards ſent to Botany Bay.

A. D. 1794.] The attention of parliament was now engaged by the affected diſcovery of an extenſive conſpiracy againſt the king and conſtitution. Mr. Hardy, ſecretary of the London Correſponding Society, and Mr. Adams, ſecretary of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, were ſeized with their papers. About 30 perſons were afterwards apprehended---ſome of whom were admitted to bail, others detained to be witneſſes, and 17 committed to the Tower and Newgate, for high treaſon. Mr. Pitt, after an elaborate ſpeech, moved for the ſuſpenſion of the *habeas corpus* act, which met with vigorous oppoſition, but notwithſtanding, paſſed.

Robert Watt, a profeſſed ſpy of government, and David Downie were found guilty of high treaſon at Edinburgh; though no overt act was committed, and Downie was only the ſilent auditor of the plans of Watt: the former was pardoned on condition of tranſporting himſelf after one year's impriſonment---Watt was executed.

In London a bill of indictment was found againſt Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Auguſtus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, Richard Hodgſon and John Baxter. Wardle, Moore, and Hodgſon were never in cuſtody. The other nine priſoners were arraigned, Oct. 25, and as they choſe to be tried ſeparately, Thomas Hardy was put to the bar, Tueſday 28---and acquitted November 5. Mr. J. H. Tooke and Mr. Thelwall, were alſo tried, and acquitted. The attorney general declining any further proſecution, the reſt were conſequently acquitted. While theſe trials were impending, a new alarm was excited by the report of a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the king. The perſons accuſed were Thomas Croſsfield, John le Maitre, William Higgins, and John Smith. They were charged by one Upton, a watchmaker, with having employed him to make a braſs tube through which a poiſoned dart was to be blown at the king. This ridiculous ſtory was called in deriſion the *pop-gun plot*. Mr. Croſsfield was firſt tried; but Upton not appearing, he was acquitted, and the reſt were diſcharged.

In the month of June a great naval victory was obtained by Lord Howe. The French force conſiſted of 26 ſhips of the line oppoſed to a fleet of 25. Six French ſhips were captured, and one (Vengeur, 74 guns) ſunk, while the ſailors ſhouted, *Vive la Republique! Vive la Libertée!*

A. D. 1795.] The king of Pruſſia was paid a ſubſidy of 1,200,000l; a loan was raiſed of 18,000,000; and parliament was ſecurity for the emperor for a loan of 6,000,000. The prince of Wales and the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick, were married on the 8th of April. The application to pay the prince's debts and encreaſe his allowance to 125,000l. a year, occaſioned warm debates.

At

At the latter end of the year, two bills were paſſed, one for the better ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon and government, and the other for preventing ſeditious meeetings and political lectures and debates. Theſe arbitrary acts were univerſally execrated; and corporation and county meetings, beſides various other aſſociations of unrepreſented perſons, were held, to petition parliament againſt them, but without effect.

The affairs of the Continent, at the commencement of this year were very eventful. The ſucceſs of the French in Holland, being favoured by the ſevere froſts, was ſo rapid, that the Stadtholder, who had in vain iſſued proclamations to the Dutch peaſantry to riſe in a maſs for the protection of his country, became ſo contemptible, that it was with difficulty he and his family effected their eſcape in bye boats to England.

The king of Pruſſia, the elector of Hanover, and other princes of the German empire, the duke of Tuſcany, and the kings of Spain and Sardinia, made peace with France. Spain ceded the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo to France, and Sardinia ceded Savoy and Nice.

A. D. 1796.] William Stone was tried for high treaſon, on ſuppoſition that he was concerned with William Jackſon (who had been convicted in Dublin of ſending information to the French government) and acquitted.

The French having received a check in the interior of Germany, retreated back to the Rhine, which was thought a proper opportunity to negociate a peace. Accordingly, a paſſport was obtained from France, and Malmeſbury was ſent to Paris to treat. His lordſhip acknowledged that he had no powers to treat for the allies, nor to make a ſeparate peace for Britain. After ſome delay he declared that no conditions would be agreed to on the part of England, unleſs Flanders ſhould be reſtored to the emperor. This being abſolutely refuſed, the treaty terminated, and his lordſhip returned. War was proclaimed at Madrid againſt Great Britain, Oct. 8, and the Britiſh cabinet iſſued orders, Nov. 12, to make repriſals upon Spain and her ſubjects.

A remarkable circumstance took place at this time in the election of a member to represent the borough of Southwark. Mr. Thelluson and Mr. Tierney being candidates, the former was returned, but was set aside by a committee of the house of commons, for violating the act of William III. relative to entertaining the electors. A new election taking place, after the third day, Mr. Tierney declined to continue the poll, as he considered Mr. Thellusson ineligible after the late decision; and he presented a petition to the house of commons, when it was decided by a committee, Dec. 20, and declared by the chairman, that Mr. Thelluson was not eligible at the last election to serve in parliament for the borough of Southwark. Mr. Tierney therefore took his seat.

After the evacuation of Toulon, lord Hood proceeded to Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the authority of the convention; which, after some resistance, he conquered; and it was afterwards annexed to the crown of England as a separate kingdom, but the inhabitants being dissatisfied with the new government, rose against the viceroy, Sir Gilbert Elliot, who, with the British troops, were obliged to evacuate the island.

Towards the conclusion of this year, Ireland was thrown into a dreadful state of alarm by the appearance of a French fleet off Bantry Bay and other parts of the coast, with a design to invade it. This fleet, consisting of 18 sail of the line, 14 frigates, and some transports, set sail from Brest, Dec. 14. They made Ireland in three days, but from the strong gales, were not able to enter Bantry Bay till the 24th, and then only part of it had anchored. From being disappointed in meeting general Hoche, and the admiral, though the troops were eager to land, the seconds in command, being without instructions, thought it expedient to return to Brest and Rochfort, which they effected with the loss of three or four ships.

We might have indulged a hope, that with the end of the year there would have been an end of the war; but we fear, that if the present measures are continued, they will lead to a general stoppage and bankruptcy.

FINIS.